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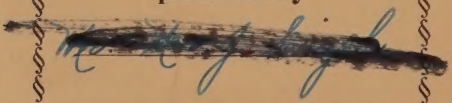

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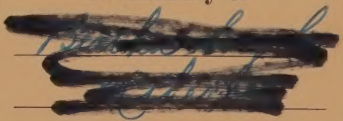

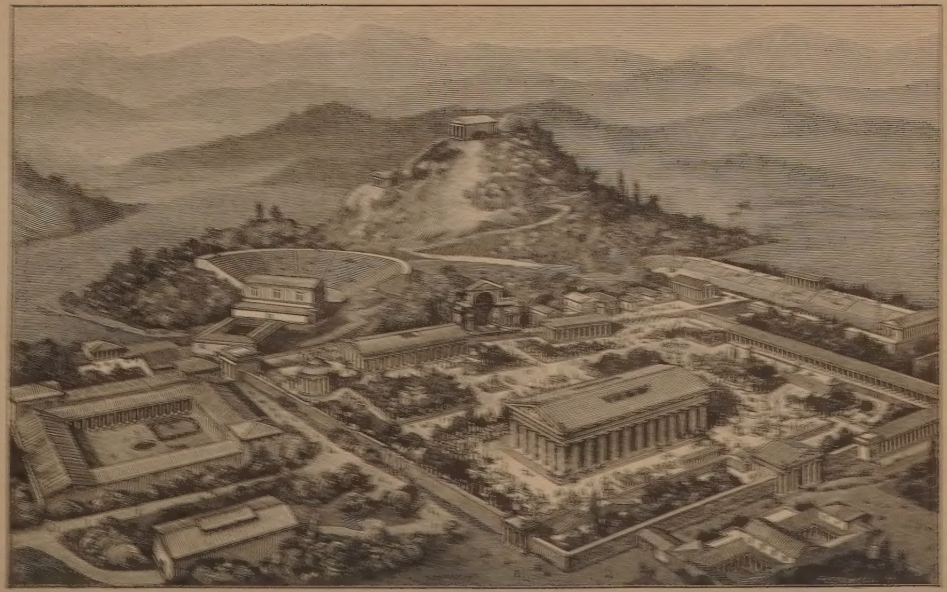

General View of Olympia. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

GENERAL HISTORY

FOR

COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS

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BY

PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS

AUTHOR OF "ANCIENT HISTORY," "MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY," ETC.

REVISED EDITION

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PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

The first edition of this work was published seventeen years ago. As that was a shortened edition of the original texts of my "Ancient History" and "Mediæval and Modern History," so is this volume a shortened edition of the revised and in great part rewritten texts of these two works. In the present issue the book contains several fresh chapters, an entirely new series of colored maps, many new illustrations, and carefully selected lists of books for further reading at the end of each chapter, together with suggested topics for special study. The new text brings the narration of events down to the Peace of Portsmouth and the elections to the first Russian Parliament, and aims to include all the latest important results of discovery and scholarly research in the different historical fields and periods.

P. V. N. M.

College Hill, Ohio
April, 1906

The real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind, and not of events which are discovered by the senses. — BUCKLE.

Historical facts should not be a burden to the memory but an illumination of the soul. — LORD ACTON.

But history ought surely in some degree, if it is worth anything, to anticipate the lessons of time. We shall all no doubt be wise after the event; we study history that we may be wise before the event. — SEELEY.

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GENERAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: PREHISTORIC TIMES

1. The Antiquity of Man. — We do not know when man first appeared upon the earth. We only know that in ages long past, when both the climate and the outline of the continents were very different from what they are at present, primitive man roamed over them with animals now extinct; and that, about 5000 B.C., when the historic curtain first rises, in some favored regions, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, there were nations and civilizations already venerable with age, and possessing arts, governments, and institutions that bear evidence of slow growth through very long periods of time.

2. The Prehistoric and the Historic Age. — The uncounted millenniums which lie back of the time when man began to keep written records of what he thought and did and of what befell him, are called the Prehistoric Age.

The comparatively few centuries of human life which are made known to us through written records comprise the Historic Age. In the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates there have been discovered written records which were made at least four or five thousand years before Christ; so we say that the historic period began in those lands six or seven thousand years ago. In most other regions the historic period began at a much later date. Thus the truly Historic Age did not open in Greece and Italy until about 800 or 700 B.C.

3. Divisions of Prehistoric Times. — The long period of prehistoric times is divided into different ages, which are named from the material which man used in the manufacture of his weapons and tools. The earliest epoch is known as the Paleolithic or Old

Stone Age; the following one as the Neolithic or New Stone Age; and the later period as the Age of Metals. The division lines between these ages are not sharply drawn. In most countries the epochs run into and overlap one another, just as in modern times the Age of Steam runs into and overlaps the Age of Electricity.

4. **The Paleolithic or Old Stone Age.** — In the Old Stone Age man's implements were usually made of stone, and particularly of easily chipped flints, though sometimes bones, horns, tusks, and other material were used in their manufacture. These rude tools and weapons of Paleolithic man, found in gravel beds and in caves, are the very oldest things in existence shaped by human hands.

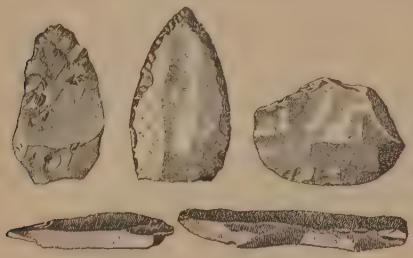

FIG. 1. — THE EARLIEST IMPLEMENTS OF PALEOLITHIC TYPE

The man of the Old Stone Age saw the retreating glaciers of the last great ice age, of which geology tells us. Among the animals which lived with him on the continent of Europe — we know most of Paleolithic man there — were the mammoth, the wild horse, and the reindeer; species now extinct or which are no longer found in the regions where primitive man hunted them.

What we know of Paleolithic man may be summed up as follows: he was a hunter and fisher; his habitation was a cave or a rock shelter; his implements were in the main roughly shaped flints; he had no domestic animals save possibly the dog and the reindeer; and he was practically ignorant of the art of making pottery.

The length of the Old Stone Age no one knows; we do not attempt to reckon its duration by centuries or millenniums even, but only by geologic epochs. But we do know that the long slow

epochs did not pass away without some progress having been made by primeval man, a progress prophetic of his great future. Before the end of the age he had learned the use of fire, as we know from the traces of fire found in the caves which were his abode, and had invented the bow and arrow, as is evidenced by arrowheads of flint and of bone which have been discovered. This important invention gave man what was to be one of his chief weapons in the chase and in war down to and even after the invention of firearms late in the historic age.

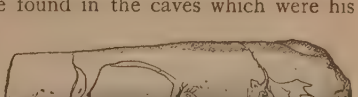

FIG. 2. — ENGRAVING OF A REINDEER[1] (Old Stone Age)

Strange as it may seem, the man of this epoch was in his way an artist. The accompanying cuts (Figs. 2 and 3) are reproductions of celebrated engravings made by Paleolithic man.

5. **The Neolithic or New Stone Age.** — The Old Stone Age was followed by the New. Chipped or hammered stone implements still continued to be used, but what characterizes this period was the use of ground or polished implements. The North American Indians were in this stage of culture at the time of the discovery of the New World.

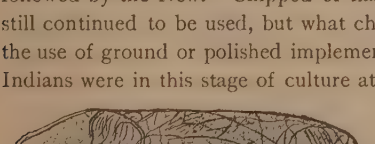

FIG. 3. — ENGRAVING OF A MAMMOTH ON THE FRAGMENT OF A TUSK[1] (Old Stone Age)

Neolithic man in Europe was in many respects much advanced over Paleolithic man. He had learned to cultivate the soil; he had learned to make pottery, to spin, and to weave; he had tamed various wild animals; he built houses; and he buried his dead in such a manner — with "accompanying gifts" (Fig. 4) — as to show that he believed in a future life.

[1] These interesting art objects are from France. They represent the earliest artistic efforts of man of which we have knowledge. In comparison with them, the pictures on the oldest Egyptian monuments are modern.

6. The Age of Metals. — Finally the long ages of stone passed into the Age of Metals. This age falls into three subdivisions, — the Age of Copper, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron. Some peoples, like the African negroes, passed directly from the use of stone to the use of iron; but in most of the countries of the Orient and of Europe the three metals came into use one after the other and in the order named.[2]

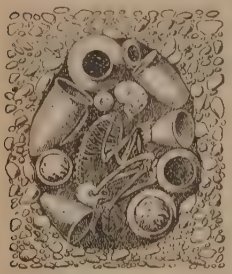

FIG. 4. — A PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN TOMB

The history of metals has been declared to be the history of civilization. Indeed, it would be almost impossible to overestimate their importance to man. Man could do very little with stone implements compared with what he could do with metal implements. It was a great labor for primitive man, even with the aid of fire, to fell a tree with a stone ax and to hollow out the trunk for a boat. It was only as the bearer of metal implements and weapons that he began really to subdue the earth and to get dominion over nature.

7. The Origin of the Use of Fire. — In this and following paragraphs we shall dwell briefly upon some of the special discoveries and achievements, several of which have already been mentioned, marking important steps in man's progress during the prehistoric ages. Prominent among these was the discovery of fire.

As to the way in which early man came into possession of fire we have no knowledge. Possibly he kindled his first fire from a glowing lava stream or from some burning tree trunk set aflame by the lightning. However this may be, he had in the earliest times learned to produce the vital spark by means of friction. The fire borer is among the oldest of human inventions.

[2] The use of copper seems to have begun among the peoples of the Orient before 5000 B.C. It is a soft metal, and tools and weapons made of it were not so greatly superior to the stone ones then in use as to put them out of service. But either by accident or through experiment it was discovered that by mixing about nine parts of copper with one part of tin a new metal, called bronze, much harder than either tin

Only gradually did primeval man learn the different uses to which fire might be put, just as historic man has only gradually learned the possible uses of electricity. By some happy accident or discovery he learned that it would harden clay, and he became a potter; that it would smelt ores, and he became a worker in metals; and that it would aid him in a hundred other ways. "Fire," says Joly, "presided at the birth of nearly every art, or quickened its progress." The place it holds in the development of the family, of religion, and of the industrial arts is revealed by these three significant words, — "the hearth, the altar, the forge." No other agent has contributed more to the progress of civilization. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how without fire primitive man could ever have emerged from the Age of Stone.

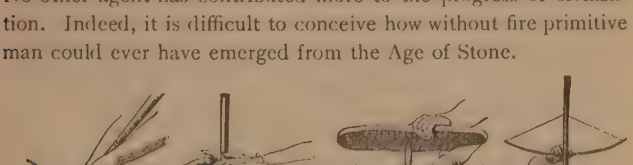

FIG. 5. — PRIMITIVE METHODS OF MAKING FIRE

8. The Domestication of Animals. — "When we visit a farm at the present day and observe the friendly nature of the life which goes on there, — the horse proudly and obediently bending his neck to his yoke; the cow offering her streaming udder to the milk-maid; the woolly flock going forth to the field, accompanied by their trusty protector, the dog, who comes fawning to his master, — this familiar intercourse between man and beast seems so natural that it is scarcely conceivable that things may once have been different.

or copper, could be made. So greatly superior were bronze to stone implements that their introduction caused the use of stone for tools and weapons to be discontinued, and consequently the Age of Bronze constitutes a well-defined and important epoch in the history of culture. Bronze seems to have been used by the first kings of Egypt, about 4500 B.C. From the East the metal was carried into Europe. Iron was already in use among the Oriental peoples about 1500 B.C., and was gradually introduced among the European tribes.

And yet in the picture we see only the final result of thousands and thousands of years of the work of civilization, the enormous importance of which simply escapes our notice because it is by everyday wonders that our amazement is least excited." [3]

The most of this work of inducing the animals of the fields and woods to become as it were members or dependents of the human family, to enter into a league of friendship with man and to become his helpers, was done by prehistoric man. When man appears in history, he appears surrounded by almost all the domestic animals known to us to-day. The horse was already his willing servant; the dog was his faithful companion; the sheep, the cow, and the goat shared his shelter with him.

The domestication of animals had such a profound effect upon human life and occupation that it marks the opening of a new epoch in history. The hunter became a shepherd, and the hunting stage in culture gave place to the pastoral.[4]

9. The Domestication of Plants. — Long before the dawn of history those peoples who were to play great parts in early historic times had advanced from the pastoral to the agricultural stage of culture. Just as the step from the hunting to the pastoral stage had been taken with the aid of a few of the most social species of animals, so had this second upward step been taken by means of the domestication of a few of the innumerable species of the seed grasses and plants growing wild in field and wood. Wheat and barley, two of the most important of the cereals, were probably first domesticated on the plains of Babylonia and from there carried over Asia and Europe.

The domestication of plants and the art of tilling the soil effected a great revolution in prehistoric society. The wandering life of the hunter and the herder now gave way to a settled mode of existence. Population thickened, villages grew into cities, great kingdoms were formed, and the political history of man began, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

[3] Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (London, 1890), p. 259.

[4] It is of interest to know that most of the wild stocks whence have come our domestic animals are of Old-World origin. See sec. 690, n. 6.

10. The Formation of Language. — Another great achievement of primitive man was the making of language, for, as Tylor observes, "the main work of language-making was done in the ages before history." Periods of time like geologic epochs must have been required for the formation, out of the scanty speech of the first men, of the rich and copious languages already upon the lips of the great peoples of antiquity, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Greeks and Romans, when they first appear in the morning light of history.

We need not dwell upon the inestimable value to man of the acquisition of language. Without it, so far as we can see, he must have remained forever in an unprogressive and savage or semi-savage state.

11. The Invention of Writing. — Still another achievement of prehistoric man, and after the making of language perhaps his greatest, was the invention of writing. There are two kinds of writing, — picture writing and phonetic or sound writing. In picture writing the characters are in the main rude pictures of material objects. This way of representing ideas seems natural to man. It is a form of writing still in use among some of the American Indians.

In phonetic writing the symbols represent sounds of the human voice. There are three stages. In the first stage each picture or symbol stands for a whole word. In such a system as this there must of course be as many characters or signs as there are words in the language represented. In working out their system of writing the Chinese stuck fast at this point (sec. 102).

In the second stage the symbols are used to represent syllables instead of words. This reduces at once the number of signs needed from many thousands to a few hundreds, since the words of any given language are formed by the combination of a comparatively small number of syllables. With between four and five hundred symbols the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, who used this form of writing, were able to represent all the words of their respective languages (sec. 49).

In the third stage the symbols are used to represent not syllables but elementary sounds of the human voice. Then the symbols

become true letters, a complete collection of which is called an alphabet, and the mode of writing alphabetic. This is the system of writing which we employ.

What people invented the first alphabet is unknown, but as early as the ninth century B.C. we find several Semitic peoples in possession of a true alphabet. Through the agency of traders this alphabet was spread east and west, and became the parent of most of the existing alphabets of the world (see 36).

With the invention of phonetic writing and the practice of keeping records, with names of actors and dates of events, the truly historic age for man begins.

12. **The Great Bequest.** — We of this twentieth century esteem ourselves fortunate in being the heirs of a noble heritage, the heirs of all the past. We are not used to thinking of the men of the first generation of historic times as also the heirs of a great legacy. But even the scanty review we have made of what was discovered and thought out by man during the long epochs before history began cannot fail to have impressed us with the fact that a vast bequest was made by prehistoric to historic man.

If our hasty glance at those far away times has done nothing more than this, then we shall never again regard history quite as may have been our wont. We shall see the story of man to be more wonderful than we once thought, the path which he has followed to be longer and more toilsome than we ever imagined. But our interest in the traveler will have been deepened through our knowing more of his origin, of his early hard and narrow life, and of his first painful steps in the path of civilization.

References. — KEARY, C. F., *The Dawn of Reason*. STARR, F., *Some First Steps in Human Progress*. TYLOR, E. B., *Anthropology*, chaps. ix and xi, "Language" and "Writing"; and *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols. LUBBOCK, J., *Prehistoric Times*. MASON, O. T., *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. JOLY, N., *Man Before Metals*. SHALER, N. S., *Prehistoric Animals*. HOFFMANN, W. J., *The Beginnings of Writing*. CLODD, E., *The Story of the Alphabet*. TAYLOR, I., *The Alphabet*, 2 vols. Parts of this work are obsolete; the theory of the Egyptian origin of the alphabet is now discredited.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The relation of domesticated animals to man's progress in civilization. See *Shaler*. 2. The origin of writing.

Part I

ANCIENT HISTORY

Division I — The Eastern Nations

CHAPTER II

RACES AND GROUPS OF PEOPLES AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

13. Subdivisions of the Historic Age. We begin now our study of the historic age, — a record of about seven thousand years. The story of these millenniums is usually divided into three parts, — Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Ancient History begins with the earliest nations of which we can gain any certain knowledge through written records, and extends to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, A.D. 476. Mediæval History embraces the period, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, A.D. 1492. Modern History commences with the close of the mediæval period and extends to the present time.[1]

14. The Races of Mankind in the Historic Period. Distinctions in bodily characteristics, such as form, color, and features, divide the human species into three chief types or races, known as the Black or Ethiopian Race, the Yellow or Mongolian Race, and the White or Caucasian Race.[2] But we must not suppose

[1] It is thought preferable by some scholars to let the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne (A.D. 800) mark the end of the period of ancient history. Some also prefer to date the beginning of the modern period from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453); while still others speak of it in a general way as commencing about the close of the fifteenth century, at which time there were many inventions and discoveries, and a great stir in the intellectual world.

[2] Some ethnologists reckon a greater number of types or races. The classification given is simply a convenient and practical one (see table, p. 13).

each of these three types to be sharply marked off from the others; they shade into one another by insensible gradations.

We assume the original unity of the human race. It is probable that the physical and mental differences of existing races arose through their progenitors having been subjected to different climatic influences and to different conditions of life through long periods of prehistoric time. There has been no perceptible change in the great types during the historic age. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and physiognomy.

FIG. 6. — NEGRO CAPTIVES (From the monuments of Thebes)
Illustrating the permanence of race characteristics

15. The Black Race. — Africa south of the Sahara is the home of the peoples of the Black Race, but we find them on all the other continents and on many of the islands of the seas, whither they have migrated or been carried as slaves by the stronger races; for since time immemorial they have been "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their more favored brethren.

16. The Yellow or Mongolian Race. — Eastern and Northern Asia is the central seat of the Mongolian Race. Many of the Mongolian tribes are pastoral nomads, who roam over the vast Asian plains north of the great ranges of the Himalayas. Their leading part in history has been to harass peoples of settled habits.

But the most important peoples of this type are the Japanese and Chinese. The latter constitute probably a fifth or more of the entire population of the earth. Already in times very remote the Chinese had developed a civilization quite advanced on various lines, but having reached a certain stage in culture they did not continue to make so marked a progress. Not until recent times did either the Chinese or the Japanese become a factor of significance in world history.

17. The White Race and its Three Groups. — The so-called White Race embraces the historic nations. The chief peoples of this division of mankind fall into three groups, — the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan or Indo-European. The members forming any one of these groups must not be looked upon as necessarily kindred in blood; the only certain bond uniting the peoples of each group is the bond of language.[3]

The ancient Egyptians were the chief people of the Hamitic branch. In the gray dawn of history we discover them already settled in the valley of the Nile, and there erecting great monuments so faultless in construction as to render it certain that those who planned them had had long training in the art of building.

The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Aramæans, and the Arabians. Most scholars regard Arabia as the original home of this family.[4] It is interesting to note that three great monotheistic religions — the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan — arose among peoples belonging to the Semitic family.

The Aryan-speaking peoples form the most widely dispersed group of the White Race. They include the ancient Greeks and Romans, all the peoples of modern Europe (save the Basques, the Finns and Lapps, the Hungarians, and the Ottoman Turks), together with the Persians, the Hindus, and some other Asian peoples.[5] After what we may call the Semitic age it is the

[3] In the case of the Semites and the Hamites, it is probable that the most of the peoples forming each group are in the main actually of the same stock.

[4] It is held by some, however, that the Semites at a very early time immigrated to Arabia from Africa, where they had lived in close relation with the Hamites. In successive waves they seem to have settled in the lands adjoining the Syro-Arabian desert, first the Babylonians and Assyrians, then apparently the Canaanitic and subsequently the Hebrew peoples, the Arabians and the Chaldæans, while Abyssinia clearly received its Semitic population from southwestern Arabia.

[5] Some scholars seek the early home of the primitive Aryan folk in Asia, others look for it in Europe, while still others declare the search to be wholly futile. Long before the dawn of history in Europe, and while they were yet in the Neolithic stage of culture, the clans and tribes of the hitherto undivided Aryan family began to separate and to spread abroad over the earth. This prehistoric Aryan expansion can

Aryan-speaking peoples that have borne the leading parts in the great drama of history.

References. — SCHRADER, O., *The Prehistoric Civilization of the Aryan Peoples.* RIPLEY, W. Z., *The Races of Europe.* IHERING, R. VON, *The Evolution of the Aryan.* KEANE, A. H., *Man, Past and Present.* DENIKER, J., *The Races of Man.* SERGI, G., *The Mediterranean Race.* All these works are for the teacher and the advanced student. BRINTON, D. G., *Races and Peoples*, and TAYLOR, G., *The Origin of the Aryans*, can be used by younger readers.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Causes of physical and mental differences between races. See *Brinton.* 2. The Aryans. See *Taylor.*

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best be made plain by the use of an historical parallel, — the Roman expansion. From their cradle city on the Tiber, the ancient Romans — a folk Aryan in speech if not in race — went out as conquerors and colonizers of the Mediterranean world. Wherever they went they carried their language and their civilization with them. Many of the peoples whom they subjected gave up their own speech, and along with the civilization of their conquerors adopted also their language. In this way a large part of the ancient world became Romanized in speech and culture. When the Roman Empire broke up, there arose a number of Latin-speaking nations, — among these, the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese. During the modern age these Romanized nations, through conquest and colonization, have spread their Latin speech and civilization over a great part of the New World. Thus it has come about that to-day the language of the ancient Romans, differentiated into many dialects, is spoken by peoples spread over the earth from Rumania in Eastern Europe to Chile in South America. All these peoples we call Latins, not because they are all descended from the ancient Romans, — in fact they belong to many different ethnic stocks, — but because they all speak languages derived from the old Roman speech. Just as we use the term Latin here, so do we use the term Aryan in connection with the Aryan-speaking peoples.

CHIEF RACES AND PEOPLES

The larger divisions (races) are based on physical characteristics, the smaller on language.

- **Black Race** (Ethiopian or Negro) — Tribes and peoples whose true home is Central and Southern Africa.
- **Yellow Race** (Mongolian or "Turanian") — (1) The Chinese, Japanese, and kindred peoples of Eastern Asia; (2) the nomads (Tartars, Mongols, etc.) of Northern and Central Asia and of Eastern Russia; (3) the Turks, the Magyars, or Hungarians, the Finns and Lapps, and the Basques, in Europe.
- **White Race** (Caucasian)
  - Hamites
    - Egyptians
    - Libyans (modern Berbers)
  - Semites
    - Babylonians
    - Assyrians
    - Phœnicians
    - Hebrews
    - Aramæans
    - Arabians
  - Aryans, or Indo-Europeans
    - Asiatics
      - Hindus
      - Medes
      - Persians
    - Classical peoples
      - Greeks
      - Romans
    - Celts
      - Gauls
      - Britons
      - Scots (Irish)
      - Picts
    - Teutons
      - Germans
      - English
      - Scandinavians
    - Slavs
      - Russians
      - Poles, etc.

The Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Bretons of Brittany, in France, are the present representatives of the ancient Celts. For something concerning the formation of the modern Latin and Teutonic or Germanic nations, see Chapters XXXVII and XXXIX.

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT EGYPT

(From about 5000 to 30 B.C.)

I. Political History

18. Egypt and the Nile. — The Egypt of history comprises the Delta of the Nile and the flood plains of its lower course. These rich lands were formed in past geologic ages from the sediment brought down by the river in seasons of flood. The Delta was known to the ancients as Lower Egypt, while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the Delta to the First Cataract, a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized; hence the Greek historian Herodotus, in a happy phrase, called the country "the gift of the Nile." Swollen by heavy tropical rains and the melting snows of the mountains about its sources, the Nile begins to rise in its lower parts late in June, and towards the first of October, when the inundation has attained its greatest height, the country presents the appearance of a turbid sea.

Fig. 7. — Plowing and Sowing
(From a papyrus)

By the end of November the river has returned to its bed, leaving the fields covered with a film of rich earth. In a few weeks after the sowing of the grain, the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is overspread with a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast to the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

19. Climate and Products. — In Lower Egypt, near the sea, the rainfall in the winter is abundant; but the climate of Upper

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Gaza
Dead Sea
Raphia
Rosetta Mouth
Canopus
Alexandria
Damietta Mouth
Sais
Ayaris
Tanis
Pelusium
Naucratis
LOWER EGYPT
Pithom
GOSHEN
Heliopolis
PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH
Memphis
ARABIA
Lake Moeris
FAYUM
Nile River
MT. SINAI
LIBYA
UPPER EGYPT
Antinoe
TOMBS OF BENI HASSAN
Tell el-Amarna
RED SEA
This or Abydos
Thebes
(Karnak and Luxor)
THE THEBAID
Nile River
First Cataract
Syene
Elephantine
I. Philæ
ANCIENT EGYPT
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
Scale of Miles
Longitude east from Paris
Abu Simbel
or Ipsambul
ETHIOPIA
(NUBIA)
Second Cataract
32
30
28
26
24
22

Egypt is all but rainless, only a few slight showers, as a rule, falling throughout the year. This dryness of the Egyptian air is what has preserved through so many thousand years, in such wonderful freshness of color and with such sharpness of outline, the numerous paintings and sculptures of the monuments of the country.

The climate of Egypt is semi-tropical in character. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow luxuriantly. From early times the land was the granary of the East. To it less favored countries, when stricken by famine, — a calamity so common in the East in regions dependent upon the rainfall, — looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

20. The Thirty-One Dynasties. — The Pharaohs, or kings, that reigned in Egypt from Menes till the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) are grouped into thirty-one dynasties. Thirty of these we find in the lists of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., and who compiled in the Greek language a chronicle of the kings of the country. The history of these thirty-one dynasties covers a period of upwards of four thousand years.

21. Menes, and the First Three Dynasties (about 4500–3700 B.C.). — Menes was the founder of the so-called First Dynasty. Tradition represents him as the builder of the great city of Memphis, near the head of the Delta. Recently there have been found monuments not only of this king but also of several other Pharaohs of the first three dynasties. Thus slowly is the material for the history of these remote times being accumulated.

22. The Fourth Dynasty: the Pyramid Kings (about 3700–3550 B.C.). — The kings of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis, are called the pyramid builders. Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks, was the greatest of these rulers. He built the Great Pyramid, at Gizeh, — "the greatest mass of masonry that has ever been put together by mortal man."[1]

[1] This pyramid rises from a base covering thirteen acres to a height of four hundred and fifty feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed one hundred thousand men for twenty years in its erection.

A recent fortunate discovery enables us now to look upon the face of this Cheops (Fig. 8), one of the earliest and most renowned personages of the ancient world. "As far as force of will goes," says Professor Flinders Petrie, "the strongest characters in history would look pliable in this presence. . . . There is no face quite parallel to this in all the portraits that we know, — Egyptian, Greek, Roman, or modern."

FIG. 8. — KHUFU, BUILDER OF THE GREAT PYRAMID

The pyramids are among the most venerable memorials of the early world that have been preserved to us. Although standing so far back in the gray dawn of the historic morning, they mark not the beginning but in some respects the perfection of Egyptian art. They speak of long periods of human life, of ages of growth and experience, lying behind the era they represent. It is this vast and mysterious background that impresses us even more than these giant forms cast up against it.

23. **The Twelfth Dynasty** (about 2500–2300 B.C.). — After the Sixth Dynasty, Egypt for several centuries is almost lost from view. When finally the valley emerges from the obscurity of this period, the old capital, Memphis, has receded into the background and the city of Thebes has taken its place as the seat of the royal power.

The period of the Twelfth Dynasty, a line of Theban kings, is one of the brightest in Egyptian history. It has been called Egypt's Golden Age. One of the most notable achievements of the period was the improvement made by one of the kings in the irrigation of the Fayum from Lake Mœris (see map, p. 14), a lake formed by the Nile flowing into a depression in the desert west of Memphis.

FIG. 9. — THE "SHEIKH-EL-BELED." (Gizeh Museum)

Supposed portrait statue of one of the overseers of the work on the Great Pyramid. This is one of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture

24. The Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings (about 1985–1575 B.C.). — Soon after the bright period of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt again suffered a great eclipse. Nomadic tribes from Asia pressed across the eastern frontier of Egypt and gradually took possession of the inviting pasture lands of the Delta, and established there the empire of the Shepherd Kings. It is thought by some scholars that it was during the supremacy of the Hyksos that the families of Israel found a refuge in Lower Egypt. At last these intruders, after a hard struggle, were expelled by the Theban kings and driven back into Asia.

Various elements of the civilization which had long been developing independently in the Asian lands were introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. Among these elements we may quite safely include the horse and the war chariot, since these now appear for the first time upon the monuments of the country. From this period forward the war chariot holds a place of first importance in the armaments of the Pharaohs.

25. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (about 1575–1253 B.C.). — It is the deeds and architectural works of the Pharaohs of these two celebrated dynasties that have contributed largely to give Egypt her great name and place in history. The most

eventful and memorable period in Egyptian history, a period covered by what is called the New Empire,[2] now opens.

One of the greatest kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty[3] was Thothmes III (about 1500–1450 B.C.). He has been called "the Alexander of Egyptian history." During his reign the empire reached its greatest expansion. In Asia Thothmes' authority extended beyond the Euphrates.

The two most renowned rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty were Seti I (about 1356–1347 B.C.) and Rameses II (about 1347–1280 B.C.). Seti was a great warrior. One of the most important of his campaigns was that against the Hittites (*Khita* in the inscriptions) and their allies. The Hittites were a powerful non-Semitic people, whose capital was Carchemish on the Euphrates, and whose strength and influence were now so great as to be a threat to Egyptian dominion in Syria.[4]

Rameses II, surnamed the Great, was the Sesostris of the Greeks. The chief of his wars were those against the Hittites, of whom we have just spoken. He evidently failed to break their power, for we find him at last concluding with them a celebrated treaty. In this treaty the chief of the Hittites is called "The Great King of the Khita," and is formally recognized as in every respect the equal of the king of Egypt.

[2] The so-called New Empire embraces the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first dynasties. The first ten dynasties comprise the Old Empire, and the next seven the Middle Empire.

[3] The name of one of the sovereigns of this Eighteenth Dynasty (the "heretic king," Amenhotep IV, or Akhenaten, 1403–1385 B.C.) is connected with one of the most interesting and important discoveries ever made on Oriental ground. This was the discovery in 1887, at Tell-el-Amarna, on the Nile, of several hundred letters, written in the Babylonian language and script and comprising the correspondence, not only between the reigning Pharaoh and the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, but also between the Egyptian court and the Egyptian governors and vassal kings of various Syrian towns. The significance of this discovery consists in the revelation it makes of the deep hold that the civilization of Babylon had upon the Syrian lands centuries before the Hebrew invasion of Palestine.

[4] We know very little about this people, save that for several centuries they divided with Egypt and Assyria the dominion of Western Asia. They had a system of hieroglyphic writing and left some inscriptions, but these have not yet been deciphered. Interesting and extensive remains of one of their great cities lie on the uplands of Asia Minor.

It is the opinion of some scholars that this Rameses II was the oppressor of the children of Israel, the Pharaoh who "made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field" (Ex. i. 14), and that what is known as the Exodus took place in the reign of his son, Menephtha (about 1275 B.C.).

26. The Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (663–525 B.C.). — We pass without comment a long period of several centuries. During the latter part of this time Egypt was tributary to Ethopia or to Assyria; but a native prince, Psammetichus by name, with the

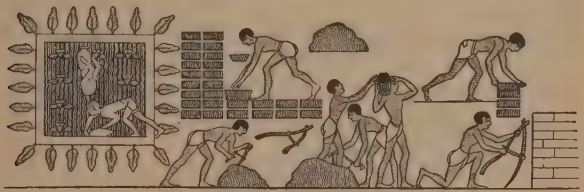


FIG. 10. — BRICK MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT. (From Thebes)

aid of Greek mercenaries, drove out the foreign garrisons, and became the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (about 663 B.C.).

The reign of this monarch marks a new era in Egyptian history. He reversed the policy of the past and threw open the country to the commerce and influences of the world. This change of policy, occurring at just the period when the Greeks were coming prominently forward to play their great part in history, was a most significant event. From this time on Greek philosophers are represented as becoming pupils of the Egyptian priests; and without question the learning and philosophy of the old Egyptians exercised a profound influence upon the open, receptive mind of the Greek race, that was, in its turn, to become the teacher of the world.

The son of Psammetichus, Necho II (610–594 B.C.), followed the liberal policy marked out by his father. In order to be able to bring together at any time his war ships either in the Red Sea or in the Mediterranean, he attempted to reopen an old canal uniting

the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been dug by earlier Pharaohs, but had now become unnavigable. Failing in this undertaking, he fitted out an expedition for the circumnavigation of Africa, in hopes of finding a natural water way connecting the two seas.

The expedition, we have reason to believe, actually accomplished the feat of sailing around the continent; for the historian Herodotus, in his account of the enterprise, says that the voyagers upon their return reported that, when they were rounding the cape, the sun was on their right hand (to the north). This feature of the report, which led Herodotus to disbelieve it, is to us the very strongest evidence possible that the voyage was really performed.

27. **The Last of the Pharaohs.** — Before the end of Necho's reign Egypt became tributary to Babylon, and a little later bowed beneath the Persian yoke (sec. 89). From about the middle of the fourth century B.C. to the present day no native prince has sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs.

"The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civilization in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to other peoples of the West."

II. Religion, Arts, and General Culture

28. **Classes of Society.** — Egyptian society was divided into three chief classes,[6] — priests, soldiers, and common people; the last embracing shepherds, husbandmen, shopkeepers, and artisans.

The sacerdotal order consisted of priests, prophets, scribes, sacred sculptors, masons, and embalmers. They enjoyed freedom from taxation, and met the expenses of the temple service mainly from the income of the sacred lands, which are said to have embraced one third of the soil of the country.

The priests were extremely scrupulous in the care of their persons. They bathed twice by day and twice by night, and shaved the entire body every third day. Their inner clothing was linen, woolen garments being thought unclean; their diet was plain and

[6] These divisions are more properly designated as classes than castes. For the characteristic features of the latter, as existing among the Hindus, see sec. 97.

even abstemious, in order that, as an old Greek writer explains, "their bodies might sit light as possible about their souls."

Next to the priesthood in rank and honor stood the military order. Like the priests, the soldiers formed a landed class. To each soldier was given a tract of about eight acres, exempt from all taxes.

29. **The Egyptian System of Writing.** — Perhaps the greatest achievement of the ancient Egyptians was the working out of a

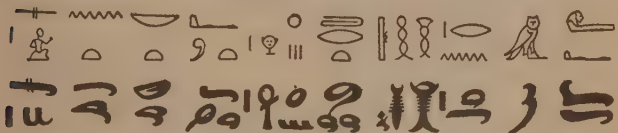


FIG. 11. — FORMS OF EGYPTIAN WRITING. (After *Hommel*)

The top line is hieroglyphic script; the bottom line is the same text in hieratic

system of writing. By the opening of the fifth millennium B.C. they had developed a very curious and complex system, which was partly picture writing and partly alphabetic writing.

Just as we have two forms of letters, one for printing and another for writing, so the Egyptians employed three forms of script: the *hieroglyphic*, in which the pictures and symbols were carefully drawn, — a form generally employed in monumental inscriptions; the *hieratic*, a simplified form of the hieroglyphic, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and the *demotic* or *enchorial*, a still further simplification of the hieratic form.

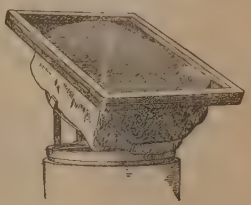


FIG. 12. — THE ROSETTA STONE

30. **The Rosetta Stone and the Key to Egyptian Writing.** — The key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, which was found by the French when they invaded Egypt in 1798. This precious relic, a heavy block of black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds an inscription in the

Egyptian and the Greek language, which is written in three different forms of script, — in the Egyptian hieroglyphic and demotic and in Greek characters. The chief credit of deciphering the Egyptian script and of opening up the long-sealed libraries of Egyptian learning is commonly allotted to the French scholar Champollion.

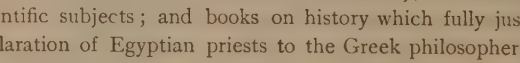
31. **Egyptian Literature.** — The literature opened up to us by the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is varied and instructive, revealing as it does the life and thought and scientific attainments of old Egypt at a time when the Greek world was yet young. There is the ancient *Book of the Dead*,[6] intended for the use and instruction of the soul in its perilous journey to the realms of the blessed in the nether world; there are novels or romances and fairy tales, among which are "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper," and a story written expressly for the amusement of the little son of Rameses II; treatises on medicine, astronomy, and various other scientific subjects; and books on history which fully justify the declaration of Egyptian priests to the Greek philosopher Solon:

FIG. 13. — TWO ROYAL NAMES IN HIEROGLYPHICS

It was the first of these names which gave the clew to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic script. Through a comparison of the two the values of several symbols were definitely determined.[7]

[6] The chief writing material used by the ancient Egyptians was the noted papyrus paper, made from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water channels of the Nile. From the names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* and *papyrus*, come our words "Bible" and "paper."

[7] The twelve hieroglyphics used in writing these names have the following values:



With these the reader will easily decipher the names. It should be noted that the last two signs in the longer word are used merely to indicate that the word is a feminine proper name, and that for the sake of symmetry one symbol is sometimes placed beneath another. The upper sign should be taken first.

"You Greeks are mere children, talkative and vain; you know nothing at all of the past."

32. **The Egyptian Gods.** — The Egyptians were polytheists, that is, worshipers of many gods. Their divinities were often grouped in triads. First in importance among these groups was that formed by Osiris, Isis (his wife and sister), and Horus, their son. The members of this triad were worshiped throughout Egypt.

The god Set, called Typhon by the Greek writers, was the Satan of Egyptian mythology. While the beneficent Osiris was symbolized by the life-giving Nile, the malignant Typhon was emblemized by the terrors and barrenness of the desert.

33. **Animal Worship.** — The Egyptians regarded certain animals as emblems of the gods, and hence worshiped them. To kill one of these sacred animals was adjudged the greatest impiety. The scarab or beetle was especially sacred, being considered an emblem of life. Not only were various animals held sacred, as being the emblems of certain deities, but some were thought to be real gods. Thus the soul of Osiris, it was imagined, animated the body of some bull, which might be known from certain spots and markings. The body of the deceased bull, or Apis, as he was called, was carefully embalmed, and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, deposited in the tomb of his predecessors.

FIG. 14. — MUMMY OF A SACRED BULL
(From a photograph)

Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of such a debased form of worship among so cultured a people as the ancient Egyptians. Probably the sacred animals in the later worship represent a primitive stage of the Egyptian religion.

34. **The Egyptian Doctrine of a Future Life.** — Among no other people of antiquity did the life beyond the tomb seem so real

and hold so large a place in the thoughts of the living as among the Egyptians. This belief in a future life, taken in connection with certain ideas respecting the needs of the soul, reacted in a remarkable way upon the earthly life of the people of ancient Egypt. It was the cause and motive of many of the things they did.

35. **The Embalmment of the Body.** — The first need of the soul was the possession of the old body, upon the preservation of which the existence or at least the welfare of the soul was thought to depend. Hence the anxious care with which the Egyptians sought to preserve the body against decay by embalming it.

In the various processes of embalming, use was made of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen. To a body thus treated is applied the term "mummy."

To this practice of the Egyptians of embalming their dead we owe it that we can look upon the actual faces of many of the ancient Pharaohs. Towards the close of the last century (in 1881) the mummies of nearly all the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first dynasties were found in a secret rock chamber near Thebes. The faces of Seti and Rameses, both strong faces, are so remarkably preserved that, in the words of Maspero, "were their subjects to return to the earth to-day they could not fail to recognize their old sovereigns."

FIG. 15. — PROFILE OF RAMESES II. (From a photograph of the mummy)

36. **The Pyramids as Sepulchers; the Rock-Hewn Tombs.** — The same belief which led to the embalmment of the body led also to the construction of secure and magnificent tombs. Upon the temporary homes of the living the Egyptians bestowed little care, but upon the "eternal abodes" of the dead they lavished unstinted labor

and cost. The tombs of the official class and of the rich were structures of brick and stone, or chambers cut in the limestone cliffs that rim the Nile valley. The bodies of the earlier Pharaohs were hidden away in the heart of great mountains of stone, — the pyramids. Many of the later Pharaohs constructed for themselves magnificent rock-cut tombs. In the cliffs of a valley back of Thebes there are so many of these royal sepulchers that the place has been called the "Westminster Abbey of Egypt."

37. **"The Accompanying Gifts" or the "Dowery of the Dead."** — We have seen that the first need of the soul was the preservation of the old body. Along with the mummy there were often placed in the tomb a number of wood, clay, or gold portrait statuettes of the deceased. The lid of the coffin was also carved in the form of a mummy. The idea here was that, if through any accident the body were destroyed, the soul on its return to earth might avail itself of these substitutes. It was the effort put forth by the artist to make these portrait images and carvings lifelike that contributed to bring early Egyptian sculpture to such a high degree of excellence.

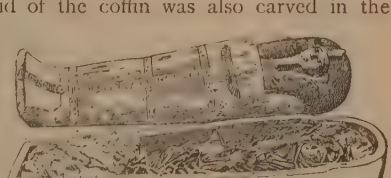


FIG. 16. — MUMMY CASE WITH MUMMY

The soul had need also of food and drink, and of everything else that the deceased had needed while on earth. Hence all these things were put in the tomb. But as it was only the spirit or double of the things thus set out which the soul could make use of,[8] it came to be believed that a picture or an inexpensive model of these objects in wood or clay would serve just as well as the actual objects themselves. Thus the pictures of different kinds of food and drink supplied the soul with "an unsubstantial yet satisfying repast"; the representation of a vineyard provided

[8] Compare the thought of the savage who breaks the bow or other weapon placed in the grave with the body of its former owner, in order that its spirit may be released.

it with a vineyard in the Osirian land; the picture of a boat made possible a pleasure sail on the celestial Nile.

It was this belief which covered the walls of the Egyptian tombs with those bas-reliefs and paintings which have converted for us these chambers of the dead into picture galleries where the Egypt of the Pharaohs rises again into life before our eyes.

38. **The Judgment of the Dead and the Negative Confession.** — Death was a great equalizer among the Egyptians; king and peasant alike must appear before the dread tribunal of Osiris and render an account of the deeds done in the body. Here the soul sought justification in such declarations as these, which form what

FIG. 17. — THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD. (From a papyrus)
Showing the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the scales of truth

is called the Negative Confession: "I have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain any one treacherously"; "I have not slandered any one or made false accusation"; "I have not reviled the face of my father"; "I have not eaten my heart through with envy."[9]

In other declarations of the soul we find a singularly close approach to Christian morality, as for instance in this: "I have given bread to the hungry and drink to him who was athirst; I have clothed the naked with garments."

[9] See Deut. v. 11, 19, 17, 20, 16, 21.

The truth of what the soul thus asserted in its own behalf was tested by the balances of the gods. In one of the scales was placed the heart of the deceased; in the other, a symbol of truth or righteousness. The soul stood by watching the weighing. If the heart were found not light, the soul was welcomed to the companionship of the good Osiris. The fate of the unjustified seems to have been annihilation. This judgment scene in the nether world forms the most instructive memorial of old Egypt that has been preserved to us. We here learn what sort of a conscience the Egyptian had developed by the dawn of history; for the confession and the doctrine of a coming judgment date from the earliest period of Egyptian civilization.

39. **Architecture, Sculpture, and Minor Arts.** — At a comparatively early period Egyptian civilization ceased to be progressive. The past was taken as a model, just as it is in China to-day. So what is here said of the arts is, speaking broadly, as true of them in the third millennium before Christ, or even earlier, as at any later period of Egyptian history.

In the building art the ancient Egyptians, in some respects, have never been surpassed. The Memphian pyramids built by the earlier and the Theban temples raised by the later Pharaohs have excited the astonishment and the admiration alike of all the successive generations that have looked upon them.

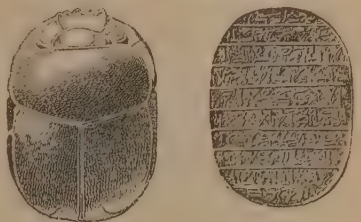


FIG. 18. — A SCARAB AMULET

In the cutting and shaping of enormous blocks of the hardest stone, the Egyptians achieved results which modern stonecutters can scarcely equal. "It is doubtful," says Rawlinson, "whether the steam-sawing of the present day could be trusted to produce in ten years from the quarries of Aberdeen a single obelisk such as those which the Pharaohs set up by dozens"

Egyptian sculpture seems to have grown out of pictorial writing. The figure or character, at first a mere outline drawing, was after a time cut into the rock surface, and next the rock was chiseled away so as to leave the figure in low relief. Sculpture was at its best in the earliest period; that it became imitative, unprogressive, and rigid was due to the influence of religion, the artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, not being allowed to change a single line of the sacred form.

In many of the minor arts the Egyptians attained a surprisingly high degree of excellence. In gem cutting they showed wonderful skill. The sacred scarabæus (beetle) was reproduced with linings so delicate that it is almost certain that magnifying glasses were used in the work.

40. **The Sciences: Astronomy, Geometry, and Medicine.** — The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt invited the inhabitants of the Nile valley to the study of the heavenly bodies. And another circumstance closely related to their very existence, the inundation of the Nile, following the changing cycles of the stars, could not but have incited them to the watching and predicting of astronomical movements. Their observations led them to discover the length, very nearly, of the sidereal year, which they made to consist of 365 days, every fourth year adding one day, making the number for that year 366. This was the calendar that Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Empire, and which, slightly reformed by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, has been the system employed by almost all the civilized world up to the present day (sec. 387).

The Greeks accounted for the rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by the necessity they were under of reëstablishing each year the boundaries of their fields, — the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success.

The Egyptian physicians relied largely on magic, for every ailment was supposed to be caused by a demon that must be expelled by means of magical rites and incantations. But they also used drugs of various kinds; the characters employed by modern

apothecaries to designate grains and drams are of Egyptian invention.

41. Egypt's Contribution to Civilization. — Egypt, we thus see, made valuable gifts to civilization. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later culture of the peoples of Western Asia, of the Greeks and Romans, and of the nations of modern Europe. "We are the heirs of the civilized past," says Sayce, "and a goodly portion of that civilized past was the creation of ancient Egypt."

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The *Book of the Dead*. There is a translation by Budge and another by Davis. 2. The ancient water system. 3. The nature of the government. 4. The myth of Osiris.

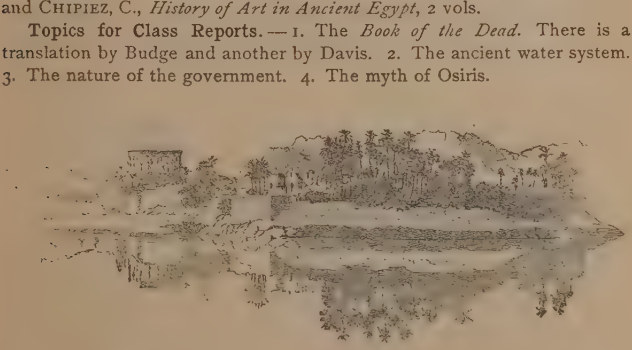


FIG. 19. — PHILÆ, "THE PEARL OF EGYPT"

FIG. 20. — THE BABIL MOUND AT BABYLON AS IT APPEARED IN 1811

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY CITY-STATES OF BABYLONIA AND THE OLD BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

(From about 5000 to 1100 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

42. The Tigris and Euphrates Valley; the Upper and the Lower Country. — We must now trace the upspringing of civilization in Babylonia, "the Asian Egypt." As in the case of Egypt, so in that of the Tigris and Euphrates valley,[1] the physical features of the country had a great influence upon the history of its peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district; and this twofold physical division is reflected, as we shall see, throughout its political history.

The northern part of the valley, the portion that comprised ancient Assyria, consists of undulating plains, broken in places by mountain ridges. This region nourished a hardy and warlike race, and became the seat of a great military empire.

[1] See map, p. 42. The ancient Greeks gave to the land embraced by the Tigris and the Euphrates the name of Mesopotamia, which means "the land between the rivers."

The southern part of the valley, the part known as Babylonia or Chaldea, is, like the Delta region of Egypt, an alluvial deposit. The making of new land by the rivers has gone on steadily during historic times. The ruins of one of the ancient seaports of the country (Eridu) lie over a hundred miles inland from the present head of the Persian Gulf. In ancient times the land was protected against the river floods, and watered in seasons of drought, by a

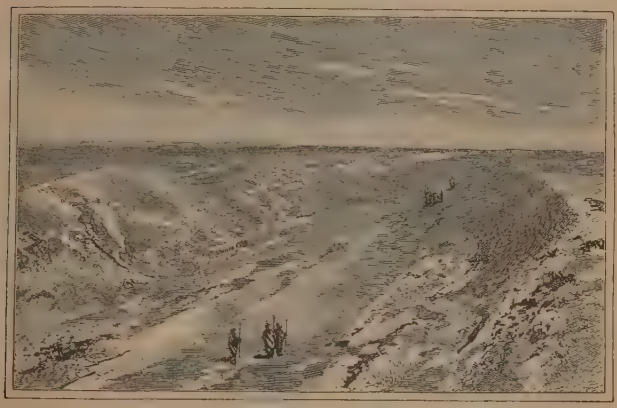


FIG. 21. — ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CANAL

stupendous system of dikes and canals, which at the present day, in a ruined and sand-choked condition, cover like a network the face of the country.

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these river flats excited the wonder of the Greek travelers who visited the East. Herodotus will not tell the whole truth for fear his veracity may be doubted. It is not strange that tradition should have located here Paradise, that primeval garden "out of the ground of which God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food." This favored plain in a remote period of antiquity became the seat of an agricultural, industrial, and

commercial population among which the arts of civilized life found probably their very earliest development.

43. **The Babylonians a Mixed People.** — The original inhabitants of Babylonia are thought by the majority of Assyrian scholars to have belonged to a non-Semitic race, and are generally known as Sumerians, from Sumer, the name of one of the ancient divisions of the country. These people are believed to have laid the basis of civilization in the Euphrates valley.

At a very early time there seem to have come into the country from Arabia immigrants of Semitic race. These foreigners were nomadic in habits, and much less cultured than the Sumerians. Gradually they adopted the arts of the people among whom they had settled, retaining, however, their own speech, which in the course of time superseded that of the original inhabitants. The union of the two races formed the Babylonians of history.

44. **The Age of City-States** (about 5000–2250 B.C.); **Sargon I** (about 3800 B.C.). — When the light of history first falls upon the Mesopotamian lands, that is about 5000 B.C., it reveals the lower river plain filled with city-states like those which we find later in Greece and in Italy. Each city had its patron god and was ruled by a king. From the old Babylonian libraries (sec. 50) patient scholars are gradually reading the wonderful story of these ancient cities, probably the oldest built by man. The political side of their history may, for our present purpose, be summarized by saying that for a period of almost three millenniums these records, as far as they have become known to us, are annals of wars waged for supremacy by one city and its gods against other cities and their gods.

Of all the kings whose names have already been recovered from the monuments we shall here speak only of Sargon I, a Semitic king of Agade, whose reign forms a great landmark in early Babylonian history. An inscription makes this king to have reigned as early as 3800 B.C. He built up a powerful state in Babylonia and extended his rule to the Mediterranean.

Yet not as a warrior but as a patron of letters is Sargon destined to a sure place in history. He caused to be collected

and edited the literature of the early period, and deposited the books in great libraries, which he established or enlarged, — the oldest and most valuable libraries of the ancient world.

45. **The Rise of Babylon: Hammurabi founds the Old Babylonian Empire** (about 2250 B.C.).— From the remotest times the city-states of Babylonia had for enemies the kings of Elam, a country bordering Babylonia on the east, and of which Susa was the capital. For centuries at a time the Elamite kings held the cities of the plain in a state of more or less complete vassalage. Their dominion was finally broken by a king of Babylon, a city which had been gradually rising into prominence, and which was to give to the whole country the name by which it is best known — Babylonia. The name of this king was Hammurabi (about 2250 B.C.). He united under his rule all the cities of Babylonia, and became the true founder of what is known as the Old Babylonian Empire.

FIG. 22. — IMPRESSION OF A SEAL OF SARGON I. (Date about 3800 B.C.)

"Must be ranked among the masterpieces of Oriental engraving" (Maspero)

Hammurabi has been called the Babylonian Moses, for the reason that he promulgated a code of laws which in some respects is remarkably like the Mosaic code of the Hebrews (sec. 56).

46. **The Old Babylonian Empire eclipsed by the Rising Assyrian Empire.** — For more than fifteen hundred years after Hammurabi, Babylon continued to be the political and commercial center of an empire of changing dynasties and shifting frontiers. Meanwhile a Semitic power had been slowly developing in the North. This was the Assyrian Empire, the later heart and center of which was the great city of Nineveh. For a long time Assyria was practically a province of the lower kingdom; but in 728 B.C. Babylonia was conquered by an Assyrian king and passed under Assyrian control.

II. Arts and General Culture

47. The Remains of the Babylonian Cities, Palaces, and Temples. — The Babylonian plains are dotted with enormous mounds, often inclosed by vast ramparts of earth. These "heaps" are the remains of the great walled cities, the palaces, and the temples of the ancient Babylonians. The peculiar nature of these ruins arises from the character of the ancient Babylonian edifices and the kind of building material used in their construction.

In the first place, in order to secure for their temples and palaces a firm foundation on the water-soaked land, as well as to lend to them a certain dignity or to render them more easily defended, the Babylonian kings raised their public buildings on enormous platforms of earth or adobe. These structures were often many acres in extent and were raised generally to a height of forty or more feet above the level of the plain.

Upon these immense platforms were built the temples[2] of the gods and the palaces of the kings. The country affording neither timber nor stone, recourse was had to sun-dried bricks as the chief building material, burnt brick being used, in the main, only for the outer casing of the walls. The buildings were one-storied, with thick and heavy walls, and with roofs of huge cedar beams.

In their decay these edifices have sunk down into great heaps of earth, which the storms of centuries have furrowed with deep ravines, giving many of them the appearance of natural ruin-crowned hills, for which in truth some of the earlier visitors to Babylonia mistook them.

48. Excavations and Discoveries. — About the middle of the nineteenth century some mounds of the upper country, near and on the site of ancient Nineveh, were excavated, and the world was astonished to see rising as from the tomb the palaces of the great Assyrian kings (sec. 63). This was the beginning of excavations and discoveries in the Mesopotamian lands which during

[2] A peculiar architectural feature of the temple was an immense *ziggurat* or tower, which consisted of a number of stages or platforms raised one upon another in the form of a great step pyramid.

the past half century have restored the history of long-forgotten empires and given us a new beginning for universal history.

Some of the most important finds in Babylonia were made during the closing years of the nineteenth century by the Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, on the site of the ancient Nippur. The excavation here of the ruins of the great temple of Bel brought to light remains which prove that this city was one of the

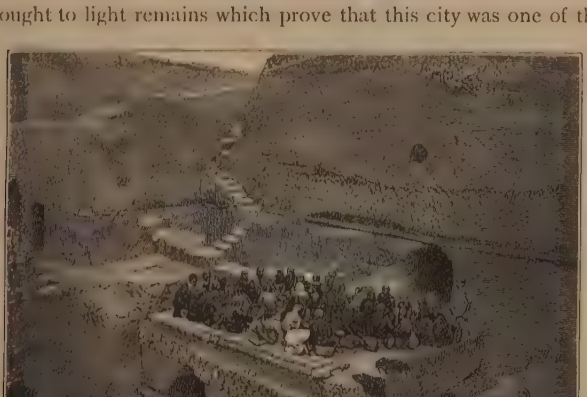


FIG. 23. EXCAVATION SHOWING PAVEMENTS IN A COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF BEL AT NIPPUR. (After *Hilprecht*)

The lower pavement, marked "1," was put down by Sargon I and Naram-Sin (about 3800 B.C.), and the upper one, marked "5," by the Assyrian king Asshur-bani-pal (668–626? B.C.). The pavements are thus separated by a period of over 3000 years

religious centers of the old Babylonian world for more than four thousand years, — a period more than twice as long as that during which Rome has been the religious center of Catholic Christendom.

One of the most valuable things unearthed at Nippur was the temple library. But to appreciate the import of this a word is here necessary concerning the Babylonian system of writing and its decipherment.

49. **Cuneiform Writing.** — From the earliest period known to us, the Babylonians were in possession of a system of phonetic writing. To this system the term *cuneiform* (from *cuneus*, a

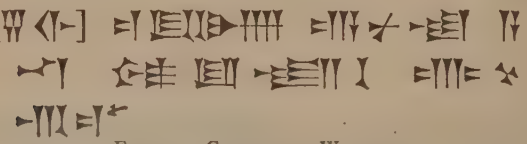


FIG. 24. — CUNEIFORM WRITING

Translation: "Five thousand mighty cedars I spread for its roof"

wedge) has been given on account of its wedge-shaped characters. The signs assumed this peculiar form from being impressed upon soft clay tablets with a triangular writing instrument.

	MEANING	OUTLINE CHARACTER, B. C. 4500	ARCHAIC CUNEIFORM, B. C. 2500	ASSYRIAN, B. C. 700	LATE BABYLONIAN, B. C. 500
1.	The sun				
2.	God, heaven				
3.	Mountain				
4.	Man				
5.	Ox				
6.	Fish				

FIG. 25. — TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CUNEIFORM WRITING. (After *King*).

This system of writing had been developed out of an earlier system of picture writing, as is plainly shown by a comparison of the earlier with the later forms of the characters (Fig. 25). The

Babylonians never developed the system beyond the syllabic stage (sec. 11). They employed a syllabary of between four and five hundred signs.[3]

This mode of writing was in use among the peoples of Western Asia from about 5000 B.C. down to the first century preceding our era. For the first four thousand years and more of this period it was just such an important factor in the civilization of the Semitic world as the Phœnician alphabet (sec. 86) during the last three thousand years has been in the civilization of the Aryan world. It was the chief corner stone of Semitic culture.

50. Books and Libraries. — The writing material of the Babylonians was usually clay tablets, averaging perhaps six inches in length, three in width, and one in thickness. Those holding records of special importance, after having been once written upon and baked, were covered with a thin coating of clay, and then the matter was written in duplicate and the tablets again baked. If the outer writing were defaced by accident or altered by design, the removal of the outer coating would at once show the true text.

FIG. 26. — CONTRACT TABLET

The outer case has been broken to show the inner version

The tablets were carefully preserved in great public libraries. There was one or more of these collections in each of the chief cities of Babylonia. The temple library found at Nippur contained over thirty thousand tablets.

51. Decipherment of the Cuneiform Writing; Contents of the Libraries. — Just as the key to the Egyptian writing was found by means of bilingual inscriptions, so was the key to the cuneiform script discovered by means of trilingual inscriptions, among which was a very famous one cut by a Persian king on the so-called Behistun Rock (sec. 90). Credit for the decipherment of the difficult writing is divided among several scholars.[4] We will say

[3] The Persians at a much later time borrowed the system and developed it into a purely alphabetic one. Their alphabet consisted of thirty-six characters.

[4] Among these, Grotefend and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

just a word of what the tablets reveal respecting the religion and mythology of the Babylonians, and of the state of the sciences among them.

52. **The Religion.** — At the earliest period made known to us by the native records, we find the pantheon to embrace many local deities (the patron gods of the different cities) and nature gods; but at no period do we find a Supreme God The most prominent feature from first to last of the popular religion was the belief in spirits, particularly in wicked spirits, and the practice of magic rites and incantations to avert the malign influence of these demons. A second important feature of the religion was what is known as astrology, or the foretelling of events by the aspect of the stars. This side of the religious system was most elaborately and ingeniously developed until the fame of the Chaldean astrologers was spread throughout the ancient world.

Alongside these low beliefs and superstitious practices there existed, however, higher and purer elements. This is best illustrated by the so-called penitential psalms, dating, some of them, from the second millennium B.C., which breathe a spirit like that which pervades the penitential psalms of the Old Testament.[5]

53. **Ideas of the Future Life.** — The beliefs of the Babylonians respecting the other world were in strange contrast to those of the Egyptians. In truth they gave but little thought to the after life; and it is no wonder that they did not like to keep the subject in mind, for they imagined the life after death to be most sad and doleful. The abode of the dead (Arallu), the "dark land," the "land of no return," was a dusky region beneath the earth. Bats flitted about in the dim light; dust was upon the lintels of the barred doors; the souls drowsed in their places; their food was dust and mud.

[5] Here are a few lines of such a psalm:

> O my god who art angry with me, accept my prayer.
> . . . . . .
> May my sins be forgiven, my transgressions be wiped out.
> . . . . . .
> [May] flowing waters of the stream wash me clean.
> Let me be pure like the sheen of gold.

JASTROW, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 323.

There was no judgment of the dead as among the Egyptians. There was no distinction, in the case of the great multitude,[6] between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down to death.

54. **The Creation Epic, or the Babylonian Genesis.** — In what is called the Creation Epic, which has been recovered in a fragmentary state from the tablets, we have the Babylonian version of the creation of the heavens and the earth by the great god Marduk.

The account of the creation has been an important factor in religious world history. In the hands of Hebrew teachers the story was molded in such a way as to render it a means of moral and religious instruction, and thus was made the starting point of Hebrew religious literature, a literature which was destined to become an important part of the heritage of the younger Aryan nations of the West.

55. **The Epic of Gilgamesh.** — What is known as the Epic of Gilgamesh,[7] the Babylonian Heracles, is doubtless the oldest epic of the race. It held some such place in Babylonian literature and art as the cycle of myths and legends making up the epic of the Trojan War held in the literature and art of the Greeks. Echoes of it reached the Ægean lands and helped to mold the Greek story of Heracles (sec. 117).

56. **Legislation: the Code of Hammurabi.** — In 1901–1902 the French excavators at Susa, in the ancient Elam, discovered a block of stone upon which was inscribed the code of laws set up by Hammurabi, king of Babylon, in the third millennium B.C. (sec. 45). The supreme interest which attaches to this compilation springs not alone from the circumstance that it is the oldest system of laws known to us, but from the further circumstance that it bears many resemblances to the later Hebrew code.

The code casts a strong side light upon Babylonian life, and thus constitutes one of the most valuable monuments spared to us from the old Semitic world. It defines the rights and duties

[6] There was a sort of Elysium, like that of the Greeks, for men of great deeds and great piety.

[7] The epic is made up of a great variety of material. One of the stories of greatest interest is that of the Deluge.

of husband and wife, master and slave, of merchants, gardeners, tenants, shepherds, — of all the classes which made up the population of the Babylonian Empire. As in the case of the later Hebrew code, the principle of retaliation determined the penalty for injury done another; it was an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a limb for a limb.

The owner of a vicious ox which had pushed or gored a man was required to pay a heavy fine, provided he knew the disposition of the creature and had not blunted its horns (see Ex. xxi. 28–32).

There are also provisions forbidding under severe penalties the harboring of runaway slaves, provisions which read strangely like our own fugitive slave laws of a half century ago.

For more than two thousand years after its compilation this code of laws was in force in the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and even after this lapse of time it was used as a text book in the schools of the Mesopotamian lands. Probably no other code save the Mosaic or the Justinian (see p. 459) has exerted a greater influence upon human society. "As the oldest body of laws in existence," says an eminent Assyrian scholar, "it marks a great epoch in the world's history, and must henceforth form the starting point for the systematic study of historic jurisprudence."

57. **Sciences: Astronomy, the Calendar, and Weights and Measures.** — In astronomy the Babylonians made substantial progress. Their knowledge of the heavens came about both from their interest as astrologers in the stars, and from their needs as navigators of the Persian Gulf. They early divided the zodiac into twelve signs and named the zodiacal constellations, a memorial of their astronomical attainments which will remain forever inscribed upon the great circle of the heavens; they foretold eclipses of the sun and moon; they invented the sundial to tell off the hours of sunlight and the water clock to measure the hours of darkness; they divided the year into twelve months, the day and night into hours, and the hours into minutes, and devised the week of seven days, ending with a day of rest called *Sabattu*. Through Israel this institution of the week with a sacred rest day became the heritage of the later world of culture.

The duodecimal system in numbers was the invention of the Babylonians, and it is from them that the system has come to us. They invented also measures of length, weight, and capacity. It was from them that all the peoples of antiquity derived their systems of weight and measure. Aside from letters, these are perhaps the most indispensable agents in the life of a people after they have risen above the lowest levels of barbarism.

Selections from the Sources. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (selected translations), pp. 408–413, "Ishtar's Descent to Hades." This is one of the choicest pieces of Babylonian literature. Sayce's *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, pp. 313–319, "The Babylonian Account of the Deluge." *The Code of Hammurabi*, in either the Johns or the Harper translation. "The Code of Hammurabi is one of the most important monuments of the human race" (Johns).

Secondary Works. Maspero, G., *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. vii–ix, and *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. i. Rawlinson, G., *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (first part). Rogers, R. W., *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i. Ragozin, Z. A., *The Story of Chaldea*. Hommel, F., *The Civilization of the East*. Peters, J. P., *Nippur*, 2 vols. Jastrow, M., *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. King, L. W., *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. Delitzsch, F., *Babel and Bible*. Sayce, A. H., *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*. Perrot, G., and Chipiez, C., *A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2 vols. Schmidt, N., *Outlines of a History of Babylonia and Assyria*, with its carefully selected lists of authoritative works, will be of special service to the advanced student

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Excavations in Babylonia. 2. The Babylonian libraries. 3. Babylonian magic. 4. The penitential psalms. 5. Trade and commerce.

FIG. 27. — AN ASSYRIAN WINGED BULL

CHAPTER V

THE ASSYRIAN AND THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE

I. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE (TO 606 B.C.)

58. **Introductory.** — The story of Assyria is in the main a story of the Assyrian kings. To relate this story in detail would involve endless repetition of the royal records of military raids and campaigns in all the countries of Western Asia. We shall therefore speak of only two or three of those kings who have a place among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

59. **Sargon II** (722–705 B.C.). — Sargon II was a great conqueror. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria and carried away the most influential classes of the "Ten Tribes" of Israel into captivity (sec. 77). The greater portion of the captives were scattered among the towns of Media, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of that region.

Sargon was also a famous builder. Near the foot of the Persian hills he founded a large city, which he named for himself; and there he erected a royal residence, the site of which is now preserved by the vast mounds of Khorsabad (sec. 63).

BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
LYDIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
PALMYRA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
ARIA
CANAAN
BABYLONIA
ELAM
ARIANA
EGYPT
ARABIA
PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
About 660 B. C.

60. Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.). — To Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, we must accord the first place of renown among the Assyrian kings. His name, connected as it is with the history of Jerusalem and with the wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon. His reign was filled with military expeditions and marked by great building enterprises at Nineveh. Respecting the decoration of this capital, one of his inscriptions says: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I made the whole town a city shining like the sun."

61. Asshur-bani-pal (668–626? B.C.). This king, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, is distinguished for his magnificent patronage of art and literature. During his reign Assyria enjoyed her Golden Age. He caused a great library to be collected at Nineveh, in which was gathered whatever was of greatest value in the literature of the southern land.

But Asshur-bani-pal was also a great warrior. The scenes of his numerous sieges and battles he caused to be sculptured on the walls of his palace at Nineveh. These pictured panels are now in the British Museum. They are a perfect Iliad in stone.

62. The Fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.). — Saracus was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. For nearly or quite six centuries the Ninevite kings had now lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all Western Asia that during this time had not, in the language of the royal inscriptions, "borne the heavy yoke of their lordship"; scarcely a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments, or tasted the bitterness of enforced exile.

But Nineveh was finally taken and sacked by the Medes and Babylonians, and dominion passed away forever from the proud capital (606 B.C.). Two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks in his memorable retreat (sec. 208) passed the spot, the once great city was a crumbling mass of ruins, of which he could not even learn the name.

63. Assyrian Excavations and Discoveries. — In Assyria there are many mounds like those in Babylonia. These mark the sites of the old Assyrian cities; for though stone in this upper country is abundant, the Assyrians, being colonists from the lower country, continued to use in the main sun-dried bricks in the construction of their buildings. Stone when employed was used mainly for decorative purposes and for the foundation of walls. Hence in

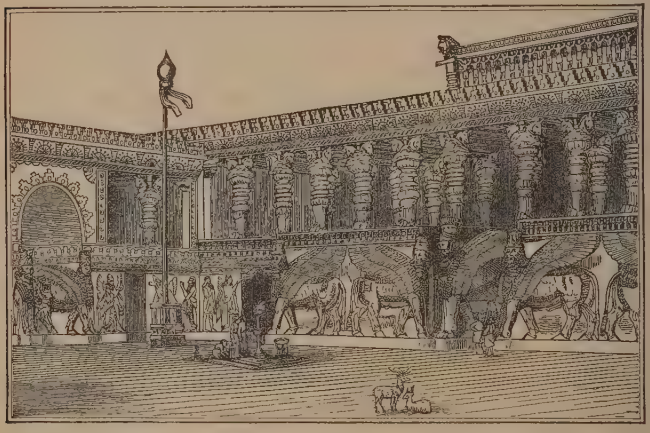


FIG. 28. — RESTORATION OF A COURT IN SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD. (After *Fergusson*)

their decay the Assyrian edifices have left just such earth mounds as those which form the tombs of the old Babylonian cities and temples.

In 1843–1844 M. Botta, the French consul at Mosul on the Tigris, excavated the mound at Khorsabad (Dur Sarrukin), and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the palace of Sargon II. The sculptured and lettered slabs were removed to the Museum of the Louvre, in Paris. In 1845–1851 Layard disentombed the palace of Sennacherib and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calah, and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search.

64. The Royal Library at Nineveh. — Within the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Nineveh was discovered what is known as the Royal Library, from which over twenty thousand tablets were taken. The library was open to the public, for an inscription says, "I [Asshur-bani-pal] wrote upon the tablets; I placed them in my palace for the instruction of my people."

The greater part of the tablets were copies of older Babylonian works; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Babylonians. All the old libraries of the lower country were ransacked by the agents of Asshur-bani-pal, and copies of "the old masters"

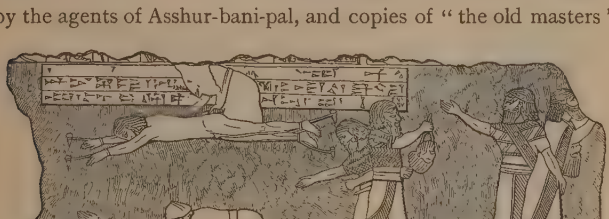


FIG. 29. — ASSYRIANS FLAYING PRISONERS ALIVE. (From a bas-relief)

made for the new collection at Nineveh. In this way was preserved in duplicate the best part of the early Babylonian literature.

65. Cruelty of the Assyrians. — The Assyrians have been called the "Romans of Asia." They were a proud, warlike, and cruel race. The sculptured marbles taken from the palaces exhibit the cruel tortures inflicted upon prisoners; kings are being led before their conqueror with hooks thrust through their lips; other prisoners are being flayed alive; the eyes of some are being bored out with the point of a spear; and still others are having their tongues torn out. One royal inscription, which is a fair specimen of many others, runs as follows: "Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a tower. I exposed

their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burned in the flames."

66. Royal Sports. — The Assyrian king gloried in being, like the great Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." In his inscriptions the wild beasts he has slain are as carefully enumerated as the cities he has captured. The monuments are covered with sculptures that represent the king engaged in the favorite royal sport. We see him slaying lions, bulls, and boars, as well as less

FIG. 30. — LION HUNT. (From Nineveh)

dangerous animals of the chase, with which the uncultivated tracts of the country appear to have abounded.

67. Services rendered Civilization by Assyria. — Assyria did a work like that done by Rome at a later time. Just as Rome welded all the peoples of the Mediterranean world into a great empire, and then throughout her vast domains scattered the seeds of the civilization which she had borrowed from vanquished Greece, so did Assyria weld into a great empire the innumerable petty warring states and tribes of Western Asia, and then throughout her extended dominions spread the civilization which she had borrowed in a body from the conquered Babylonians.

In thus spreading abroad the best civilization of the Semitic world, Assyria caused it to come into contact with the as yet undeveloped culture of the Aryan-Greek world of the West. In this way the civilization of Greece and, through her, the civilization of all the Western world was greatly enriched by gifts from the early culture of the Mesopotamian lands.

II. The Chaldean Empire (625–538 B.C.)

68. Babylon becomes again a Great Power. — Nabopolassar (625–605 B.C.) was the founder of what is known as the Chaldean or New Babylonian Empire. At first a vassal king, when troubles began to thicken about the Assyrian court, he revolted and became independent. Later he entered into an alliance with the Median king against his former suzerain (sec. 62). Through the overthrow of Nineveh and the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the Babylonian kingdom received large accessions of territory. For a short time thereafter Babylon filled a great place in history.

69. Nebuchadnezzar II (605–561 B.C.). — Nabopolassar was followed by his son Nebuchadnezzar, whose renown filled the ancient world. One important event of his reign was the taking of the rebellious city of Jerusalem (sec. 78). The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and gold, which were carried away to Babylon, and the building itself was given to the flames; a part of the people were also carried away into the "Great Captivity" (586 B.C.).

Nebuchadnezzar sought to rival even the Pharaohs in the execution of immense works requiring a vast expenditure of human labor. Among his works were the Great Palace in the royal quarter of Babylon, the celebrated Hanging Gardens,[1] the quays along the Euphrates, and the city walls. The gardens and the walls were reckoned among the wonders of the ancient world.

Especially zealous was Nebuchadnezzar in the erection and restoration of the shrines of the gods. "Like dear life," runs one of the inscriptions, "love I the building of their lodging places." He dwells with fondness on all the details of the work, and tells how he ornamented the panelings of the shrines with precious stones, roofed them with huge beams of cedar overlaid

[1] The Hanging Gardens were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. The gardens were probably built somewhat in the form of the tower temples, the successive stages being covered with earth and beautified with plants and trees, so as to simulate the appearance of a mountain rising in cultivated terraces towards the sky.

with gold and silver, and decorated the gates with plates of bronze, making the sacred abodes as "bright as the stars of heaven."

70. **The Fall of Babylon** (538 B.C.). — The glory of the New Babylonian Empire passed away with Nebuchadnezzar. To the east of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom, the Medo-Persian, which at the time now reached by us had become a great imperial power. At the head of this new empire was Cyrus, a strong, energetic, and ambitious sovereign (sec. 88). Coming into collision with the Babylonian king Nabonidus he defeated his army in the open field, and the gates of the strongly fortified capital Babylon were without further resistance thrown open to the Persians.

With the fall of Babylon the scepter of dominion, borne so long by Semitic princes, was given into the hands of the Aryan peoples, who were destined from this time forward to shape the main course of events[2] and control the affairs of civilization.

Selections from the Sources. — *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. v, pp. 120–128, "The Nimrud Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III," on military and building operations; and vol. iv, pp. 38–52, "Inscription on the Obelisk of Shalmaneser II," shows the cruelty of Assyrian warfare.

Secondary Works. — MASPERO, G., *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. vi; *The Passing of the Empires*, chaps. i–v; and *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chaps. xi–xx. RAWLINSON, G., *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (last part). LAYARD, A. H., *Nineveh and its Remains*. PERROT, G., and CHIPIEZ, C., *A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2 vols. ROGERS, R. W., *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii. RAGOZIN, Z. A., *The Story of Assyria*. SAYCE, A. H., *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Part II.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Layard's excavations and discoveries. 2. Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. 3. The relation of Assyrian civilization to the Babylonian. 4. The Assyrian government.

[2] For the temporary revival of Semitic power throughout the Orient by the Arabs, see Chapter XLI.

CHAPTER VI

THE HEBREWS

71. The Patriarchal Age. — The history of the Hebrews, as narrated in their sacred books, begins with the departure of the patriarch Abraham out of "Ur of the Chaldees." The stories of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his sons Jacob and Esau, of the sojourn and the oppression of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, of the Exodus under the leadership of the great legislator Moses, of the conquest of Canaan by his successor Joshua, — all these wonderful stories are told in the old Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made them the familiar possession of childhood.

72. The Age of the Judges (ending about 1050 B.C.). — A long period of anarchy and dissension followed the conquest and settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews. During this time there arose a line of national heroes, such as Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages. These popular leaders were called Judges because they usually exercised judicial functions, acting as arbiters between the different tribes, as well as between man and man. The last of the Judges was Samuel.

73. Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (about 1050 B.C.). — During the period of the Judges the tribes of Israel were united by no central government. But the common dangers to which they were exposed from the attacks of the half-subdued Canaanitish tribes, and the example of the nations about them, led the people finally to begin to think of the advantages of union and of kingly rule. The hitherto loose confederation was changed into a kingdom, and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin was made king of the new monarchy (about 1050 B.C.).

74. **The Reign of David** (about 1025–993 B.C.). — Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, assumed the scepter. He consolidated the kingdom and waged wars of extermination against the troublesome neighboring tribes.

David was a poet as well as a warrior. His lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 17–27) is regarded as one of the noblest specimens of elegiac poetry that have come down from Hebrew antiquity. Such was his fame that the authorship of a large number of hymns written in a later age was ascribed to him.

75. **The Reign of Solomon** (about 993–953 B.C.). — David was followed by his son Solomon. The son did not possess the father's talent for military affairs, but was a liberal patron of art, commerce, and learning. He maintained a magnificent court, and has lived in tradition as the wisest king of the East. He erected at Jerusalem a splendid temple planned by his father David. King Hiram of Tyre, who was a close friend of the Hebrew monarch, aided him in this undertaking by supplying him with the celebrated cedar of Lebanon, and with Tyrian architects. The dedication ceremonies of the building were most impressive (1 Kings viii). Thenceforth this temple was the center of the Jewish worship and of the national life.

76. **The Division of the Kingdom** (about 953 B.C.). — The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings he had laid oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes. He refused. Straightway all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up to the north of Jerusalem a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern state, of which Samaria afterwards became the capital, was known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have offered successful resistance to the encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land became an easy prey to the spoiler.

TAURUS MTS.
HITTITES
Carchemish
Daphne
Euphrates
Arvad
Hamath
Cyprus
PHENICIA
LEBANON
SYRIA
Tadmor
Riblah
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
ISRAEL
Samaria
Joppa
Jordan
AMMON
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Dead Sea
Gaza
Philistia
JUDAH
MOAB
Beersheba
EDOM
Sela
EGYPT
Sinai Peninsula
RED SEA
MT. SINAI
THE DIVISION OF
SOLOMON'S KINGDOM
About 953 B.C.
50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles.

77. The Kingdom of Israel (953?–722 B.C.). — The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained its existence for about two hundred years. The little state was at last overwhelmed by the Assyrian power. This happened 722 B.C., when Samaria, as already narrated (sec. 59), was captured by Sargon, king of Nineveh, and the flower of the people were carried away into captivity. The gaps thus made in the population of Samaria were filled with other subjects or captives of the Assyrian king. The descendants of these, mingled with the Israelites that were still left in the country, formed the Samaritans of the time of Christ.

78. The Kingdom of Judah (953?–586 B.C.). — This little kingdom maintained an independent existence for over three centuries, but upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings. The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in revenge for an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem and carried away a large part of the people into captivity at Babylon (sec. 69). This event virtually ended the separate political life of the Hebrew race (586 B.C.). Henceforth Judea constituted simply a province of the empires which successively held sway over the regions of Western Asia, with, however, just one flicker of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries just preceding the birth of Christ.

It only remains to mention those succeeding events which belong rather to the story of the Jews as a people than as a nation. Upon the capture of Babylon by the Persian king Cyrus (sec. 70), that monarch permitted the exiles to return to Jerusalem and restore their temple. Jerusalem thus became again the center of the old Hebrew worship, and, although shorn of national glory, continued to be the sacred center of the ancient faith till the second generation after Christ. Then, in chastisement for repeated revolts, the city was laid in ruins by the Romans, while vast numbers of the inhabitants were slain and the remnant driven into exile to different lands (sec. 405).

79. Hebrew Literature. — The literature of the Hebrews is a religious one; for literature with them was in the main merely

a means of inculcating religious truth or awakening devotional feeling. This unique literature is contained in sacred books known as the *Old* or *Hebrew Testament*. In these ancient writings, patriarchal traditions, histories, dramas, poems, prophecies, and personal narratives blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the migrations, the deliverances, the calamities, all the events and religious experiences making up the checkered life of the people of Israel.

Out of the *Old* arose the *New Testament*, which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature: for although written in the Greek language and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, nevertheless it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, the *Bible* (the Book), it remains to mention especially the *Apocrypha*, embracing a number of books that were composed after the decline of the prophetic spirit, and which show traces of the influence of Persian and Greek thought.

Neither must we fail to mention the *Talmud*, a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions, with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book; the writings of Philo, an illustrious Alexandrian philosopher (born about 25 B.C.); and the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Jewish War* by the historian Josephus (born A.D. 37).

80. Hebrew Religion and Morality. — The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing; their religion forbade their making "graven images." Their mission was to make known the idea of God as a being holy and just and compassionate and loving, — as the Universal Father whose care is over not one people alone but over all peoples and all races, — and to teach men that what he requires of them is that they shall do justice and practice righteousness.

This idea of God and his character was the best element in the bequest which the ancient Hebrews made to the younger Aryan

world of Europe, and is largely what entitles them to the pre-eminent place they hold in the history of humanity.

81. Ideas of the Future Life. — The earliest Hebrew conception of the future life was like that of the Babylonians. Sheol was a vague and shadowy region beneath the earth, a sad and dismal place. The small and the great were there. There was no distinction even between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down into the "pit." The good man was thought to receive his reward in long life and prosperity here on earth.

As time passed, the Hebrews exchanged this gloomy conception of the other life for one more like that of old Egypt, so that it was by them that the doctrine of immortality and of a coming judgment was spread abroad in the Western world.

Selection from the Sources. — The *Old Testament*, 1 Kings v–viii, the building and the dedication by Solomon of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Secondary Works. — Sayce, A. H., *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*. Kent, C. F., *A History of the Hebrew People*, 2 vols. Renan, E., *History of the People of Israel*, 4 vols. Cornill, C. H., *History of the People of Israel*. Boughton, W., *History of Ancient Peoples*, pp. 345–427. Hilprecht, H. V., *Recent Research in Bible Lands*; consult Table of Contents. Ball, A. J., *Light from the East*. Duff, A., *The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*. The special student will of course consult McCurdy, J. F., *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 3 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Influence of early Babylonian culture on Israel. 2. The Exile in Babylon and its influence upon the development of the Hebrew religion. 3. Earlier Hebrew ideas of the future life. 4. Hebrew laws respecting usury, the land, and the bondsman.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHŒNICIANS

82. **The Land and the People.** — Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken seacoast lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the ranges of Mount Lebanon.[1] One of the most noted products of the country was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The "cedars of Lebanon" hold a prominent place both in the history and in the poetry of the East.

Another celebrated product of the country was the Tyrian purple, which was obtained from several varieties of the murex, a species of shellfish secured at first along the Phœnician coast, but later sought in distant waters, especially in the Grecian seas.

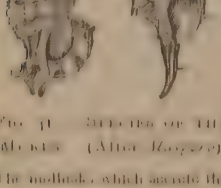


FIG. 31. — SPECIES OF THE MUREX. (After Reinach)

The mollusk, which secrete the famous purple dye of the ancient Tyrians

The Phœnicians were of Semitic race. Their ancestors lived in the neighborhood of the Persian Gulf. From their seats in that region they migrated westward, like the ancestors of the Hebrews, and reached the Mediterranean before the light of history had fallen upon its shores.

83. **Tyre and Sidon.** — The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They constituted merely a sort of league or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the leadership of Tyre or of Sidon, the two chief cities. The place of supremacy in the confederation was at first held by Sidon, but later by Tyre.

[1] In the study of this chapter, the maps which will be found at pp. 50 and 99 should be used.

From the eleventh to the fourth century B.C. Tyre controlled, almost without dispute on the part of Sidon, the affairs of Phœnicia. During this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchants spread the fame of the little island capital throughout the world. She was queen and mistress of the Mediterranean.

During all the last centuries of their existence the Phœnician cities were, most of the time, tributary to one or another of the great monarchies about them. They acknowledged in turn the suzerainty of the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian kings. Alexander the Great after a memorable siege captured the city of Tyre and reduced it to ruins (332 B.C.). She recovered in a measure from this blow, but never regained the place she had previously held in the world. The larger part of the site of the once great city is now "bare as the top of a rock," — a place where the fishermen that still frequent the spot spread their nets to dry.

84. **Phœnician Commerce.** — When we catch our first glimpse of the Eastern Mediterranean, about 1500 B.C., it is dotted with the sails of Phœnician navigators. It is natural that the people of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them out from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension of their land domains. At the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise, while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships.

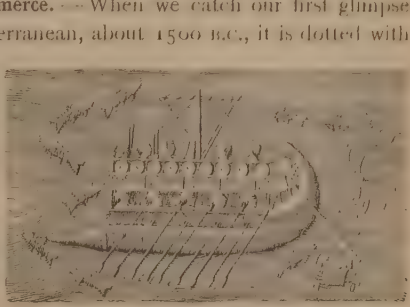


FIG. 32. PHŒNICIAN GALLEY. (From an Assyrian sculpture)

The Phœnicians, indeed, seem to have been the first navigators of the Great Sea who pushed out boldly from the shore and made

voyages out of sight of land. It is believed that they were the first to steer their ships at night by the Polar Star, since the Greeks called this the Phœnician Star.

One of the earliest centers of activity of the Phœnician traders was the Ægean Sea. Here they exchanged wares with the natives, searched the seas for the purple-yielding mollusks, and mined the hills for gold. Herodotus avers that a whole mountain on one of the islands was turned upside down by them in their search for ores.

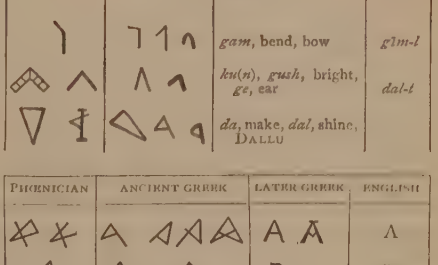
Towards the close of the tenth or the ninth century B.C. the jealousy of the Greek city-states, now growing into maritime power, closed the Ægean against the Phœnician adventurers. They then pushed out into the Western Mediterranean. One chief object of their quest here was tin, which was in great demand on account of its use in the manufacture of bronze. The precious metal was first supplied by the mines opened in the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. Later the bold Phœnician sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought back from those stormy seas the tin gathered in the mines of Britain.[2]

85. **Phœnician Colonies.** — Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established naval stations and trading posts. The sites chosen were generally islands or promontories easily defended, and visible from afar to approaching ships.

Settlements were planted in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and on other islands of the Ægean Sea, and probably even in Greece itself.

[2] From the mother city Tyre and from all her important colonies and trading posts radiated long routes of land travel by which articles were conveyed from the interior of the continents to the Mediterranean seaboard. Thus amber was brought from the Baltic, through the forests of Germany, to the mouth of the river Padus (Po), in Italy; while the tin of the British Isles was, at first, brought across Gaul to the outlets of the Rhone, and there loaded upon the Phœnician ships. The trade with India was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, great caravans bearing the burdens from the ports at the heads of these seas across the Arabian and Syrian deserts to the warehouses of Tyre. Other routes led from Phœnicia across the Mesopotamian plains to Armenia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and thence on into the heart of Central Asia.

The shores of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were fringed with Phœnician colonies; while the coast of North Africa was dotted with such great cities as Utica, Hippo, and Carthage. Colonies were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic seaboard. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz.



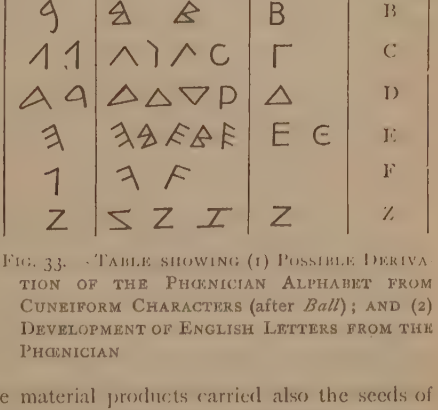


FIG. 33. - TABLE SHOWING (1) POSSIBLE DERIVATION OF THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET FROM CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS (after *Ball*); AND (2) DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS FROM THE PHŒNICIAN

86. Arts disseminated by the Phœnicians; the Alphabet. — Commerce has been called the path-breaker of civilization. Certainly it was such in antiquity when the Phœnician traders carried in their ships to every Mediterranean land the wares of the workshops of Tyre and Sidon, and along with these material products carried also the seeds of culture from the ancient lands of Egypt and Babylonia. In truth we can scarcely overrate the influence of Phœnician maritime enterprise upon the distribution of the arts and the spread of culture among the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. "Egypt

and Assyria," says Lenormant, "were the birthplace of material civilization; the Phœnicians were its missionaries."

Most fruitful of all the arts which the Phœnicians introduced among the peoples with whom they traded was the art of alphabetic writing. As early at least as 900 B.C. they were in possession of an alphabet. Now wherever the Phœnician traders went they carried this alphabet as "one of their exports." It was through them that the Greeks received it; the Greeks passed it on to the Romans, and the Romans gave it to the German folk. In this way our alphabet came to us from the ancient East. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this gift of the alphabet to the Aryan-speaking peoples of Europe. Without it their civilization could never have become so rich and progressive as it did.

Among the other elements of culture which the Phœnicians carried to the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, the most important, after alphabetical writing, were systems of weights and measures. These are indispensable agents of civilization, and hold some such relation to the development of trade and commerce as letters hold to the development of the intellectual life.

Phœnician commercial enterprise was also one of the agencies through which the peoples of Europe learned the use of bronze, which marks an epoch in their growing culture. Bronze articles of Phœnician workmanship are found in the earliest tombs of the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Bible*, Ezek. xxvii. A striking portrayal by the prophet of the commerce, the trade relations, and the wealth of Tyre. *The Voyage of Hanno*, a record of a Phœnician exploring expedition down the western coast of Africa. A translation of this celebrated record will be found in Rawlinson's *History of Phœnicia*, pp. 389–392.

Secondary Works. — Rawlinson, G., *History of Phœnicia* and *The Story of Phœnicia*. Kenrick, J., *Phœnicia;* old (1855), but still valuable. Lenormant and Chevallier, *Ancient History of the East*, vol. ii. Consult Table of Contents. Sayce, A. H., *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chap. iii. Libbey, W., and Hoskins, F. E., *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 2 vols. Petra was the chief station on the great caravan route across the desert from Babylonia to Gaza and the cities of Phœnicia.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The trade routes of the Phœnicians. 2. The Phœnicians and the alphabet. 3. The Tyrian purple dye.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

(558–330 B.C.)

I. Political History

87. Beginning of the Medo-Persian Power.— In remote times some Aryan tribes, separating from the other members of the Aryan family, sought new abodes on the plateau of Iran. The tribes that settled in the south became known as the Persians, while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northwest were called Medes. The names of the two peoples were always very closely associated, as in the familiar legend, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

The Medes were at first the leading people. Cyaxares (625–585 B.C.) was their first prominent leader and king. It was this king who, aided by the Babylonians, overthrew the last king of Nineveh and destroyed that capital (sec. 70). The destruction of the Assyrian power resulted in the speedy extension of the frontiers of the new Median Empire to the river Halys in Asia Minor.

88. Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.) **founds a World Empire.** — The leadership of the Median chieftains was of short duration. A certain Cyrus, king of Anshan, in Elam, overthrew their power, assumed the headship of both Medes and Persians, and soon built up an empire more extended, so far as we know, than any established before his time.

After the conquest of Media, Cyrus rounded out his empire by the conquest of Lydia and Babylonia. Lydia was a country in the western part of Asia Minor. It embraced two rich river valleys, — the plains of the Hermus and the Cayster, — which, from the mountains inland, slope gently to the island-dotted Ægean. The Pactolus, and other tributaries of the streams we

have named, rolled down "golden sands," while the mountains were rich in the precious metals. The coast region did not at first belong to Lydia; it was held by the Greeks, who had fringed it with cities. The capital of the country was Sardis.

The Lydian throne was at this time held by Crœsus (560–546 B.C.), the last and most renowned of his race. The tribute Crœsus collected from the Greek cities which he had subjugated and the revenue he derived from his gold mines rendered him the richest monarch of his times, so that his name has passed into the proverb "rich as Crœsus."

It was this king who, alarmed at the growth of the Persian power, threw down the gage of battle to Cyrus. Cyrus defeated the Lydians in the open field, and after a short siege captured Sardis. Lydia now became a part of the Persian Empire (546 B.C.). This war between Crœsus and Cyrus derives special importance from the fact that it brought the Persian Empire into contact with the Greek cities of Asia, and thus led on directly to a memorable struggle between Greece and Persia, the incidents of which we shall narrate in a later chapter.

The fall of Lydia was followed by that of Babylon, as has been already related as part of the story of the Chaldean Empire (sec. 70). Cyrus had now rounded out his dominions.

Notwithstanding his seeming love for war and conquest, Cyrus possessed a kindly and generous disposition. Almost universal testimony has ascribed to him the purest and most beneficent character of any Eastern monarch.

89. Reign of Cambyses (529–522 B.C.). — Cyrus was followed by his son Cambyses. With far less ability than his father for their execution, Cambyses conceived even vaster projects of conquest and dominion. He determined to add the country of Africa to his vast inheritance. Upon some slight pretext he invaded Egypt, captured Memphis, and ascended the Nile to Thebes. From here he sent an army of fifty thousand men to take possession of the oasis of Ammon[1] in the Libyan desert. Of the vast

[1] This oasis was to serve as a basis of operations against Carthage, which Cambyses was planning to attack by way of the desert.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
under Darius I
about 500 B. C.
Greek Colonies in Asia Minor
Persian Empire
0 50 100 200 300 400
Scale of Miles
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
Persian Gulf
Plateau of Iran
Ister (Danube)
THRACE
Byzantium
Bosporus
LYDIA
Gordium
Halys
Comana
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
Carchemish
Cyprus
SYRIA
Damascus
Tadmor (Palmyra)
Jerusalem
Memphis
EGYPT
Petra
Thebes
ETHIOPIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
ASSYRIA
Arbela
Babylon
BABYLONIA
MEDIA
Ecbatana
SUSIANA
Susa
ELAM
ANSHAN
Pasargadæ
Persepolis
PERSIS
CARMANIA
Carmana
GEDROSIA
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
Susia
ARIANA
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
Oxus
Indus
PUNJAB

host not a man returned from the expedition. It is thought that the army was overwhelmed and buried by one of those fatal storms, called simoons, that so frequently sweep over those dreary wastes of sand.

After a short, unsatisfactory stay in Egypt, Cambyses set out on his return to Persia. While on his way home, news was brought to him that a usurper had seized the throne. Cast down by this intelligence, Cambyses in despair took his own life.

90. Reign of Darius I (521–484 B.C.). — The Persian nobles soon rescued the scepter from the grasp of the usurper, and their leader, Darius, took the throne. With quiet and submission secured throughout the empire, the new king gave himself, for a time, to the arts of peace. He built splendid structures at Persepolis; reformed the government, making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the second founder of the Persian Empire"; established post roads; and upon the great Behistun Rock, a lofty, smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, caused to be inscribed a record of all he had done.

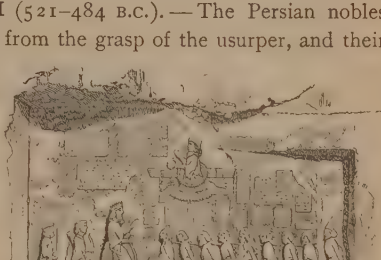


FIG. 34. — INSURGENT CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE DARIUS
(From the Behistun Rock)

And now the Great King, lord of Western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. He determined to extend the frontiers of his empire into India and Europe alike.

At one blow Darius brought the region of Northwestern India known as the Punjab under his authority, and thus by a single effort pushed out the eastern boundary of his empire so that it included one of the richest countries of Asia.

Two campaigns in Europe followed. The second brought Darius into contact with the Greeks, of whom we shall soon hear much. How the armaments of the Great King fared at the hands of this freedom-loving people, who now appear for the first time as prominent actors in large world affairs, will be told when we come to narrate the history of Greece. We need here simply note the result, — the decisive defeat of the Persians at Marathon (sec. 173). In the midst of preparations for another attempt upon Greece, Darius suddenly died, in the year 484 B.C.

91. Reign of Xerxes I (484–464 B.C.). — The successor of Darius, his son Xerxes, resolved to carry into execution his father's plans of conquest in Europe. At the head of an immense army he crossed the Hellespont and invaded Greece. But in the naval battle of Salamis (sec. 181) his fleet was cut to pieces by the Grecian ships, and the king made a precipitate retreat into Asia. He finally fell a victim to palace intrigue.

92. End of the Persian Empire. — The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. In the year 334 B.C. Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, led a small army of Greeks and Macedonians across the Hellespont intent upon the conquest of Asia. The story of the establishment by him of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian Empire properly belongs to Grecian history, and will be related at a later stage of our narrative.

II. Government, Religion, and Arts

93. The Government. — Before the reign of Darius I the government of the Persian Empire was like that of all the great empires that had preceded it, save the Assyrian in a measure and for a short space of time; that is to say, it consisted of a great number of subject states, which were allowed to retain their own kings and manage their own affairs, merely paying tribute and homage and furnishing war contingents to the Great King.

Darius converted this primitive type of government into what is known as the *satrapal*, a form represented to-day by the

Turkish Empire. The entire kingdom was divided into twenty or more provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign. Each province contributed to the income of the king a stated revenue.

There were provisions in the system whereby the king might be apprised of the disloyalty of his satraps. Thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together, and the facility with which the practically sovereign states making up the empire under the old system could plan and execute revolt was removed.

94. **Literature and Religion: Zoroastrianism.** — The literature of the ancient Persians was mostly religious. Their sacred book is called the *Zend-Avesta*. The religious system it teaches is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its supposed founder. This great reformer and teacher is believed to have lived and taught about six centuries before our era.

Zoroastrianism was a system of belief known as dualism. Opposed to the "good spirit," Ormazd (Ahura Mazda), there was a "dark spirit," Ahriman (Angro-Mainyus), who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ormazd by creating all evil things, — storm, drought, pestilence, noxious animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery; in the present neither had the decided advantage, but in the near future Ormazd would triumph over Ahriman, and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ormazd by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice in his own bosom, to reclaim the earth from barrenness, and to kill all noxious animals — frogs, toads, snakes, lizards — which Ahriman had created. Herodotus saw with amazement the priests armed with weapons and engaged in slaying these animals as a "pious pastime."

95. **Architecture.** — In imitation of the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates, the Persian kings raised their palaces upon lofty terraces or platforms. But upon the table-lands they used stone

instead of brick, and at Persepolis built for the substruction of their palaces an immense platform of massive masonry, which, with its sculptured stairways, is one of the most wonderful monuments of the world's ancient builders. This terrace, which is uninjured by the twenty-three hundred years that have passed since its

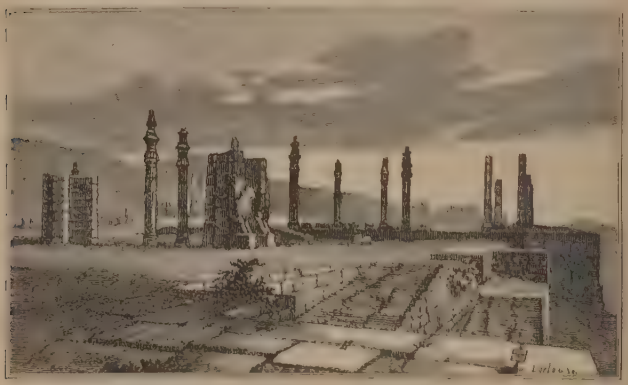


FIG. 35. — THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

erection, has been pronounced by competent judges the finest work of the kind that the ancient or even the modern world can boast. Surmounting this platform are the ruins of the residences of several of the Persian monarchs.

Selections from the Sources. — HERODOTUS, i. 46–55 and 71–91, on Cyrus and Crœsus. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 174–187, "The Large Inscription of Darius from Behistun."

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Dualism in the Persian religion. 2. The *Zend-Avesta*. 3. The royal road from Susa to Sardis. 4. The satrapal system of government. 5. The ruins of Persepolis.

CHAPTER IX

INDIA AND CHINA

I. India

96. The Aryan Invasion. — At the time of the great Aryan dispersion (sec. 17, n. 4), some Aryan bands, journeying from the northwest, settled first the plains of the Indus and then occupied the valley of the Ganges. They reached the banks of the latter river as early probably as 1500 B.C. These fair-skinned invaders found the land occupied by a dark-skinned, non-Aryan race, whom they either reduced to serfdom or drove out of the great river valleys into the mountains and the half desert plains of the peninsula. In the course of time the conquered peoples, who doubtless formed the great majority of the population, adopted the language and the religion of the invaders. "They became Aryans in all things save in descent."[1]

97. The Development of the System of Castes. — The conflict and mingling of races in Northern India caused the population to become divided into four "social grades" or hereditary classes, based on color. These were (1) the nobles or warriors; (2) the Brahmans or priests;[2] (3) the peasants and traders; and (4) the Sudras. The last were of non-Aryan descent. Below these several grades were the Pariahs or outcasts, the lowest and most despised of the native races. The marked characteristics of this graded society were that intermarriage between the classes was forbidden, and that the members of different classes must not eat together or come into personal contact.

The development of this system, which is known as the system of castes, is one of the most important facts in the history of

[1] The tribes of Southern India, known as Dravidians, retained their native speech. Over 54,000,000 of the present population of India are non-Aryan in language.

[2] At a later period the Brahmans arrogated to themselves the highest rank.

India. The system, however, has undergone great modification in the lapse of ages, and is now less rigid than in earlier times. At the present day it rests largely on an industrial basis, the members of every trade and occupation forming a distinct caste. The number of castes is now about two thousand.

98. **The Vedas and the Vedic Religion.** — The most important of the sacred books of the Hindus are called the *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanskrit language, which is the oldest form of Aryan speech preserved to us. The early religion of the Indian Aryans was a worship of the powers of nature. As this system characterized the period when the oldest Vedic hymns were composed, it is known as the Vedic religion.

99. **Brahmanism and the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls.** — As time passed this nature worship of the Vedic period developed into a form of religion known as Brahmanism. It is so named from Brahma, which is the Hindu name for the Supreme Being. Below Brahma there are many gods.

A chief doctrine of Brahmanism is that of rebirth. According to this teaching the good man is at death reborn into some higher caste, while the evil man is reborn into a lower caste, or perhaps his soul enters some unclean animal. This doctrine of rebirth is known as the Transmigration of Souls.

100. **Buddhism.** — In the fifth century before our era a great teacher and reformer named Gautama (about 557–477 B.C.), but better known as Buddha, that is the Enlightened, arose in India. He was born a prince, but legend represents him as being so touched by the universal misery of mankind that he voluntarily abandoned the luxury of his home and spent his life in seeking out and making known to men a new and better way of salvation. His creed was very simple. What he taught the people was that they should seek salvation not through the observance of religious rites and ceremonies but through honesty and purity of heart, through charity and tenderness and compassion toward all creatures that have life.

Buddhism gradually gained ascendancy over Brahmanism; but after some centuries the Brahmans regained their power, and by

the eighth century after Christ the faith of Buddha had died out or had been crowded out of almost every part of India.[3]

But Buddhism, like Christianity, has a profound missionary spirit, and during the very period when India was being lost the missionaries of the reformed creed were spreading the teachings of their master among the peoples of all the countries of Eastern Asia, so that to-day Buddhism is the religion of almost one third of the human race. Buddha has probably nearly as many followers as both Christ and Mohammed together.

II. China

101. General Remarks. — China was the cradle of a very old civilization, older perhaps than that of any other lands save Egypt and Babylonia; yet Chinese affairs have not until recently exercised any direct influence upon the general current of history. All through the later ancient and mediæval times the country lay, vague and mysterious, in the haze of the world's horizon. During the Middle Ages the land was known to Europe under the name of Cathay.

The government of China from a remote period has been a parental monarchy. The emperor is the father of his people. But though an absolute prince, he dare not rule tyrannically; he must rule justly and in accordance with the ancient customs.

102. Chinese Writing. — It is nearly certain that the art of phonetic writing was known among the Chinese as early as 2000 B.C. The system employed is curiously cumbrous. In the absence of an alphabet, each word of the language is represented upon the written page by means of a symbol, or combination of symbols; this, of course, requires that there be as many symbols or characters as there are words in the language. The number sanctioned by good use is about twenty-five thousand; but counting obsolete signs, the number amounts to over fifty thousand. A knowledge

[3] Among the customs introduced or revived by the Brahmans during this period was the rite of suttee, or the voluntary burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband.

of five or six thousand characters, however, enables one to read and write without difficulty. The nature of the signs shows conclusively that the Chinese system of writing, like that of all others with which we are acquainted, was at first pure picture writing (sec. 11). Time and use have worn the pictorial symbols to their present form. This Chinese system of representing thought, cumbrous and inconvenient as it is, is employed at the present time by one third of mankind.

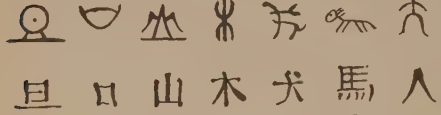

FIG. 36. — SHOWING THE DERIVATION OF MODERN CHINESE CHARACTERS FROM EARLIER PICTORIAL WRITING.[4] (From *Deniker*)

Printing from blocks was practiced in China as early as the sixth century of our era, and printing from movable types as early as the tenth or eleventh century, — that is to say, about four hundred years before the same art was invented in Europe (sec. 678).

103. The Teachers Confucius and Mencius. — The great teacher of the Chinese was Confucius (551–478 B.C.). He was not a prophet or revealer; he laid no claims to a supernatural knowledge of God or of the hereafter; he said nothing of an Infinite Spirit, and but little of a future life. His cardinal precepts were obedience to parents and superiors, and reverence for the ancients and imitation of their virtues. He himself walked in the old paths, and thus added the force of example to that of precept. He gave the Chinese the Golden Rule, stated negatively: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The influence of Confucius has been greater than that of any other teacher excepting Christ and perhaps Buddha.

Another great teacher of the Chinese was Mencius (372–288 B.C.). He was a disciple of Confucius and a scarcely less revered philosopher and moral teacher.

[4] The upper line shows the earlier forms: 1, morning; 2, noon; 3, mountain; 4, tree; 5, dog; 6, horse; 7, man.

104. Chinese Literature. — The most highly prized portion of Chinese literature is embraced in what is known as the Five Classics and the Four Books, called collectively the *Nine Classics*. A considerable part of the material of the Five Classics was collected and edited by Confucius. The Four Books, though not written by Confucius, yet bear the impress of his mind and thought, just as the Gospels teach the mind of Christ. The cardinal virtue inculcated by all the sacred writings is filial piety.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which the Nine Classics have had upon the Chinese nation. For more than two thousand years these writings have been the Chinese Bible. But their influence has not been wholly good. The Chinese in strictly obeying the injunction to walk in the old ways, to conform to the customs of the ancients, have failed to mark out any new footpaths for themselves; hence one cause of the unprogressive character of Chinese civilization.

105. Education and Civil Service Competitive Examinations. — China has a very ancient educational system. The land was filled with schools, academies, and colleges more than a thousand years before our era, and education is to-day more general among the Chinese than among any other pagan people. A knowledge of the sacred books was until recently the sole passport to civil office and public employment.[5] All candidates for places in the government had to pass a series of competitive examinations in the Nine Classics. At the opening of the present century there were between two and three million persons studying for these literary tests. This ancient system is practically the same in principle as that which we, with great difficulty, are trying to establish in connection with our own civil service.

106. The Three Religions, — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. — There are three leading religions in China, — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The great sage Confucius is reverenced and worshiped throughout the empire. Taoism takes its name from Tao, the beginning of all things. It is a very curious

[5] In the year 1905 the Dowager Empress by edict ordered that in future examinations the sciences of the West should be substituted for the ancient classics.

system of mystical ideas and superstitious practices. Buddhism was introduced into China about the opening of the Christian era, and soon became widely spread.

There is one element common to all these religions, and that is the worship of ancestors. Every Chinese, whether he be a Confucianist, a Taoist, or a Buddhist, reverences his ancestors, and prays and makes offerings to their spirits.

107. Policy of Nonintercourse. — The Chinese have always been a very self-satisfied and exclusive people. They have jealously excluded foreigners and outside influence from their country. The Great Wall with which they have hedged in their country on the north is the symbol of their policy of isolation. Doubtless this characteristic of the Chinese has been fostered by their geographical isolation; for great mountain barriers and wide deserts cut the country off from communication with the rest of the Asiatic continent. And then their reverence for antiquity has rendered them intolerant of innovation and change; hence, in part, the reluctance of the Chinese to admit into their country railroads, telegraphs, and other modern improvements. Such a departure from the ways and customs of the past has in it, to their way of thinking, something akin to disrespect and irreverence for ancestors.

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For China: 1. Confucius. 2. The Great Wall. 3. The competitive examinations. 4. The cardinal virtues. 5. Chinese writing. 6. Manners and customs.

Division II — Greece

CHAPTER X

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

108. Hellas. — The ancient people whom we call Greeks called themselves Hellenes and their land Hellas. But this term "Hellas" as used by the ancient Greeks embraced much more than modern Greece. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas." Thus the name included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Greek settlements scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine. Yet Greece proper was the real home land of the Hellenes and the actual center of Greek life and culture.

109. Divisions of Greece. — Long arms of the sea divide the Greek peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now generally known as the Morea, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus; that is, the Island of Pelops, from its fabled colonizer.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, is a beautiful glen, named by the ancients the Vale of Tempe, the only practicable pass by which the plain of Thessaly can be entered from the side of the sea. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the deep recesses of its forests of oak was situated the renowned Dodonæan oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts, among which were Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of

Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens. The Attic land, as we shall learn, was the central point of Greek history.

The chief districts of Southern Greece were Corinthia, Arcadia, Achæa, Argolis, Laconia, and Elis.

The main part of Corinthia formed the isthmus uniting the Peloponnesus to Central Greece. Its chief city was Corinth, the gateway of the peninsula.

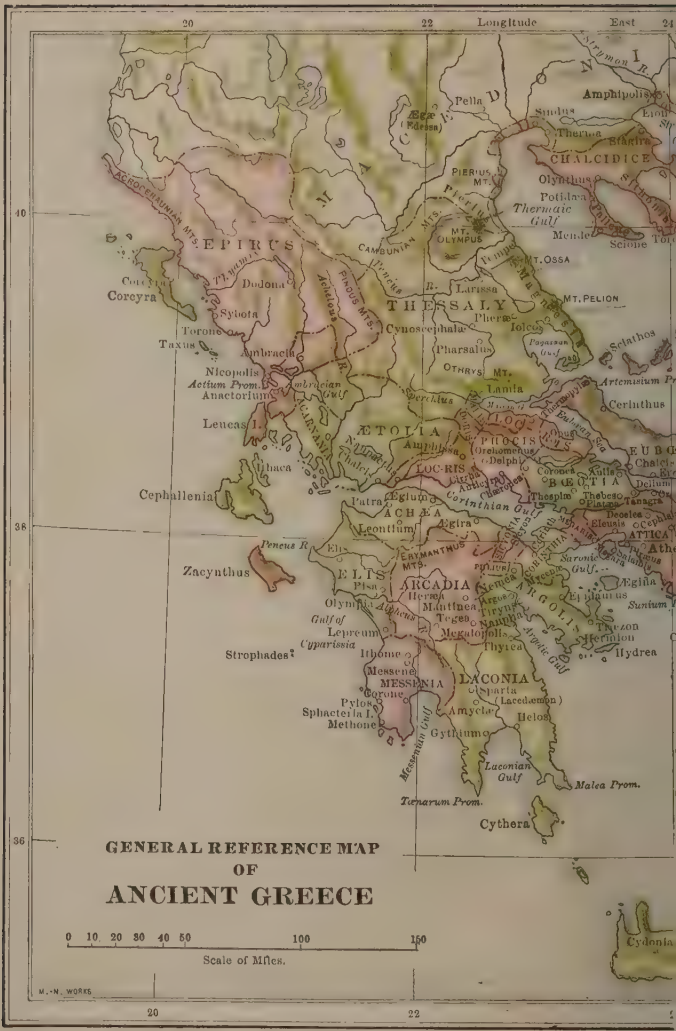
Arcadia, sometimes called "the Switzerland of the Peloponnesus," formed the heart of the peninsula. This region consists of broken uplands shut in from the surrounding coast plains by irregular mountain walls. The inhabitants of this district, because thus isolated, were, in the general intellectual movement of the Greek race, left far behind the dwellers in the more open and favored portions of Greece. It is the rustic, simple life of the Arcadians that has given the term "Arcadian" its meaning of pastoral simplicity.

Argolis formed a tongue of land jutting out into the Ægean. This region is noted as the home of an early prehistoric culture, and holds to-day the remains of cities — Mycenæ and Tiryns — the kings of which built great palaces, possessed vast treasures in gold and silver, and held wide sway centuries before Athens had made for herself a name and place in history. The chief city of the region during the historic period was Argos.

Laconia, or Lacedæmon, embraced a considerable part of the southern portion of the Peloponnesus. A prominent feature of the physical geography of this region is a deep river valley, — the valley of the Eurotas, — from whence arose the descriptive name, "Hollow Lacedæmon." This district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Elis, a district on the western side of the Peloponnesus, is chiefly noted as the consecrated land which held Olympia, the great assembling place of the Greeks for the celebration of the most famous of their festivals, — the so-called Olympian games.

110. **Mountains.**—The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece,


Longitude
East
20
22
24
40
36
Pella
Amphipolis
Strymon R.
Sea of Strymon
Sinuessa
Therme
Stagira
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Potidæa
Thermaic Gulf
Mende
Scione
PIERIUS MT.
Peneus R.
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. OSSA
Acroceraunian Mts.
EPIRUS
Cassiopa
Corcyra
Dodona
Pindus
Aous R.
Aoüs
Larissa
THESSALY
MT. PELION
Sybota
Cynoscephalæ
Pharsalus
Pagasæan Gulf
Sciathos
Torone
Taxus
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Actium Prom.
Anactorium
Ambracian Gulf
OTHRYS MT.
Lamia
Artemisium Pr.
Cerinthus
Leucas I.
ÆTOLIA
Amphissa
PHOCIS
Delphi
Ithaca
LOCRIS
Cephallenia
Patræ
Eleusis
ACHÆA
Ægira
Corinthian Gulf
Isthmus
Megara
ATTICA
Peneus R.
Elis
ERYMANTHUS MTS.
Zacynthus
ELIS
ARCADIA
Pisa
Olympia
Alpheus R.
Gulf of Cyparissia
Lepreum
Strophades
Ithome
Messene
MESSENIA
Pylos
Sphacteria I.
Methone
Megalopolis
Tegea
Mantinea
Orchomenus
Ægina
Epidaurus
Sunium
ARGOLIS
Argos
Nauplia
Argolic Gulf
Troezen
Hermion
Hydrea
LACONIA
Sparta
(Lacedæmon)
Amyclæ
Helos
Gythium
Laconian Gulf
Malea Prom.
Tænarum Prom.
Cythera
Cydonia
GENERAL REFERENCE MAP
OF
ANCIENT GREECE
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150
Scale of Miles.
M. & N. WORKS

Greenwich
26
28
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Bosporus
Tyris
THRACE
Dicea
Maronea
Abdera
Mesambria
DORISCUS
Perinthus
Selymbria
Propontis
Thasos
Ænos
Samothracia
Cyzicus
Priapus
Lampsacus
MT. ATHOS
Imbros
Abydos
40
Hellespont
Ilium or Troy
PHRYGIA
Sigeum
Lemnos
Tenedos
HELLESPONTICA
Neandria
Mt. Ida
Antandrus
Larissa
Assos
Adramyttium
Bay of Adramyttium
MYSIA
Gulf of Elaea
Methymna
Heraclea
Atarneus
Pergamus
Lesbos
Mytilene
Elæa
Pitane
Palœa
Cyme
Phocæa
ÆOLIAN COLONIES
Hermus R.
Magnesia
Smyrna
Sardis
Chios
Clazomenæ
Erythræ
Teos
Lebedos
Colophon
Caystrus R.
38
Andros
Ephesus
Mœander R.
IONIAN COLONIES
Samos
Tenos
Ikaria
Priene
Miletus
Gyaros
Myconos
Syros
Delos
Patmos
CARIA
Paros
Halicarnassus
Naxos
Cos
Amorgos
Cnidus
Melos
Thera
DORIAN COLONIES
Rhodes
Lindus
36
Carpathus
Authority:—
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus.
Cnossus
Gortyna
26
28

shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races from the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

On the northern border of Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (its height is about 9700 feet), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the gods.

FIG. 37. — THE PLAIN OF OLYMPIA. (From Boetticher's *Olympia*)
The valley of the Alpheus in Elis, where were held the celebrated Olympian games

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another in order to scale Olympus.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece, — beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains, — were believed to be haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles.

The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia.

111. The Rivers and Lakes of the Land. — Greece has no rivers large enough to be of service to commerce. Most of the streams

are scarcely more than winter torrents. Among the most important streams are the Peneus, which drains the Thessalian plain; the Alpheus in Elis, on the banks of which the Olympian games were celebrated; and the Eurotas, which threads the central valley of Laconia.

The lakes of Greece are in the main scarcely more than stagnant pools, the backwater of spring freshets. In this respect, Greece, though a mountainous country, presents a striking contrast to Switzerland, whose numerous and deep lakes form one of the most attractive features of Swiss scenery.

112. **Islands about Greece.** — Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle round the sacred island of Delos, where was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the Ægean. They are simply the peaks of submerged mountain ranges, which may be regarded as a continuation beneath the sea of the mountains of Central Greece.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa, and known to-day as Euvia. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. In the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos. To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu. The rugged island of Ithaca was the birthplace of Odysseus (Ulysses), the hero of the *Odyssey*.

113. **Influence of the Land upon the People.** — The physical geography of a country has much to do with molding the character and shaping the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities, foster the spirit of local patriotism; the sea, inviting abroad and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Mountain walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, and this is one reason probably why the Greeks formed so many small independent states, and never could be brought to feel or to act as a single nation.[1]

The Grecian peninsula is, moreover, by deep arms and bays of the sea, converted into what is in effect an archipelago. Few spots in Greece are over forty miles from the sea. Hence its people were early tempted to a seafaring life, — tempted to follow what Homer calls the "wet paths" of Ocean, to see whither they might lead. Intercourse with the old civilizations of the Orient, which Greece faces,[2] stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were "stepping-stones," which invited intercourse between the settlers of Greece and the inhabitants of the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

How much the sea did in developing enterprise and intelligence in the cities of the maritime districts of Greece is shown by the contrast which the advancing culture of these regions presented to the lagging civilization of the peoples of the interior districts; as, for instance, those of Arcadia.

114. The Hellenes. — The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called by the Romans Greeks; but, as we have already learned, they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen. They were divided into four families or tribes, — the Achæans, the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Æolians.

The Achæans are represented by the Greek legends as being the dominant race in the Peloponnesus in prehistoric times. They

[1] The history of the cantons of Switzerland affords a somewhat similar illustration of the influence of the physical features of a country upon the political fortunes of its inhabitants. But we must be careful not to exaggerate the influence of geography upon Greek history. For the root of feelings and sentiments which were far more potent than geographical conditions in keeping the Greek cities apart, see sec. 123.

[2] That is to say, the most and best of her harbors are on her eastern shore. Greece thus turns her back, as it were, to Italy (compare sec. 285).

then overshadowed to such a degree all the other tribes as to cause their name to be frequently used for the Greeks in general.

The Ionians were a many-sided, enterprising people, who, speaking broadly, were given to trade and commerce, and lived much upon the sea. They attained unsurpassed excellence in art, literature, and philosophy. The most noted Ionian city was Athens, whose story is a large part of the history of Hellas.

The Dorians, in their typical communities, present themselves to us as a conservative, practical, and unimaginative race. Their speech and their art were both alike without ornament. Their education was almost wholly gymnastic and military. The most important city founded by them was Sparta, the rival of Athens.

The Æolians formed a rather ill-defined division. In historic times the name is often made to include all Hellenes not enumerated as Ionians or Dorians.

These several tribes, united by bonds of language and religion, always regarded themselves as members of a single family. They were proud of their ancestry, and were as exclusive almost as the Hebrews. All non-Hellenic people they called *Barbarians*.[3]

References. — CURTIUS,[4] vol. i, pp. 9–46. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 141–163. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. ii and xiv. TOZER, H. F., *Classical Geography* (Primer). RICHARDSON, R. B., *Vacation Days in Greece*. Dr. Richardson was for many years Director of the American School of Archæology at Athens. His delightful sketches of excursions to interesting historical sites will give a better idea of the physical features of Greece than all the formal descriptions of the geographers. BUTCHER, S. H., *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius;* for the mature student.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Greece as Europe in miniature. 2. Characteristics of the Greeks. See *Butcher*.

[3] At first this term meant scarcely more than "unintelligible folk"; but later it came to express aversion and contempt.

[4] We shall throughout cite the extended histories of Greece and of Rome by giving merely the author's name with volume and chapter or page.

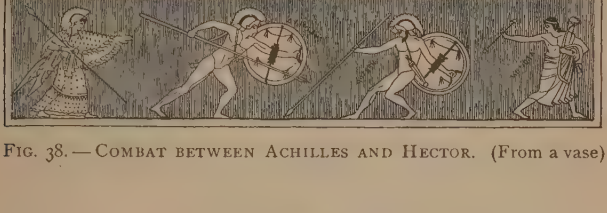


FIG. 38. — COMBAT BETWEEN ACHILLES AND HECTOR. (From a vase)

CHAPTER XI

PREHISTORIC TIMES ACCORDING TO GREEK ACCOUNTS[1]

115. Character of the Legends. — The real history of the Greeks does not begin before the eighth century B.C. All that lies back of that date is an inseparable mixture of myth, legend, and fact. Yet this shadowy period forms the background of Greek history, and we cannot understand the Greeks of historic times without some knowledge, at least, of what they believed their ancestors did and experienced, for these beliefs greatly influenced their conduct. What has been said of the war against Troy, namely, "If not itself a fact, the Trojan War became the cause of innumerable facts," is true of the whole body of Greek legends. These tales were recited by the historian, dramatized by the tragic poet, cut in marble by the sculptor, and depicted by the painter on the walls of portico and temple. They thus constituted a very vital part of the education of every Greek and afforded the inspiration of many a great and worthy deed.

Therefore, as a sort of prelude to the story we have to tell, we shall repeat some of the legends of the Greeks touching their foretime. But it must be carefully borne in mind that these legends are not history. Where, however, there seems to be sufficient ground to justify an opinion, we shall suggest what may be

[1] The prehistoric period in Greece is now commonly designated as the *Mycenæan Age*, for the reason that Mycenæ in Argolis was formerly believed to have been the center of the brilliant Bronze Age culture which characterized the second millennium B.C. in the Ægean lands. Recent discoveries in Crete, however, suggest the possibility of that island having been the radiating point of this civilization.

the grain of truth in any particular legend, or what part of it may be a dim though confused remembrance of actual events.

116. **Oriental Immigrants.** — The legends of the Greeks represent the early growth of civilization among them as having been promoted by the settlement in Greece of Oriental immigrants, who brought with them the arts and culture of the East. Thus from Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of Cecropia, which became afterwards the citadel of the illustrious city of Athens. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes.

The nucleus of fact in these legends is probably this, — that the European Greeks received certain of the elements of their culture from the East. Without doubt they got from thence letters, a gift of incomparable value, and hints in art, besides suggestions and facts in philosophy and science.

117. **The Heroes: Heracles, Theseus, and Minos.** — The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semi-divine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story.

Heracles was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing twelve superhuman labors, and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods. The myth of Heracles is made up in part of the very same tales that were told of the Chaldean hero Gilgamesh (sec. 55). Through the Phœnicians and the peoples of Asia Minor these stories found their way to the Greeks, who ascribed to their own Heracles the deeds of the Babylonian hero.

Theseus, a descendant of Cecrops, was the favorite hero of the Athenians, being one of their legendary kings. Among his achievements were the slaying of the Minotaur,—a monster which Minos, king of Crete, kept in a labyrinth and fed upon youths and maidens sent from Athens as a forced tribute, — the defeat of the Amazons, and the consolidation of the twelve boroughs or hamlets of Attica into a single state.

The legend of Theseus doubtless contains a substantial kernel of history. The consolidation of Attica and the founding of Athens were certainly historical events, while the slaying of the Minotaur may be taken to symbolize the freeing of the Athenians from a tribute paid to the kings of Crete.

Minos, who has just been mentioned as the king of Crete, was made by tradition a legislator of divine wisdom, the suppressor of piracy in the Grecian seas, and the founder of the first great maritime state of Hellas. This legend preserves the memory of a

FIG. 39. — BATTLE BETWEEN GREEKS AND AMAZONS
(From a sarcophagus)

Cretan kingdom which recent discoveries have proved was great and powerful as early as the seventeenth century B.C.[2]

118. **The Argonautic Expedition.** — Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, such as we have been naming, the legends of the Greeks tell of various memorable enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. Among these were the Argonautic Expedition and the Siege of Troy.

The tale of the Argonauts is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus, — the latter a musician of superhuman skill, the music

[2] The center of this early Cretan culture was Cnossus. Here have been unearthed, by Mr. A. J. Evans, the remains of a wonderful, many-chambered palace, which he believes to represent the Labyrinth of the tradition.

of whose lyre moved trees and stones, — set sail in "a fifty-oared galley," called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a "golden fleece" which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon in a grove on the eastern shores of the Euxine, — an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition was successful, and after many wonderful adventures the heroes returned in triumph with the sacred relic.

Different meanings have been given to this tale. In its later forms we may believe it to commemorate the maritime activity of the Greeks of prehistoric times in the North Ægean and the Black Sea.

119. The Trojan War (legendary date 1194–1184 B.C.). — The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination.

Ilios, or Troy, was a strong-walled city which had grown up in Asia Minor just south of the Hellespont. The traditions tell how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ and brother of Menelaus, was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted Achilles" of Thessaly, the "crafty Odysseus," king of Ithaca, the aged Nestor, and many more, — the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans from Aulis across the Ægean to the Trojan shores. For ten years the Greeks and their allies held in close siege the city of Priam. The place was at last taken through a device of the artful Odysseus, and was sacked and burned to the ground.

There is probably a nucleus of fact in this, the most elaborate and interesting of the Grecian legends. We may believe it to be the dim recollection of a prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the natives of Asia Minor, arising from the attempt of the former to secure a foothold upon the coast. That there really was in prehistoric times in the Troad a city which was the stronghold of a powerful and rich royal race has been placed beyond doubt by the excavations and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann and others.

FIG. 40. — THE VAPHIO CUPS AND THEIR SCROLLS. (Cups from photographs; the scrolls drawn from facsimiles of the cups)

Found in a tomb at Vaphio, near Sparta, in 1889. "The finest product of the goldsmith's art left to our wondering eyes by the Achæan civilization of Greece" (Richardson). See p. 82, n. 3.

120. The Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Heraclidæ (legendary date 1104 B.C.). — Legend tells how Heracles, an Achæan, in the times before the Trojan War ruled over the Peloponnesian Achæans. Just before that event his children were driven from the land. After a hundred years of exile the descendants of the hero returned at the head of the Dorians from Northern Greece, conquered the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and established themselves as masters in the land that had formerly been ruled by their semi-divine ancestor.

This legend seems to be a dim remembrance of a prehistoric invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians from the north of Greece, and the expulsion or subjugation of the earlier Achæan population of the peninsula.[3]

121. Migrations to Asia Minor. — The Greek legends represent that the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus resulted in three distinct migrations from the mother land to the shores of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands. The northwestern shore of Asia Minor was settled mainly by Æolian emigrants from Bœotia. The coast to the south of the Æolians was occupied by Ionian emigrants, who, uniting with their Ionian kinsmen already settled upon

[3] It is possible that the wonderful ruins and art relics found at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and on other sites in the Peloponnesus are the memorials of a prehistoric civilization overwhelmed by the Dorian invasion. In 1876 Dr. Schliemann began excavations at Mycenæ. The most interesting of his discoveries here were several tombs holding the remains of nineteen bodies, which were surrounded by an immense number of articles of gold, silver, and bronze, — golden masks and breastplates, drinking cups of solid gold, bronze swords inlaid with gold and silver, and personal ornaments of every kind. There was one hundred pounds in weight of gold articles alone. This discovery is declared by Professor Manatt to be "the crowning historical revelation of our time." It assures us at least that the ancient legends, in so far as they represent Mycenæ as having been in early pre-Dorian times the seat of an influential and wealthy royal race, rest on a basis of actual fact.

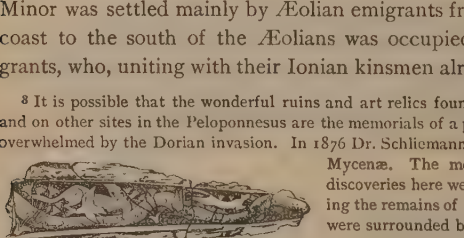


FIG. 41. — INLAID SWORD BLADES FOUND AT MYCENÆ

that shore, built up twelve splendid cities (Ephesus, Miletus, etc.), which finally united to form the celebrated Ionian Confederacy. South of the Ionians, the Dorians established their colonies. They also settled the important islands of Cos and Rhodes, and conquered and colonized Crete.

These traditions doubtless preserve the memory of a great shifting of the population of Greece caused by the incoming of the conquering Dorian race. With these migrations to the Asiatic shores the legendary age of Greece comes to an end. From this time forward we tread upon fairly firm historical ground.

References. — After the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Bryant's translation), the following works will be found useful in the present connection. CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 47–78. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. i, pp. 309–469. ABBOTT, vol. i, chap. v; on the Homeric poems and the Homeric society. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. iii–x. CHURCH, A. J., *Stories from Homer* and *Greek Story and Song;* and ZIMMERN, H., *Old Tales from Greece*, are for youthful readers. GAYLEY, C. M., *Classic Myths in English Literature*, chaps. xvii–xxvii.

For archæological matters: SCHLIEMANN, H., *Troy and its Remains* (1875); *Mycenæ* (1878); *Ilios* (1881); *Troja* (1884); and *Tiryns* (1885). For an admirable summary of all these works of Dr. Schliemann's, see SCHUCHHARDT, C., *Schliemann's Excavations*. DIEHL, C., *Excursions in Greece;* an account of the results of excavations at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and on other sites in Greece. GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chaps. i–v; compares the Greek legends with recent archæological discoveries and discusses the question whether or not these discoveries may be regarded as a verification in any degree of the legends. TSOUNTAS, C., and MANATT, J. I., *The Mycenæan Age*. HALL, H. R. H., *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ. 2. The centers and the character of the culture of the Mycenæan Age. 3. The shield of Achilles. 4. The exploits of Perseus.

FIG. 42. — HISSARLIK, THE PROBABLE SITE OF ANCIENT TROY
(From a photograph)

CHAPTER XII

THE INHERITANCE OF THE HISTORIC GREEKS

122. The City State. — In this chapter we shall give a short account of the political and religious institutions, of the language and literature of the Greeks, at the dawn of history. These things were their heritage from prehistoric times.

The light that falls upon Greece about the seventh century B.C. shows the land filled with cities. It is of these cities that we must first say a word, for it is with them — with *cities* — that Greek history has to do. In the first place, each of these cities was independent and self governed, like a modern nation. It was a city-state. It made war and peace and held diplomatic relations with its neighbors. Its citizens were aliens in every other city.

In the second place, these city-states were, as we think of independent states, very small. In most cases each consisted of nothing more than a single walled town with a little circumjacent farming or pasture land. Sometimes, however, the city-state embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city-state of Athens included all Attica with its hundred or more villages and towns. In all other cases, however, the outlying villages, if any, were so close to the walled town that all their inhabitants, in the event of a sudden raid by enemies, could get to the city gates in one or two hours at most.

In the third place, each of these early cities was made up of smaller bodies, — clans (*γένη*), phratries, and tribes. Of these the smallest, that is the clan, was the most important. The members of the clan, which was simply the expanded family, were bound together not only by the ties of kinship but also by the ties of religion. All were the actual or reputed descendants of a common ancestor whom they worshiped as a sort of guardian divinity. It was only members of these clans who at first enjoyed the rights of citizenship.

123. Feeling of the Greek for his City. — We cannot understand Greek history unless we get at the outset a clear idea of the feelings of a Greek towards the city of which he was a member. It was his country, the fatherland for which he lived and for which he died. Exile from his native city was to him a fate scarcely less dreaded than death. This devotion of the Greek to his city was the sentiment which corresponds to patriotism amongst us, only, being a narrower as well as a religious feeling, it was much more intense.

It was this strong city feeling among the Greeks which prevented them from ever uniting to form a single nation. The history of Greece from first to last is, in general, the history of a great number of independent cities wearing one another out with their never-ending disputes and wars arising from a thousand and one petty causes of rivalry and hatred. But it was this very thing that made life in the Greek cities so stimulating and strenuous, and that developed so wonderfully the faculties of the Greek citizen. In a word, the wonderful thing which we call Greek civilization was the flower and fruitage of the city-state.

124. Ideas of the Greeks respecting the System of the Universe. — Forming another important element of the inheritance of the historic Greeks were their religious ideas and institutions. In speaking of these we shall begin with a word respecting their ideas in regard to the system of the universe.

The Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, circular in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. The heavens were a solid vault or dome, whose edge shut down close upon the earth. Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed souls. Still beneath this was the prison Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron.

The sun was an archer god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Naturally it was imagined that the regions in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of

delight and plenty. In the western region were the Isles of the Blest, the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.

125. The Olympian Council. — At the head of the Greek pantheon there was a council of twelve members, comprising six gods and as many goddesses. The male deities were Zeus, the father of gods and men; Poseidon, ruler of the sea; Apollo, or Phœbus, the god of light, of music, and of prophecy; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the deformed god of fire, and the forger of the thunderbolts of Zeus; Hermes, the wing-footed herald of the celestials, the god of invention and commerce.

The female divinities were Hera, the proud and jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas, — who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, — the goddess of wisdom and the patroness of the domestic arts; Artemis, the goddess of the chase; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, born of the white sea foam; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth; Demeter, the earth mother, the goddess of grains and harvests.[1]

These great deities were simply magnified human beings. They surpassed mortals rather in power than in size of body. Their abode was Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

126. The Delphian Oracle. — The most precious part perhaps of the religious heritage of the historic Greeks from the misty Hellenic foretime was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The Greeks believed that in the early ages the gods were wont to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past, — a tradition of a golden

[1] Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine. Hades ruled over the lower realms; Dionysus was the god of wine; Eros, of love; Iris was the goddess of the rainbow, and the special messenger of Zeus; Hebe (goddess) was the cupbearer of the celestials; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates. There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. The Nymphs were beautiful maidens, who peopled the woods, the fields, the rivers, the lakes, and the ocean. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinnyes) avenged crime, especially murder and sacrilegious crimes. Besides these there were the Centaurs, the Cyclopes, the Harpies, the Gorgons, and a thousand others.

age that had passed away. In historic times, though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of counsel through what were known as *oracles*. These communications, it was believed, were made sometimes by Zeus,[2] but more commonly by Apollo. Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These favored spots were called *oracles*, as were also the responses there received.

The most renowned of the Greek oracles, as we have intimated, was that at Delphi, in Phocis. Here, from a deep fissure in the rocks, arose stupefying vapors, which were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over this spot was erected a temple in honor of the Revealer. The communication was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess, seated upon a tripod placed above the orifice. As she became overpowered by the vapors, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in hexameter verse. Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice; but very many of them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were made obscure and ingeniously ambiguous, so that they might correspond with the event however affairs should turn.[3]

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world. It was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in times of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

127. The Olympian Games. — Another of the most characteristic of the religious institutions of the Greeks which they inherited from prehistoric times was the sacred games celebrated at Olympia in Elis, in honor of the Olympian Zeus. The origin of this

[2] The oracle of Zeus of widest repute was that at Dodona, in Epirus, where the priests listened for the voice of the god in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak.

[3] Thus Crœsus at the time he made war on Cyrus (sec. 88) was told in response to his inquiry that if he undertook the war he would destroy a great empire. He did, indeed, — but the empire was his own.

festival is lost in the obscurity of tradition; but by the opening of the eighth century B.C. it had assumed national importance. In 776 B.C. a contestant named Coroebus was victor in the foot race at Olympia, and as from that time the names of the victors were carefully registered, that year came to be used by the Greeks as the starting point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the interval between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad.

The contests consisted of foot races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of Hellenic race; must have undergone special training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival.

The victor was crowned with a garland of sacred olive; heralds proclaimed his name abroad; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls; his statues, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating his name and triumphs as the name and triumphs of one who had reflected immortal honor upon his native state.

128. **The Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian Games.** — Besides the Olympian games there were transmitted from prehistoric times the germs at least of three other national festivals. These were the Pythian, held in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Nemea, in Argolis; and the Isthmian, observed in honor of Poseidon, on the Isthmus of Corinth. Just when these festivals had their beginnings it is impossible to say, but by the time the historic period had fairly opened, that is to say, by the sixth century B.C., they had lost their local and assumed a national character, and were henceforth to be prominent features of the common life of the Greek cities.

129. **Influence of the Grecian Games.** — For more than a thousand years these national festivals, particularly those celebrated

at Olympia, exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, save the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals, poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind.

FIG. 43. — GREEK RUNNERS

Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art (sec. 244). "Without the Olympic games," says Holm, "we should never have had Greek sculpture." They also promoted intercourse between the Grecian cities and kept alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, they impressed a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.[4]

130. The Amphictyonic Council. — Closely connected with the religious festivals were the so-called Amphictyonies, or "leagues of neighbors," which formed another important part of the bequest from the legendary age to historic Greece. These were associations of a number of cities or tribes for the celebration of religious rites at some shrine, or for the protection of some particular temple.

Preëminent among all such unions was that known as the Delphic Amphictyony, or simply The Amphictyony. This was a

[4] The Olympian games, after having been suspended since the fourth century of our era, were revived, with an international character, in 1896, at Athens.

league of twelve of the sub-tribes of Hellas, whose main object was the protection of the oracle at Delphi. Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city." This was one of the first steps taken in the practice of international law.

The Amphictyons waged in behalf of the Delphic god Apollo a number of crusades, or sacred wars. The first of these was carried on against the Phocian towns of Crissa and Cirrha (about 595–586 B.C.), whose inhabitants had been guilty of annoying the pilgrims on their way to the shrine. The cities were taken and leveled to the ground. Their lands were also consecrated to the gods, which means that they were never thereafter to be plowed or planted, or in any way devoted to secular use.

131. **The Greek Language.** — One of the most wonderful things which the Greeks brought out of their dim foretime was their language. At the beginning of the historic period it was already one of the richest and most perfectly elaborated languages ever spoken by human lips. Through what number of centuries it was taking form upon the lips of the forefathers of the historic Greeks, we can only vaguely imagine. It bears testimony to a long period of Hellenic life lying behind the historic age in Hellas.

132. **The Mythology of the Greeks.** — Another wonderful possession of the Greeks when they first appeared in history was their mythology. All races in the earlier stages of their development are "myth-makers," but no race has ever created such a rich and beautiful mythology as did the ancient Greeks, and this for the reason that no other race was ever endowed with so fertile and lively an imagination. Respecting the great influence of these myths and legends upon the life and thought of the historic Greeks we have already spoken (sec. 115).

133. **The Homeric Poems.** — The rich and flexible language of the Greeks had already in prehistoric times been wrought into epic poems of incomparable beauty and perfection. These epics

transmitted from the Greek foretime and known as the "Homeric poems" consist of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Neither their exact date nor their authorship is known (sec. 253). That they were the prized possession of the Greeks at the beginning of the historical period is all that it is important for us to note here. They were a sort of Bible to the Greeks, and exercised an incalculable influence not only upon the religious but also upon the literary life of the entire Hellenic world.

References. — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 1–111. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 164–194; vol. iii, pp. 276–297. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. i, xi, and xix. COULANGES, FUSTEL DE, *The Ancient City*, bks. i–iii. FOWLER, W. W., *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. i–iii. RICHARDSON, R. B., *Vacation Days in Greece*, "Delphi, the Sanctuary of Greece," and "Dodona." GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. ix, "Olympia and the Festivals," and chap. xiii, "Eleusis and the Mysteries."

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Religion as the organizer of the ancient city-state. See *Coulanges* and *Fowler*. 2. The story of Demeter and Persephone. 3. The Eleusinian mysteries. 4. The Olympian games.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO HOMER

CHAPTER XIII

THE GROWTH OF SPARTA

134. Situation of Sparta. — Sparta was one of the cities of the Peloponnesus which owed their origin or importance to the Dorian Invasion (sec. 120). It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, and took its name Sparta (sown land) from the circumstance that it was built upon tillable ground,

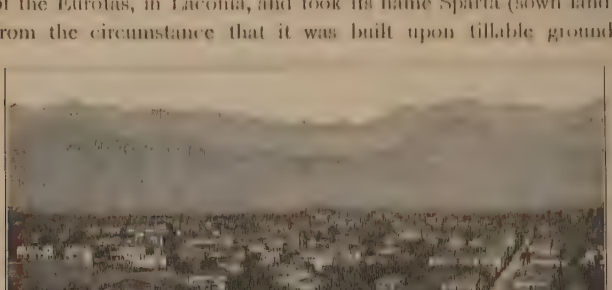


FIG. 44. — SPARTA, WITH THE RANGES OF THE TAYGETUS IN THE BACKGROUND. (From a photograph)

whereas the heart and center of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock (the citadel or acropolis). But Sparta needed no citadel. Her situation, surrounded as she was by almost impassable mountain barriers, and far removed from the sea, was her sufficient defense. Indeed, the Spartans seem to have thought it unnecessary even to erect a wall round their city, which stood open on every side until late and degenerate times.

135. Classes in the Spartan State. — The population of Laconia was divided into three classes, — Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots. The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of

the country, and were Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population, at no period numbering more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms.

The Perioeci (dwellers around) were the subjugated natives. They are said to have outnumbered the Spartans three to one. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute-rent, and in times of war to fight for the glory and interest of their Spartan masters.

The third and lowest class was composed of serfs, called Helots. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot. They had no rights, practically, which their Spartan masters felt bound to respect. It is affirmed that when they grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.

136. The Legend of Lycurgus. — Of the history of Sparta before the First Olympiad we have no certain knowledge. According to tradition, peace, prosperity, and rapid growth were secured through the adoption of a most remarkable political constitution framed by a great lawgiver named Lycurgus.[1]

It is probable that Lycurgus was a real person, and that he had something to do with shaping the Spartan constitution. But it is almost certain that he simply reformed a constitution already in existence; for it is a proverb that constitutions grow and are not made. Circumstances, doubtless, were in the main the real creator of the peculiar political institutions of Sparta, — the circumstances that surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population.

137. The Spartan Constitution. — The so-called constitution of Lycurgus provided for two joint kings, a Senate of Elders, a General Assembly, and a sort of executive board composed of five persons called Ephors.

The two kings corresponded in some respects to the two consuls at Rome. One was a check upon the other. This double sovereignty worked admirably; for five centuries there was no

[1] The date of Lycurgus falls probably near the close of the ninth century B.C.

successful attempt on the part of a Spartan king to subvert the constitution. The power of the kings, it should be added, came to be rather nominal than real, save in time of war.

The Senate consisted of twenty-eight elders and the two kings. The duties of the body seem to have been both of a judicial and a legislative character. No one could become a senator until he had reached the age of sixty.

The General Assembly was composed of all the citizens of Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made and questions of peace and war decided. In striking contrast to the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without general debate, only the magistrates and persons specially invited being allowed to address the assemblage. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated windy discussion.

The board of Ephors was composed, as we have noticed, of five persons, elected in some way not known to us. This body gradually drew to itself many of the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as much of the authority of the associate kings.

138. Regulations as to Land, Trade, and Money. — Plutarch says that Lycurgus, seeing that the lands had fallen largely into the hands of the rich, made a general redistribution of them, allotting an equal portion to each of the nine thousand Spartan citizens, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each of the thirty thousand Perioeci. It is not probable that there ever was such an exact division of landed property. The Spartan theory, it is true, seems to have been that every free man should possess a farm large enough to support him without work, but as a matter of fact there existed, at certain periods at least, great inequality in landed possessions among the Spartans. In the fourth century, according to Plutarch, not more than one hundred of the citizens held any land at all.

The Spartans were forbidden to engage in commerce or to pursue any trade; all their time must be passed in the chase, or in gymnastic and martial exercises. Iron was made the sole money of the state. This money, Plutarch tells us, was so heavy that the amount needed to make a trifling purchase required a

yoke of oxen to draw it. The object of Lycurgus in instituting such a currency was, we are told, to prevent its being used for the purchase of worthless foreign stuff.[2]

139. The Public Tables. — In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus is said to have ordered that all the citizens should eat at public and common tables. This was their custom, but Lycurgus could have had nothing to do with instituting it. It was part of their military life.

Every citizen was required to contribute to these common meals a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices. Excepting the Ephors, none, not even the kings, was excused from sitting at the common mess. One of the kings, returning from an expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

A luxury-loving Athenian once visited Sparta, and seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, which seems to have consisted in the main of a black broth, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle: "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

140. Education of the Youth. — Children at Sparta were regarded as belonging to the state. Every male infant was brought before the Council of Elders, and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy trainers. The aim of the entire course was to make a nation of soldiers who should contemn toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor.

The mind was cultivated only as far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were not taught,

[2] The real truth about this iron money is simply this: the conservative, non-trading Spartans retained longer than the other Grecian states the use of a primitive medium of exchange. Gold and silver money was not introduced into Sparta until about the close of the fifth century B.C., when the great expansion of her interests rendered a change in her money system absolutely necessary. In referring the establishment of the early currency to Lycurgus the Spartans simply did in this case just what they did in regard to their other usages.

and the art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic* (from *Laconia*), meaning a concise and pithy mode of expression. At the public tables the boys were not permitted to speak until questioned; they sat "silent as statues." As Plutarch puts it, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words."

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In running, leaping, wrestling, and hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity. At the Olympian games Spartan contestants more frequently than any others bore off the prizes of victory.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. At times he was scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash without revealing their suffering by look or moan.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If detected, they were severely punished for having been so unskillful as not to get away safely with their booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of the Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle.

That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view, — the rearing of a nation of skillful and resolute warriors, — the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests.

141. The Spartan Conquest of Messenia. — The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian Wars was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian Wars (about 743–723 and 645–631 B.C.). The outcome of the protracted

struggle was the defeat of the Messenians and their reduction to the hard and bitter condition of the Helots of Laconia. Many of the nobles fled the country and found hospitality as exiles in other lands. Some of the fugitives conquered for themselves a place in Sicily and gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messana (Messina), on the Sicilian straits.

Thus Sparta secured possession of Messenia. From the end of the Second Messenian War on to the decline of the Spartan power in the fourth century B.C., the Messenians were the serfs of the Spartans. All the southern part of the Peloponnesus was now Spartan territory.

142. Sparta becomes Supreme in the Peloponnesus. — After Sparta had secured possession of Messenia, her influence and power advanced steadily until her leadership was acknowledged by all the other states of the Peloponnesus save Argos. The virtual management of the Olympian games, at Olympia, in Elis, was in her hands. Through these national festivals her name and fame were spread throughout all Hellas. She now began to be looked to even by the Greek cities beyond the Peloponnesus as the natural leader and champion of the Greeks.

Having now traced in brief outline the rise of Sparta to supremacy in the Peloponnesus, we must turn aside to take a wider look over Hellas, in order to note an expansion movement of the Hellenic race which resulted in the establishment of Hellenes upon almost every shore of the then known world.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Lycurgus*. THUCYDIDES, i. 10, beginning; *ibid.* 18, beginning.

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 175–315. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 259–377. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. v–viii. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. xv–xvii. ALLCROFT, A. H., and MASOM, W. F., *Early Grecian History*, chaps. viii and xi. OMAN, C., *History of Greece*, chaps. vii and viii. GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. v, secs. 1–3.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Argos and King Pheidon. 2. Origin of the double sovereignty at Sparta. 3. The women of Sparta. 4. Legends of the Messenian Wars. 5. The Helots of Laconia. See *Thucydides*, iv. 80.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AGE OF COLONIZATION AND OF TYRANNIES

I. The Age of Colonization (about 750–600 B.C.)

143. Causes of Greek Colonization.—The latter half of the eighth and the seventh century B.C. constituted a period in Greek history marked by great activity in the establishment of colonies. One inciting cause of this outward movement at this time was the political unrest which had come to fill almost all the cities of Greece. Oligarchies and tyrannies (sec. 152) had arisen, and the people oftentimes were oppressed. Thousands, driven from their homes, like the Puritans in the time of the Stuart tyranny in England, fled over the seas, and, under the direction of the Delphian Apollo, laid upon remote and widely separated shores the basis of "dispersed Hellas." The overcrowding of population and the Greek love of adventure also contributed to swell the number of emigrants.

144. Relation of a Greek Colony to its Mother City. — The history of the Greek colonies would be unintelligible without an understanding of the relation in which a Greek colony stood to the city sending out the emigrants. There was a wide difference between Greek colonization and Roman. The Roman colony was subject to the authority of the mother city.[1] The Greek colony, on the other hand, was, in almost all cases, wholly independent of its parent city. The Greek mind could not entertain the idea of one city as rightly ruling over another, even though that other were her own daughter colony.[2]

But while there were no political bonds uniting the mother city and her daughter colonies, still the colonies were attached to their parent country by ties of kinship, of culture, and of filial

[1] In this respect the colonies of Rome resembled those of modern times.

[2] Besides the independent colonies, however, there was another class known as *cleruchies*, over which the mother city retained full control. Such settlements, however, were more properly garrisons than colonies, and were few in number.

GREECE
AND THE
GREEK COLONIES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles.
Ionian
Donian
Other Greek Races
Phœnician Settlements are underlined in Black
Agathe
Massalia
Olbia
Rhodae
Emporiae
Zacynthus
Hemeroskopion
Artemisia
Gades
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
Alalia
SARDINIA
Caralis
Ancon
Kyme
Palaiapolis
Poseidonia
Panormus
Egesta
Motye
Selinus
Himera
Acragas
Gela
Messene
Thapsus
Hippo
Ityko
(Utica)
Karchedon
(Carthage)
Hadrumetum
Leptis
IBERIA
GAUL
LIGURES
ITALY
ADRIATIC
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERR
8
4
0
4
8
12
48
44
40
32
28
0
4
8
12

20
24
28
32
36
40
48
44
40
36
32
28
Tanais
Olbia
Lake Maiotis
Pantikapaion
Tauric Chersonesus
Phanagoria
Heraclea Chersonesus
CAUCASUS M.
Pitycus
Dioscourias
COLOMIS
Phasis
Istros
EUXINE SEA
Kallatis
Odessos
Mesambria
Apollonia
Sinope
Kerasous
Trapezus
Kotyora
PAPHLAGONIA
Heraclea
Byzantium
Chalcedon
THRACE
Perinthus
Propontis
Cyzicus
Cius
BITHYNIA
CAPPADOCIA
Epidaurus
Lissos
Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium)
Apollonia
MACEDONIA
Chalcidice
Thasos
Ainos
Abydos
Ilios or Troy
Olynthus
Dodona
Potidæa
Thessaly
Corcyra
Anactorium
Leucas
Ithaca
Ambracia
Ætolia
Delphi
Euboea
Lesbos
Phocæa
Chios
Samos
Ephesus
Sardis
PHRYGIA
Halys R.
Eurypedon R.
CILICIA
Selinus
Athens
Corinth
Argos
Achaia
Sparta
Melos
Thera
Delos
Naxos
Cnidus
Rhodes
Cydonia
Cnossus
CRETE
Soloi
Cilium
Arados
CYPRUS
PHŒNICIA
Sidon
Tyre
SYRIA
NEAN SEA
Cyrene
Barca
Cyrenaica
Naucratis
EGYPT
RED SEA

piety. The sacred fire on the altar of the new home was kindled from embers piously borne by the emigrants from the public hearth of the mother city, and testified constantly that the citizens of the two cities were members of the same though divided family.

The feeling the colonists had for their mother city is shown by the names which they often gave to the prominent objects in and about their new home. Just as the affectionate memory of the homes from which they had gone out prompted the New England colonists to reproduce in the new land the names of places and objects dear to them in the old, so did the cherished remembrance of the land they had left lead the Greek emigrants to give to the streets and temples and fountains and hills of their new city the familiar and endeared names of the old home.

145. **The Chalcidian Colonies** (about 750–650 B.C.). — An early colonizing ground of the Greeks was the Macedonian coast. Here a triple promontory juts far out into the Ægean. On this broken shore, Chalcis of Eubœa, with the help of emigrants from other cities, founded so many colonies — thirty-two owned her as their mother city — that the land became known as Chalcidice.

One of the chief attractions of this shore to the Greek colonists was the rich copper, silver, and gold deposits. The hills, too, were clothed with heavy forests which furnished excellent timber for shipbuilding, and this was an important item of export, since in many parts of Greece timber was scarce.

146. **Colonies on the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus.** — A second region full of attractions for the colonists of the enterprising commercial cities of the mother country was that embracing the Hellespont and the Bosporus, together with the connecting sheet of water known to the Greeks as the Propontis. These water channels, forming as they do the gateway to the northern world, early drew the attention of the Greek traders. Here was founded, among other cities, Byzantium (658 B.C.). The city was built, under the direction of the Delphian oracle,[8] on

[8] The managers of the oracle, doubtless through the visitors to the shrine, kept themselves informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able to give good advice to those contemplating the founding of a new settlement.

one of the most magnificent sites for a great emporium that the ancient world afforded. It was destined to a long and checkered history.

147. **Colonies in the Euxine Region.** — The tale of the Argonauts (sec. 118) shows that in prehistoric times the Greeks probably carried on trade with the shores of the Euxine. The chief products of the region were fish, grain, and cattle, besides timber, gold, copper, and iron.

Still another object of commerce was slaves. This region was a sort of slave hunters' land, — the Africa of Hellas. It supplied to a great degree the slave markets of the Hellenic world. In the modern Caucasian slave trade of the Mohammedan sultans we may recognize a survival of a commerce which was active twenty-five hundred years ago.

Eighty colonies in the Euxine are said to have owned Miletus as their mother city. The coasts of the sea became so crowded with Greek cities, and the whole region was so astir with Greek enterprise, that the Greeks came to regard this quarter of the world, once looked upon as so remote and inhospitable, as almost a part of the home country.

148. **Colonies in Southern Italy.** — At the same time that the tide of Hellenic migration was flowing towards the north it was also flowing towards the west. Southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, "Great Greece." Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important city of Taras, the Tarentum of the Romans (708 B.C.), and the Æolian city of Sybaris (721 B.C.), noted for the luxurious life of its citizens, whence our term *Sybarite*, meaning a voluptuary.

Upon the western coast of the peninsula was the city of Cumæ (Kyme), famed throughout the ancient world on account of its oracle and sibyl. This was probably the oldest Greek colony in Italy.

The chief importance of the cities of Magna Græcia for civilization springs from their relations to Rome. Through them, without doubt, the early Romans received many primary elements of

culture, deriving thence probably their knowledge of letters as well as of Greek constitutional law (sec. 309).

149. Colonies in Sicily and in Southern Gaul. — The island of Sicily is in easy sight from the Italian shore. About the same time that the southern part of the peninsula was being filled with Greek colonists, this island was also receiving a swarm of immigrants. Here among other colonies was planted by the Dorian Corinth the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage.

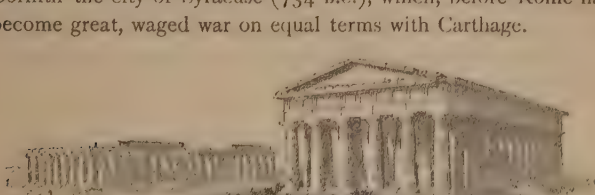


FIG. 45. — RUINED TEMPLES AT PÆSTUM

Pæstum was the Greek Posidonia, in Lucania. These ruins form the most noteworthy existing monuments of the early Greek occupation of Southern Italy

Sicily was the most disorderly and tumultuous part of Hellas. It was the "wild West" of the Hellenic world. It was the land of romance and adventure, and seems to have drawn to itself the most untamed and venturesome spirits among the Greeks.

The coast of Gaul where the Rhone meets the sea was another region occupied by Greek colonists. A chief attraction here was the amber and tin brought overland from the Baltic and from Britain. Here were established several colonies, chief among which was Massalia (about 600 B.C.), the modern Marseilles.

150. Colonies in North Africa and Egypt. — In the Nile Delta the Greeks early established the important station of Naucratis, which was the gateway through which Hellenic influences passed into Egypt and Egyptian influences passed out into Greece. Some time in the seventh century B.C., in obedience to the commands of the Delphian Apollo, they founded on the African

coast the important colony of Cyrene, which became the metropolis of a large district known as Cyrenaica.

151. Place of the Colonies in Grecian History. — The history of dispersed Hellas is closely interwoven with that of continental Hellas. In truth, a large part of the history of Greece would be unintelligible should we lose sight of Greater Greece, just as a large part of the history of Europe since the seventeenth century cannot be understood without a knowledge of Greater Europe. In colonial interests, rivalries, and jealousies we shall find the inciting cause of many of the contentions and wars between the cities of the home land.

II. The Tyrannies (about 650–500 B.C.)

152. The Character and Origin of the Greek Tyrannies. — The latter part of the period of Greek colonization corresponds very nearly to the so-called Age of the Tyrants, of whom a word must here be said.

In the Heroic Age the preferred form of government among the Greeks was a patriarchal monarchy. The *Iliad* says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only, — one king, — him to whom Zeus has given the scepter." But by the dawn of the historic period, the patriarchal monarchies of the Achæan age had given place, in almost all the Grecian cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. A little later, just as the Homeric monarchies had been superseded by oligarchies, so were these in many of the Greek cities superseded by tyrannies.

By the term *tyrannos* (tyrant) the Greeks did not mean one who ruled harshly, but simply one who held the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek tyrants were beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. Sparta was almost the only important state which did not at one time or another fall into the hands of a tyrant.

The so-called Age of the Tyrants lasted from about 650 to 500 B.C., although we hear of tyrants ruling in some cities long before the earlier and in others long after the later date.

The causes that led to the overthrow in so many cities of oligarchic rule and the establishment of government by a single person were various. A main cause, however, of the rise of tyrannies is found in the misrule of the nobles, into whose hands the royal authority of earlier times had passed. By their selfish, cruel, and arbitrary administration of the government they provoked the revolt of the people and invited destruction.

Generally the person setting up a tyranny was some ambitious member of the aristocracy, who had held himself out as the champion of the people, and who, aided by them, had succeeded in overturning the hated government of the oligarchs.

153. The Greek Feeling towards the Tyrants.—The tyrants sat upon unstable thrones. The Greeks, always lovers of freedom, had an inextinguishable hatred of these despots. Furthermore, the atrocious crimes of some of them caused the whole class to be regarded with the utmost abhorrence, — so much so that tyrannicide, that is, the killing of a tyrant, came to be regarded by the Greeks as a supremely patriotic and virtuous act. Consequently the tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived. They were usually violently overthrown, and the old oligarchies reëstablished, or democracies set up in their place. Speaking broadly, the Dorian cities preferred aristocratic and the Ionian cities democratic government.

154. Typical Tyrants. — Among the most noted of the tyrants were Pisistratus, at Athens, of whom we shall speak hereafter; Periander at Corinth (625–585 B.C.), who was a most cruel ruler, yet so generous a patron of artists and literary men that he was thought worthy of a place among the Seven Sages; and Polycrates, tyrant of Samos (535–522 B.C.), who, with that island as a stronghold and with a fleet of a hundred war galleys, built up a sort of maritime kingdom in the Ægean, and for the space of more than a decade enjoyed such astonishing and uninterrupted prosperity that it was believed his sudden downfall and death — he was lured to the Asian shore by a Persian satrap, and crucified — were brought about by the envy of the gods, who the Greeks thought were apt to be jealous of over-prosperous mortals.

155. Influence of the Tyrants upon Greek Civilization. — The rule of the tyrants conferred some undoubted benefits upon Greek civilization. Through the connections which the despots formed with foreign kings the isolation of the Greek cities was broken. Thus Pheidon of Argos — a tyrant of the better class — was in close relations with the Lydian kings, and Polycrates was the friend and ally of Amasis, king of Egypt. These connections between the courts of the tyrants and those of the rulers of Oriental countries opened the cities of the Hellenic world to the influences of those lands of culture, widened their horizon, and enlarged the sphere of their commercial enterprise.

Again, the tyrants were apt to be liberal patrons of art and literature. Poetry and music flourished in the congenial atmosphere of their luxurious courts, while architecture was given a great impulse by the public buildings and works which many of them undertook with a view of embellishing their capitals, or of winning the favor of the poorer classes by creating opportunities for their employment. Thus it happened that the Age of the Tyrants was a period marked by an unusually rapid advance of many of the Greek cities in their artistic, intellectual, and industrial life.

Selections from the Sources. — Herodotus, iv. 150–153 and 156–159; on the part taken by the Delphian oracle in the founding of Cyrene. Consult Index for stories of Cypselus, Polycrates, and Periander.

Secondary Works. — Curtius, vol. i, pp. 432–500. Grote (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 163–220 and 247–275. Abbott, vol. i, pp. 333–365. Holm, vol. i, chap. xxi. Cox, vol. i, pp. 141–183. Greenidge, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. iii, sec. 1. Bury, J. B., *History of Greece*, chap. ii. Allcroft, A. H., and Mason, W. F., *Early Grecian History*, chap. vi.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Delphian oracle and Greek colonization. 2. Life in the Greek colonies. 3. A comparison of Greek and Roman colonies. 4. Phalaris of Agrigentum. 5. The tyrants as patrons of religion, art, and literature.

Fig. 46. — The Acropolis at Athens. (From a photograph)

CHAPTER XV

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS UP TO THE PERSIAN WARS

156. The Attic People. — The population of Attica in historic times was essentially Ionian in race, but there were in it strains of other Hellenic stocks, besides some non Hellenic elements as well. This mixed origin of the population is believed to be one secret of the versatile yet well balanced character which distinguished the Attic people above all other branches of the Hellenic family.

157. The Site of Athens. — Four or five miles from the sea, a little hill, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early settlers of the Attic plains. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginning of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

158. The Kings of Athens. — In prehistoric times Athens was ruled by kings, like all the other Grecian cities. The names of Theseus and Codrus are the most noted of the regal line.

To Theseus tradition ascribed the work of uniting the separate Attic villages or strongholds, twelve in number, into a single city-state. This prehistoric union, however or by whomsoever effected, laid the basis of the greatness of Athens. How much the union meant for Athens is shown by the history of Thebes. Although holding the same relation to Bœotia that Athens held to Attica, Thebes never succeeded in uniting the Bœotian towns into a single city-state, and consequently fretted away her strength in constant bickerings and wars with them.

159. **The Archons.** — Codrus was the last hereditary king of Athens. His successor, elected by the nobles from the royal family, was simply ruler for life. There were twelve life kings, and then (in 752 B.C.) the authority of the regal office was still further diminished by limiting the rule of the king to ten years. Later the office was thrown open to all the nobles, and the term of office reduced to one year. As the power of the king was diminished, his old-time duties were assigned to magistrates chosen by the nobles from among themselves. The outcome of these changes was that a little after the opening of the seventh century we find a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, standing at the head of the Athenian state. The old Homeric monarchy had become an oligarchy.

160. **The Council of the Areopagus and the General Assembly.** — Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.[1] This council was composed exclusively of ex-Archons, and consequently was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish transgressors. There was no appeal from its decisions. This council was, at the opening of the historic period, the real power in the Athenian state.

In addition to the board of Archons and the Council of the Areopagus, there is some evidence of the existence of a general

[1] So called from the name of the hill "Αρειος πάγος, "Hill of Ares," which was the assembling place of the council.

assembly (Ἐκκλησία, *Ecclesia*), in which all those who served in the heavy-armed forces of the state had a place.

161. Classes in the Athenian State. — The leading class in the Athenian state were the nobles, or Eupatrids. These men were wealthy landowners, a large part of the best soil of Attica, it is said, being held by them.

Beneath the nobles we find the body of the nominally free inhabitants. Many of them were tenants living in a state little removed from serfdom upon the estates of the wealthy nobles. They paid rent in kind to their landlords, and in case of failure to pay, they, together with their wives and children, might be seized by the proprietor and sold as slaves. Others owned their little farms, but at the time of which we are speaking had fallen deeply in debt. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, these classes among the common people were filled with bitterness towards the nobles and were ready for revolution.

162. Draco's Code (621 B.C.). — It was probably to quiet the people and to save the state from anarchy[2] that the nobles at this time appointed a person named Draco, one of their own order, to write out and publish the laws.[3]

In carrying into effect his commission, Draco probably did little more than reduce existing rules and customs to a definite and written form. The laws as published were very severe. Death was the penalty for the smallest theft. This severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written, "not in ink, but in blood."

There was one real and great defect in Draco's work. He did not accomplish anything in the way of economic reform, and

[2] Taking advantage of the unrest in the state, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, had just made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the supreme power (the Rebellion of Cylon, 628 or 624 B.C.).

[3] Up to this time the rules and customs of the city had been unwritten, and hence the Eupatrid magistrates, who alone administered the laws, could and often did interpret them unfairly in favor of their own class. The people demanded that the customs should be put in writing and published, so that every one might know just what they were (compare sec. 309).

thus did nothing to give relief to those who were struggling with poverty and were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.[4]

163. The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.). — The condition of the poorer classes grew more and more unendurable. Some radical measures of relief became necessary. Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians resolved to place their laws in the hands of a single man, to be remodeled as he might deem best. Solon, a man held in high esteem by all classes, was selected to discharge this responsible duty. Solon turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He canceled all debts of every kind, both public and private.[5] Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon prohibited the practice of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.

Such was the most important of the economic reforms of Solon. His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four propertied classes into which the people were divided. The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote, but not to hold office. He also made other changes in the constitution whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them, but judged them in case they did wrong.

164. The Tyrant Pisistratus (560–527 B.C.). — The reforms of Solon naturally worked hardship to many persons. These became bitter enemies of the new order of things. Moreover, the reformed constitution failed to work smoothly. Taking advantage of the situation, Pisistratus, an ambitious noble, with a small force

[4] The authorities are not agreed as to whether or not Draco made any changes in the constitution.

[5] This is Aristotle's account of the matter (*Athenian Constitution*, ch. 6). According to other accounts, Solon annulled only debts secured on land or on the person of the debtor. Solon also reformed the monetary system.

seized the Acropolis and made himself master of Athens. Though twice expelled from the city, he as often returned and reinstated himself in the tyranny.

Pisistratus may be taken as a type of the better class of Greek tyrants. He gave Athens a mild rule, and under him the city enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He established religious festivals, adorned the city with splendid buildings, and is said also to have added to the embellishments of the Lyceum, a sort of public park just outside the city walls, which in after times became one of the favorite resorts of the poets, philosophers, and pleasure seekers of the capital.

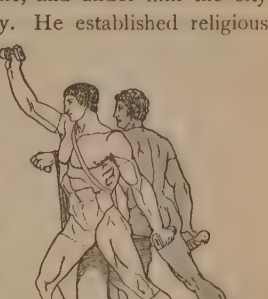


FIG. 47. — THE ATHENIAN TYRANNICIDES, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

Marble statues in the Naples Museum, recognized as ancient copies of the bronze statues set up at Athens in commemoration of the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchus

165. Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.). — The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power. At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus having insulted a young noble named Harmodius, this man, in connection with his friend Aristogiton and some others, planned to assassinate both the tyrants. Hipparchus was slain, but the plans of the conspirators miscarried as to Hippias. Harmodius was struck down by the guards of the tyrants, and Aristogiton was seized and put to death.

We have already spoken of how tyrannicide appeared to the Greek mind as an eminently praiseworthy act (sec. 153). This is well illustrated by the grateful and venerated remembrance in which Harmodius and Aristogiton were ever held by the Athenians. Statues were raised in their honor (Fig. 47), and the story of their

deed was rehearsed to the youth as an incentive to patriotism and self-devotion.

The plot had a most unhappy effect upon the disposition of Hippias. It caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed. With the help of the Spartans he was finally driven out of the city.

166. The Constitution of Clisthenes (508 B.C.). — Straightway upon the expulsion of Hippias there arose a great strife between the commons led by Clisthenes, who wished to conduct the government on the lines drawn by Solon, and the nobles, who aimed at the restoration of the old aristocratic rule. The issue was the triumph of the popular party. The constitution was now put into the hands of Clisthenes in order that he might mold it into a form still more democratic than that given it by Solon.

The most important of Clisthenes' measures was that by which he conferred Athenian citizenship upon *all the free inhabitants of Attica*.[6] This was what we should call an extension of the franchise. The measure made such a radical change in the constitution in the interest of the masses that Clisthenes rather than Solon is regarded by many as the real founder of the Athenian democracy.

167. Ostracism. — Among the other innovations or institutions of Clisthenes was the celebrated one known as *ostracism*. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. Six thousand votes[7] cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was

[6] The population of Attica comprised originally four tribes (*φυλαί*.) In place of these (they were not dissolved but merely deprived of all political significance) Clisthenes formed ten new tribes in which he enrolled all the freemen of Attica, including, it would seem, resident aliens and emancipated slaves. These new tribes, which were practically geographical divisions of Attica, were each made up of a number of local subdivisions called *demes*, or townships. The *demes* constituting any given tribe were scattered about Attica. The object of this was to break up the old factions, and also to give each tribe some territory in or near Athens, so that at least some of its members should be within easy reach of the meeting place of the Ecclesia.

[7] Or possibly a majority of the votes cast in an assembly of not less than six thousand citizens. The authorities are not clear.

sought was written on a shell or a piece of pottery, in Greek *ostrakon* (ὄστρακον), whence the term *ostracism*.

The design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of Pisistratus. It was first used to get rid of some of the old friends of the ex-tyrant Hippias whom the Athenians distrusted. Later the vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties, and thus merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor. No stigma or disgrace attached to him.[8]

168. Sparta opposes the Athenian Democracy.— The aristocratic party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans also viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and, inviting Hippias over from Asia, tried to overthrow the new government and restore him to power. But they did not succeed in their purpose, because their allies refused to aid them in such an undertaking, and Hippias went away to Persia to seek aid of King Darius. We shall hear of him again.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Solon*. ARISTOTLE, *Athenian Constitution*, 13–19.

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 316–431. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 422–529; vol. iii, pp. 324 398. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. ix, xiii, xv. The accounts of the Athenian constitution in Curtius, Grote, and Abbott, which were written before the discovery of the Aristotelian treatise, must be read with caution and under the light of the new evidence. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. xxvi–xxviii. GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, secs. 1–3. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chap. iv, sec. iv; and chap. v, sec. ii. Youthful readers will enjoy HARRISON, J. A., *Story of Greece*, chaps. xvi–xviii.

Topics for Class Reports.— 1. Legends of Solon. 2. The Alcmæonidæ and the Delphian temple and oracle. 3. The constitution of Clisthenes. 4. The story of Athena and Poseidon. 5. The rebellion of Cylon.

[8] The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (418 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man, Hyperbolus by name, whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This, it is said, was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man or honor a bad one by a resort to the measure.

FIG. 48. — GREEK WARRIORS PREPARING FOR BATTLE

CHAPTER XVI

THE PERSIAN WARS

(500–479 B.C.)

169. The Real Cause of the Persian Wars. — In a foregoing chapter we showed how the expansive energies of the Greek race, chiefly during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., covered the islands and shores of the Mediterranean world with a free, liberty-loving, progressive, and ever-growing population of Hellenic speech and culture. The first half of the sixth century had barely passed before this promising expansion movement was first checked and then seriously cramped by the rise of a great despotic Asiatic power, the Persian Empire, whose steady encroachments upon the Greek cities threatened to leave the Greeks no standing room on the earth. Here must be sought the real cause of the memorable wars between Hellas and Persia.

It will be recalled that the Persian Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great. Of his various conquests it concerns us here to note only that of the Lydian kingdom (sec. 88). Upon the downfall of Crœsus the Greek cities of the Asian coast which had formed part of his kingdom hastened to offer submission to the conqueror, asking that they be allowed to retain all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Lydian monarchy. Cyrus refused their petition. Thereupon they closed their gates against him, and resolved to fight for their liberties. In a short time, however, all were reduced to submission. Many of the Ionians,

rather than live in Ionia as slaves, abandoned their old homes and sought new ones among the cities of dispersed Hellas. All the remaining inhabitants of the Asian Greek cities, together with those of the large islands of Chios and Lesbos, became subjects of the Persian king. Thus at one blow was the whole of the eastern shore of the Ægean, the cradle and home of the earliest development in Greek poetry, philosophy, and art, lost to the Hellenic world.

Under Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus, the Persian authority was extended over Phœnicia, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Greek colonies of the African shore. This was another severe blow to Greek interests and Greek independence. The naval armaments of all these maritime countries were now subject to the orders of the Persian despot, and were ready to be turned against those of the Greeks still free.

Then about the year 513 B.C. an immense Persian army, led by Darius I in person and aimed at the Scythians north of the Danube, invaded Europe. The outcome of this expedition was the addition of both Thrace and Macedonia, together with important islands in the Northern Ægean, to the Persian Empire, and in the advance of its frontier to the mountains which guard Greece on the north.

The greater part of the shores of the Ægean was now in the possession of the Great King. That sea which had so long been the special arena of Greek activity and Greek achievement had become practically a Persian lake. Moreover, through the loss of the Hellespontine regions the Greeks were cut off from the Euxine, which had come to be such an important part of the Hellenic world. It was indeed a critical moment in the history of the Greek race.[1] As Ranke says, "It cannot be denied that the energetic Greek world was in danger of being crushed in the

[1] At the same time that the Greeks of the Eastern Mediterranean were thus falling under the yoke of the Persians, the Greeks in Sicily were being hard pressed by another barbarian people, the Phœnicians. The power of Carthage was rising, and the Greek cities of Sicily were just now engaging in a doubtful contest with her for the possession of the island. Thus all round the horizon threatening clouds were darkening the once bright prospects of the Hellenic world.

course of its vigorous development." Out of this situation arose the so-called Persian Wars.

170. The Ionian Revolt (500 B.C.).—The Greek cities reduced to servitude by Persia could neither long nor quietly endure the loss of their independence. In the year 500 B.C. Ionia became the center of a formidable rebellion against the Great King. The Athenians sent twenty ships to the aid of their Ionian kinsmen. Sardis was taken and burned (499 B.C.). Defeated in battle, the Athenians forsook their Ionian confederates and sailed back to Athens.

This unfortunate expedition was destined to have tremendous consequences. The Athenians had not only burned Sardis, but "had set the whole world on fire." When the news of the affair reached Darius at Susa, he asked, Herodotus tells us, who the Athenians were, and being told, took his bow and shot an arrow upward into the sky, saying as he let fly the shaft, "Grant, O Zeus, that I may have vengeance on the Athenians." After this speech, he bade one of his servants every day repeat to him three times these words: "Master, remember the Athenians."

Deserted by the Athenians, the only course left to the Ionians was to draw as many cities as possible into the revolt. In this they had great success. The movement became widespread and threatened the destruction of the Persian power in all those regions where its yoke had been laid upon the neck of once free Hellenes.

The military resources of the Great King were now collected for the suppression of the formidable rebellion. The Persian land and sea forces closed in around Miletus. After a long siege the city was taken. The most of the men were slain, while the women and children were transported beyond the Euphrates. The remaining cities of Ionia shared the fate of Miletus. They were sacked and destroyed, and the fairest of the boys and maidens were carried off for the service of the Great King. Also all the Greek cities on the European side of the Hellespont were taken and burned.

The first serious attempt of the enslaved Greeks to recover their lost freedom was thus suppressed. The eastern half of the

Greek world, filled with the ruins of once flourishing cities, and bearing everywhere the cruel marks of barbarian warfare, lay again in vassalage to the Great King. "The mild Ionian heavens did their part to heal the wounds: the waste places were again in time built upon, and cities, such as Ephesus, bloomed again in great prosperity; but as to a history of Ionia, that was for all time past" (Curtius).

171. The First Expedition of Darius against Greece (492 B.C.). — With the Ionian revolt crushed and punished, Darius determined to chastise the European Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, for giving aid to his rebellious subjects. A large land and naval armament was fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, three hundred ships being lost (492 B.C.).

172. Darius' Second Expedition (490 B.C.). — Undismayed by this disaster, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Meanwhile he sent heralds to the various Grecian states to demand earth and water, which elements among the Persians were symbols of submission. The weaker states gave the tokens required; but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells, and bade them help themselves to what earth and water they wanted.

By the beginning of the year 490 B.C., another Persian army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece. This armament was intrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes, but was under the guidance of the traitor Hippias (sec. 168). A fleet of six hundred ships bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the Ægean towards the Grecian shores. After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely one day's journey from Athens.

173. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). — The Athenians made surpassing efforts to avert from their city the impending destruction. Instead of awaiting behind their walls the coming of the Persians, they decided to offer them battle in the open field at Marathon. Accordingly they marched out ten thousand strong.

While the Athenians were getting ready for the fight, a fleet runner, Phidippides by name, was hurrying with a message to Sparta for aid. In just thirty-six hours Phidippides was in Sparta, which is one hundred and thirty-five or forty miles from Athens. Now it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full of the moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, dared not set out upon a military expedition. They promised aid, but moved only in time to reach Athens after all was over.

The Platæans, however, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians on account of the protection they had accorded them against the Thebans, no sooner had received their appeal for help than they responded to a man, and joined them at Marathon with a thousand heavy-armed soldiers.

The battle was begun by the Athenians. The issue was for a time doubtful. Then the tide turned in favor of the Greeks, and the Persians were driven to their ships with great slaughter. Miltiades, the Athenian general who was in supreme command, at once dispatched a courier to Athens with intelligence of the victory. The messenger reached the city in a few hours, but so breathless that, as the people thronged eagerly around him to hear the news he bore, he could merely gasp, "Victory is ours," and fell dead.

After threatening Athens with attack, but finding the Athenians ready to receive them, the Persians sailed away for the Ionian shore.

174. Results of the Battle of Marathon. — The battle of Marathon is justly reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks a turning point in the history of humanity. The battle decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of

the West, with all its incentives to personal effort, should mark the future centuries of history. The tradition of the fight forms the prelude of the story of human freedom and progress.

Again, by the victory Hellenic civilization was saved to mature its fruit, not for Hellas alone but for the world. We cannot conceive what European civilization would be like without those rich and vitalizing elements contributed to it by the Greek, and especially by the Athenian, genius. But the germs of all these might have been smothered and destroyed had the barbarians won the day at Marathon. Ancient Greece, as a satrapy of the Persian Empire, would certainly have become what modern Greece became as a province of the empire of the Ottoman Turks.

The great achievement further inspired the Athenians with self-confidence. They did great things thereafter because they believed themselves able to do them. From the battle of Marathon dates the beginning of the great days of imperial Athens.

175. Themistocles and his Naval Policy; Aristides opposes him and is ostracized (483 B.C.). — Many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon had freed Athens forever from the danger of a Persian invasion. But there was at least one among them who was clear-sighted enough to see that that battle was only the beginning of a great struggle. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, farsighted, versatile statesman, who, in his own words, though "he knew nothing of music and song, did know how of a small city to make a great one." The policy he urged upon the Athenians was to strengthen their navy as the only reliable defense of Hellas against subjection to the Persian power.

Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. The contention grew so sharp between the two that ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a

stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy without serious opposition, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.

176. **Xerxes' Preparations to invade Greece.** — As soon as news of the disaster at Marathon reached Darius he began preparations to avenge this second defeat and insult. In the midst of these plans for revenge, as we have already learned, death cut short his reign. His son Xerxes succeeded him, and pushed forward with energy the preparations already begun. For eight years all Asia was astir.

While the land and sea forces were being gathered and equipped, gigantic works were in progress on the Thracian coast and on the Hellespont to insure the safety and facilitate the march of the coming hosts. It will be recalled that the expedition of Mardonius was ruined by the destruction of his fleet in rounding the promontory of Mount Athos (sec. 171). That the warships and transports of the present armament should not be exposed to the dangers of a passage around this projecting tongue of land, Xerxes ordered a canal to be dug across the neck of the isthmus. This great work consumed three years. Traces of the cutting may be seen to-day. At the same time Europe was being bound to Asia by a double bridge of boats across the Hellespont. This work was in the hands of Egyptian and Phœnician artisans.

177. **Disunion of the Greeks; Congress at Corinth** (481 B.C.). — Startling rumors of what the Persians were doing were constantly borne across the Ægean to the ears of the Greeks in Europe. Finally came intelligence that Xerxes was about to begin his march. Something must now be done. Mainly through the exertions of Themistocles, a council of the Greek cities was convened at Corinth in the fall of 481 B.C., but owing to feuds, jealousies, and party spirit, only a small number of the states of Hellas

could be brought to act in concert. Argos would not join the proposed confederation through hatred of Sparta; Thebes, through jealousy of Athens. The Corcyræans promised to help, but they were not sincere. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, offered to send over a large armament, provided he were given the chief command of the allied forces. His aid on such terms was refused.

Thus, from different causes, many of the Greek cities held aloof from the league, so that only about fifteen or sixteen states were brought to unite their resources against the barbarians; and even the strength of many of the cities that entered into the alliance was divided by party spirit. Furthermore, the Delphian oracle was wanting in courage, if not actually disloyal, and by its timid responses disheartened the patriotic party.

The decision of the congress was that the first stand against the invaders should be made at the Pass of Thermopylæ. The Spartans were given the chief command of both the land and the naval forces. The Athenians might fairly have insisted upon their right to the command of the allied fleet, but they patriotically waived their claim for the sake of harmony.

178. The Passage of the Hellespont. — With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the European shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census.[2] The enumeration completed, the immense army, accompanied along the shore by the fleet, marched forward through Thrace, and so on toward Greece.

[2] According to Herodotus, the land and naval forces of Xerxes amounted to 2,317,000 men, besides about 2,000,000 slaves and attendants. It is certain that these figures are a great exaggeration, and that the actual number of the Persian army could not have exceeded 600,000 men aside from attendants and camp followers.

179. The Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.). — Leading from Northern into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or Hot Gates. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states, held the pass. As the Greeks were about to celebrate the Olympian games, which their religious scruples would not allow them to postpone, they left this little handful of men unsupported to hold in check the great army of Xerxes until the festival days were over.

The Spartans could be driven from their advantageous position only by an attack in front, as the Grecian fleet prevented Xerxes from landing a force in their rear. Before attacking them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them." For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. The Asiatics were driven to the attack by their officers armed with whips. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed; even the Ten Thousand Immortals, the bodyguard of the Great King, were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek, Ephialtes by name, "the Judas of Greece," rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. A byway leading over the mountains to the rear of the Spartans was revealed to Xerxes. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. He saw instantly that all was lost. The allies were permitted to seek safety in flight while opportunity remained; but for him and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defense of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor; but, overwhelmed by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished seven hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their comrades.

The fight at Thermopylæ echoed through all the after centuries of Grecian history. The Greeks felt that all Hellas had gained great glory on that day when Leonidas and his companions fell, and they gave them a chief place among their national heroes. Memorial pillars marked for coming generations the sacred spot, while praising inscriptions and epitaphs told in brief phrases the story of the battle. Among these was an inscription in special memory of the Spartan dead, which, commemorating at once Spartan law and Spartan valor, read, "Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their commands!" [8]

180. **The Athenians abandon their City and betake themselves to their Ships.** — Athens now lay open to the invaders. Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant."

But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains; others, that the oracle meant they should defend the Acropolis, which in early times had been surrounded with a palisade; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors. A few days later the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, and burned

[8] While Leonidas and his men were striving to hold the pass, the Greek fleet, stationed at Artemisium at the head of the island of Eubœa, was endeavoring to prevent the Persian fleet from entering the strait between the island and the mainland. For three days the Greeks fought here the Persian ships (the battle of Artemisium), and then, upon receipt of the news that the pass was lost, retreated down the Eubœan straits, and came to anchor in the gulf of Salamis, near Athens.

the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate and her temples sank in flames. Sardis was avenged.

181. The Naval Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). — Just off the coast of Attica lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet, awaiting the Persians. Xerxes, deceived by Themistocles respecting the state of things among the Greek allies, ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.[4]

The blow was decisive. Xerxes, fearing that treachery might destroy the Hellespontine bridges, instantly dispatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with three hundred thousand men to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, the monarch with a strong escort made a hasty retreat into Asia.

182. Mardonius tries to bribe the Athenians; the Battle of Platæa (479 B.C.). — With the opening of the spring of 479 B.C., Mardonius sent an embassy to Athens, promising the Athenians many things provided they would come over to the Persian side. The Athenians' reply was, "While the sun holds his course in the heavens, we will never form a league with the Persian king."

Upon receiving this answer Mardonius, breaking up his winter camp in Thessaly, marched south, and, after ravaging Attica anew, withdrew into Bœotia. Sitting down in a fortified camp near Thebes, he awaited the coming of the Greeks. Here the Greeks confronted him with the largest army they had ever gathered.[5] In the memorable battle which followed, known as the battle of Platæa, Mardonius was slain and his army virtually annihilated.

183. The Battle of Mycale (479 B.C.). — Upon the same day, according to tradition, that the Greeks won the great victory over the Persian army at Platæa, their allied fleet gained another over a combined land and sea force at Cape Mycale in Ionia.

This victory at Mycale was a fitting sequel to the one at Platæa: that had freed European Greece from the presence of the

[4] The entire Persian fleet numbered about 750 vessels; the Grecian, about 380 ships, mostly triremes.

[5] There were 110,000 men, of which number 38,000 were hoplites. The Spartan Pausanias was in chief command.

barbarians; this, in the phrase of Herodotus, "restored to Grecian freedom the Hellespont and the islands." For straightway Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and other islands of the Ægean that had been in vassalage to Persia were now liberated, and received as members into the confederacy of the patriot states of the mother land.[6]

184. Memorials and Trophies of the War. — The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout Greece. Poets, artists, and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger.

Nor did the pious Greeks think that the marvelous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Platæa; and upon the Acropolis at Athens was erected a colossal statue of Athena, made from the brazen arms gathered from the field at Marathon, while within the sanctuary of the goddess were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the impious attempt of the barbarians to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

Selections from the Sources. — ÆSCHYLUS, *The Persians;* an historical drama which celebrates the victory of Salamis. PLUTARCH, *Life of Themistocles* and *Life of Aristides.*

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 112–193, 209–238, and 271–331. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 492–521; vol. iv, pp. 102–201 and 242–294. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 74–139 and 175–205. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. i–iv. COX, G. W., *The Greeks and the Persians.* CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. i, "The Battle of Marathon." CHURCH, A. J., *Pictures from Greek Life and Story*, chaps. iii–viii; for youthful readers. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 223–241.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Delphian oracle in the Persian Wars. 2. Themistocles. 3. Incidents of the battle of Salamis.

[6] On the very day of the battle of Salamis, according to tradition, Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, gained a great victory over the Carthaginians under Hamilcar at the battle of Himera, in the north of Sicily. So it was a memorable day for Hellas in the West as well as in the East.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ATHENIAN SUPREMACY

I. The Making of the Athenian Empire (479–445 B.C.)

185. The Rebuilding of Athens; the Fortifications of the Piræus (478–477 B.C.). — After the battle of Platæa and the expulsion of the barbarians from Greece, the Athenians who had found an asylum at Salamis, Ægina, and other places returned to Athens. They found only a heap of ruins where their city had once stood. Under the lead of Themistocles, the people with admirable spirit set themselves to the task of rebuilding their homes and erecting new walls.

The rival states of the Peloponnesian League watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. The Spartans sent an embassy to dissuade them from rebuilding their walls, hypocritically assigning as the ground of their interest in the matter their fear lest, in case of another Persian invasion, the city, if captured, should become a stronghold for the enemy. But the Athenians persisted in their purpose, and soon had raised the wall to such a height that they could defy interference.

At the same time that the work of restoration was going on at Athens, the fortifications at Piræus were being enlarged and strengthened. That Athens' supremacy depended upon control of the sea had now become plain to all. Consequently the haven town was surrounded with walls even surpassing in strength the new walls of the upper city. The Piræus soon grew into a bustling commercial city, one of the chief centers of trade in the Hellenic world.[1]

[1] A few years after this Themistocles fell into disfavor and was ostracized (471 B.C.). He finally bent his steps to Susa, the Persian capital. King Artaxerxes appointed him governor of Magnesia in Asia Minor and made provision for his

186. The Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.). — Soon after the battle of Mycale the Ionian states, in order that they might be able to carry on more effectively the work to which they had set their hands, namely, that of liberating the Greek cities yet in the power of the Persians, formed a league known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies were excluded from the league on account of the treachery of the Spartan Pausanias, who had been in command of the allied fleet. All the Asian cities of Ionia and Æolis, almost all the island towns of the Ægean, the cities of Chalcidice, together with those just set free along the Hellespont and the Bosporus, became members of the alliance. The league was a free association of independent and equal states. Athens was to be the head of the confederacy. Aristides was chosen as the first president. Matters of common concern were to be in the hands of a congress convened yearly in the sacred island of Delos and composed of delegates from all the cities.

At Delos, also, in the temple of Apollo was to be kept the common treasure chest, to which each state was to make contribution according to its ability. What proportion of the ships and money should be contributed by the several states for carrying out the purposes of the union was left at first entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all possessed in his fairness and incorruptible integrity; and so long as he retained control of the matter, none of the allies ever had cause for complaint.

The formation of this Delian League constitutes a prominent landmark in Grecian history. It meant not simply the transfer from Sparta to Athens of leadership in the maritime affairs of Hellas. It meant that all the promises of Panhellenic union in the great alliance formed at Corinth in 481 B.C. had come to naught. It meant, since the Peloponnesian Confederacy still continued to exist, that henceforth Hellas was to be a house divided against itself.

wants by assigning to three cities the duty of providing for his table: one was to furnish bread, a second wine, and a third meat. Plutarch relates that one day as the exile sat down to his richly loaded board he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!" He died probably about 460 B.C.

187. The Athenians convert the Delian League into an Empire. — The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their allies to the condition of tributaries and subjects.

Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different members of the confederation consisted of ships for the larger states and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then, building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league — Lesbos, Chios, and Samos — still retained their independence. They alone of all the former allies did not pay tribute.

Even before the date last named (probably about 457 B.C.) the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and, diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it, not in the prosecution of war against the barbarians, but in the carrying on of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue. About this time also the congress probably ceased to exist. Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities was

converted into what was practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master. Thus did Athens become a "tyrant city." From being the liberator of the Greek cities she had become their enslaver.[2]

188. **Cimon and Pericles.** — Two of the most prominent of the Athenian leaders at this time were Cimon and Pericles. Cimon, son of Miltiades, was one of the most successful of the admirals to whom, after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from them the islands of the Ægean and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast. He was the leader of the aristocratic party at Athens, and the friend of Sparta. He was broad-minded, and his policy was the maintenance in Greece of a dual hegemony, Sparta being allowed leadership on land and Athens leadership on the sea.

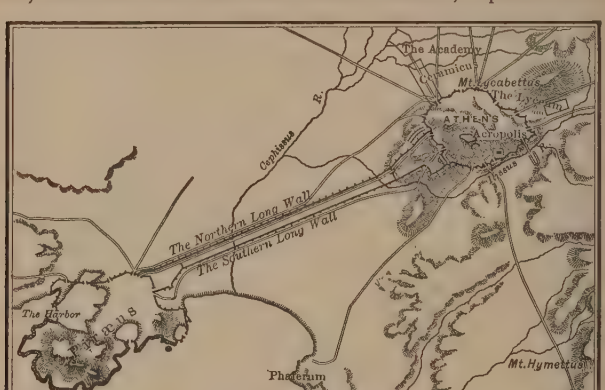
Cimon was opposed by Pericles, who believed that such a double leadership was impracticable. The aim of his policy was to make the authority of Athens supreme not only on the sea but also on the land. The popularity of Cimon at last declined and he suffered ostracism, as had Aristides and Themistocles before him. The fall of Cimon gave Pericles a practically free hand in the carrying out of his ambitious policy.[3]

189. **Construction of the Long Walls.** — As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to push to

[2] Sentiment in most of the subject cities, it should be noted, was divided. While the aristocratic class was generally the bitter enemy of Athens, the lower classes were as a rule friends of the Athenian democracy. But the frequent revolts from Athens show how strong in most cases was the sentiment of home rule.

[3] At this time there were effected some important changes in the Athenian constitution, which made it almost purely democratic in character. These changes concerned the ancient council of the Areopagus. The great and patriotic services rendered by this council during the Persian Wars had given it a place of great influence and power during the years immediately following the battles of Salamis and Platæa. But public sentiment had now changed. The council was regarded by the democratic party with some such feelings of distrust as are entertained by the English Liberals towards the House of Lords. It seemed to them, as indeed it was, the stronghold of aristocratic prejudice and conservatism. The court was now stripped of important powers, which were conferred upon the various courts and boards of a popular character. This reform amounted to a revolution. It swept away the last bulwark against the inroads of the democratic spirit. Henceforth the Athenians were to be their own censors and judges as well as their own legislators.

completion what were known as the Long Walls (about 457–455 B.C.), which united Athens to the port of Piræus. By means of these great ramparts, which were between four and five miles in length, Athens and her principal port, with the intervening land, were converted into a vast fortified district, capable in time



ATHENS AND HER LONG WALLS[4]

of war of holding the entire population of Attica. With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

190. Pericles tries in vain to create a Land Empire; the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). — At the same time that Pericles was making Athens' supremacy by sea more secure, he was endeavoring to build up for her a land empire in Central Greece. As Athenian influence in this quarter increased, Sparta became more and more jealous, and strove to counteract it by enhancing the power of Thebes, and by lending support to the aristocratic party in the various cities of Bœotia.

[4] It is the opinion of Ernest Arthur Gardner, in opposition to the view which has been generally held, that there were only two walls, the one shown on the map as the southern being the so-called Phaleric Wall. See his *Ancient Athens*, pp. 56–59.

The contest between the two rivals was long and bitter. It was ended by what is known as the Peace of Pericles, or the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). By the terms of this treaty each of the rival cities was left at the head of the confederation it had formed, but neither was to interfere with the subjects or allies of the other. The real meaning of the truce was that Athens gave up her ambition to establish a land empire and was henceforth to be content with supremacy on the seas.

II. The Age of Pericles (445–431 B.C.)

191. General Character of the Period. — The fourteen years following the Thirty Years' Truce are known as the Years of Peace. During all this period Athens was involved in only one short war of note. And not only was there peace throughout the empire of Athens, but also throughout the Mediterranean world, as happened again four centuries later in the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (sec. 397). And as that later period of peace marked the Golden Age of Rome, so did this earlier era mark the Golden Age of Athens.

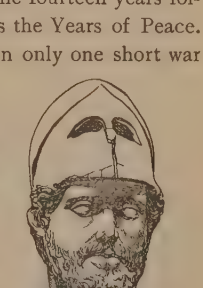


Fig. 49. — Pericles

The epoch, as we here limit it, embraced less than half the lifetime of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overrated. During this short period Athens gave birth to more great men — poets, artists, statesmen, and philosophers — than all the world besides has produced in any period of equal length.

Among all the great men of this age Pericles stood preëminent. Such was the impression he left upon the period in which he lived that it is called after him the Periclean Age. Yet Pericles' authority was simply that which talent and character justly confer. He ruled, as Plutarch says, by the art of persuasion. His throne was the Bema.

The people were at this period the source and fountain of all power. Every matter which concerned Athens and her empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before in the history of the world had any people enjoyed such unrestricted political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well fitted to take part in the administration of government. As a rule, every citizen was qualified to hold public office. At all events the Athenians acted upon this assumption, as is shown by their extremely democratic practice of filling all the public offices, save a few in the army and navy, by the use of the lot.

192. Pericles takes the Citizens into the Pay of the State. — It was a fixed idea of Pericles that in a democracy there should be not only an equal distribution of political rights among all classes, but also an equalization of the means and opportunities of exercising these rights, together with an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments.

In promoting his views Pericles carried to great length the system of payment for the most common public services. Thus he introduced, or at least organized, the system of payment for military services; hitherto the Athenian, save probably as respects service in the fleet, had served his country in time of war without compensation. Through his influence also, or that of his party, salaries were, during this period, attached to the various civil offices, all of which were originally unpaid positions. This reform enabled the poorer citizens to offer themselves as candidates for the different magistracies, which under the earlier system, notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution, had been practically open only to men of means and leisure. The outcome of the policy of Pericles was that before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War almost every citizen of Athens was in the pay of the state. Aristotle says that more than twenty thousand were receiving payment for one kind of service or another.

It was the same motives that prompted the above innovations which led Pericles to introduce or to extend the practice of supplying all the citizens with free tickets to the theater and other

places of amusement, and of banqueting the people on festival days at the public expense.

193. **The Dicasteries.** — Among the services for which the citizen received payment from the state was that rendered by the Athenian juryman in the great popular courts. These tribunals formed a characteristic feature of the Athens of Pericles.

Each year there were chosen by lot from those citizens who wished to serve on juries six thousand persons. One thousand were held in reserve; the remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections of five hundred each. These divisions were called *dicasteries*, and the members *dicasts*, or jurymen. The usual number sitting on any given case was between two hundred and four hundred. Sometimes, however, when an important case was to be heard, the jury would number two thousand or even more.

There was an immense amount of law business brought before these courts; for they tried not only all cases arising between the citizens of Athens, but attended also to a large part of the law business of the numerous cities of Athens' great empire. The decision of the jurors was final. The judgment of a dicastery was never reversed or annulled. The decisions of the dicasts were not always consonant with justice; but probably the verdicts were, on the whole, as just and reasonable as are those of the modern jury.

194. **Pericles adorns Athens with Public Buildings.** — Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, it was the idea of Pericles that the Athenians should so adorn their city that it should be a fitting symbol of the power and glory of their empire. Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those masterpieces of architecture that in their ruins still excite the admiration of the world.

The most noteworthy of the Periclean structures were grouped upon the Acropolis. Here, as the gateway to the sacred inclosure of the citadel, were erected the magnificent Propylæa, which have served as a model for similar structures since the time of Pericles. Here also was raised the beautiful Parthenon, sacred to the virgin

FIG. 50. — THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by *G. Rehlender*)

goddess Athena. The architects of this building were Ictinus and Callicrates; the celebrated sculptures of the frieze were designed by Phidias. Near the temple stood the colossal bronze statue of Athena, — made, it is said, from the spoils of Marathon, — whose glittering spear point was a beacon to the mariner sailing in from Sunium.[5]

195. Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. — Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches Pericles says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea." And this was no empty boast. The Ægean had become an Athenian lake. Its islands and coast lands formed practically an Athenian empire. The revenue ships of Athens collected tribute from two hundred Greek cities.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the remarkable combination of material and intellectual resources which it exhibited. Never before had there been such a union of the material and the intellectual elements of civilization at the seat of empire.[6] Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius. Art was represented by the inimitable creations of Phidias and Polygnotus, while the drama was illustrated by the incomparable tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.[7]

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian Empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition

[5] For further details of these art matters, see secs. 239 and 245.

[6] "The average ability of the Athenian race [was], on the lowest possible estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own; that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro. This estimate, which may seem prodigious to some, is confirmed by the quick intelligence and high culture of the Athenian commonalty, before whom literary works were recited, and works of art exhibited of a far more severe character than could possibly be appreciated by the average of our race, the caliber of whose intellect is easily gauged by a glance at the contents of a railway bookstall." — GALTON, *Hereditary Genius*, p. 342 (2d American ed., 1887); quoted by Kidd, *Social Evolution*, chap. ix.

[7] For short notices of these artists and poets, see secs. 245, 249, and 257.

to the deepest instinct of the Greek race, — to that sentiment of local patriotism which invested each individual city with political sovereignty (sec. 123). The so-called confederates were the subjects of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.[8] Naturally the subject cities of her empire — that is, the patriotic or home rule party in these dependent states — regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt and throw off the yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian Empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Illustrations of these weaknesses, as well as of the strength of the Athenian Empire, will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Aristides* and *Life of Pericles*. THUCYDIDES, i. 90–93; tells how Themistocles outwitted Sparta.

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 353–459 and 460–641. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 330–437 and 438–533. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 243–415; and vol. iii, chaps. i and ii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. vii–xx. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, chaps. viii and ix. COX, G. W., *The Athenian Empire* and *Lives of Athenian Statesmen*, "Aristeides," "Themistokles," "Pausanias," "Kimon." GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, sec. 5. BUTLER, H. C., *The Story of Athens*, chap. vii. ABBOTT, E., *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens*, chaps. x–xviii. GRANT, A. J., *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, chaps. vii, viii, and xii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Confederacy of Delos. 2. The end of Pausanias. 3. Aristides. 4. Athens' relations to the cities of her empire. 5. The buildings of Athens. 6. "A Day in Athens."

[8] The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR; THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

I. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.)

196. The Immediate Causes of the War. — Before the end of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Ionian Athens and Dorian Sparta and her allies broke out in the long and calamitous struggle known as the Peloponnesian War. One immediate cause of the war was the interference of Athens, on the side of the Corcyræans, in a quarrel between them and their mother city Corinth. A second proximate cause was the blockade by the Athenians of Potidæa, in Chalcidice. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian League, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth, as the jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by other states that had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after listening to the deputies of both sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was indorsed by the Peloponnesian Confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphian oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

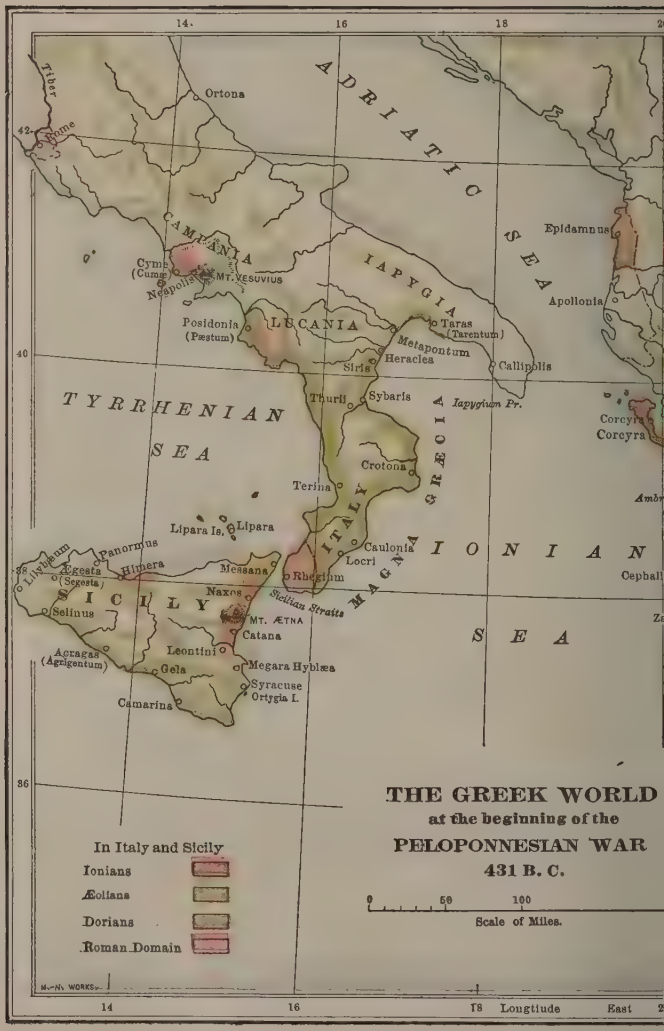
197. The Peloponnesians ravage Attica (431 B.C.). — A Peloponnesian army was soon collected at the Isthmus, ready for a campaign against Athens. With invasion imminent, the inhabitants of the hamlets and scattered farmhouses of Attica abandoned

their homes and sought shelter behind the defenses of the capital. Into the plain thus deserted the Peloponnesians marched, and ravaged the country far and near. From the walls of the city the Athenians could see the flames of their burning houses, which recalled to the old men the sight they had witnessed from the island of Salamis just forty-nine years before, at the time of the Persian invasion. The failure of provisions finally compelled the Peloponnesians to withdraw from the country, and the contingents of the different cities scattered to their homes.

198. Funeral Oration of Pericles. — It was the custom of the Athenians to bury with public and imposing ceremonies the bodies of those slain in battle. After the burial of the remains, some person chosen by his fellow-citizens on account of his special fitness for the service delivered an oration over the dead, extolling their deeds and exhorting the living to an imitation of their virtues.

It was during the winter following the campaign we have mentioned that the Athenians celebrated the funeral ceremonies of those who had fallen thus far in the war. Pericles was chosen to give the oration on this occasion. This funeral speech, as reported by Thucydides,[1] is one of the most valuable memorials preserved to us from antiquity. The speaker took advantage of the occasion to describe the institutions to which Athens owed her greatness, and to picture the glories of the imperial city for which the heroes they lamented had died. He praised the Athenian government, in which all the citizens, rich and poor alike, had part. He praised, too, Athens' military system, in which the citizen was not sacrificed to the soldier, as at Sparta; and yet Athens was alone a match for Sparta and all her allies. He extolled the intellectual, moral, and social virtues of the Athenians, which

[1] Respecting the speeches which Thucydides introduces so frequently in his narrative, he himself says: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said" (Jowett's Thucydides, i. 15).


THE GREEK WORLD
at the beginning of the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR
431 B. C.
In Italy and Sicily
Ionians
Æolians
Dorians
Roman Domain
0 50 100
Scale of Miles.
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
SICILY
ITALY
MAGNA GRÆCIA
CAMPANIA
LUCANIA
IAPYGIA
Tiber
Rome
Ortona
Cyme (Cumæ)
Neapolis
MT. VESUVIUS
Posidonia (Pæstum)
Taras (Tarentum)
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
Callipolis
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Thurii
Sybaris
Iapygium Pr.
Corcyra
Crotona
Terina
Lipara Is.
Lipara
Panormus
Lilybæum
Egesta (Segesta)
Himera
Messana
Rhegium
Caulonia
Locri
Naxos
Sicilian Straits
MT. ÆTNA
Catana
Selinus
Leontini
Acragas (Agrigentum)
Gela
Megara Hyblæa
Syracuse
Ortygia I.
Camarina
Cephall
Longtiude East
14
16
18
42
40
38
36

22
24
26
28
42
40
38
36
THRACE
Hebrus
DORISCUS
Byzantium
Selymbria
Chalcedon
Perinthus
Propontis
Cyzicus
MACEDONIA
Pella
Amphipolis
Thasos
Therma
Methone
Pydna
CHALCIDICE
Acanthus
Olynthus
Samothracia
Ægospotami
Chersonesus
Sestus
Lampsacus
Imbros
Abydos
Potidæa
Hellespont
Mende
Scione
Torone
Lemnos
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. OSSA
Peneus R.
Larissa
MT. PELION
ÆGEAN
SEA
ÆOLIS
Antandrus
Methymna
Lesbos
Pergamus
THESSALY
Pharsalus
Scyros
Mytilene
Arginusæ Is
Phocæa
Cyme
Magnesia
Hermus R.
Sardis
PHRYGIA
ÆTOLIA
Thermopylæ
EUBŒA
Chalcis
Eretria
Delphi
BŒOTIA
Chios
Clazomenæ
Colophon
Patræ
ACHÆA
Corinthian G.
Leuctra
Platæa
Megara
Decelea
ATTICA
Athens
Ephesus
Mæander R.
Elis
Sicyon
Nemea
Corinth
Ægina
Andros
Samos
Icaria
Samos
ELIS
Olympia
ARCADIA
Argos
Epidaurus
Ceos
Tenos
Miletus
MT. MYCALE
Alpheus R.
Mantinea
ARGOLIS
Trœzen
Delos
Tegea
Cythnos
Syros
Thyrea
Hermion
Paros
Ithome
MESSENIA
Sparta
LACONIA
Naxos
Cos
Caldus
Pylos
Sphacteria I.
Siphnos
Amorgos
Melos
Thera
Cythera
Lindus
Rhodes
Carpathus
In Greece and Asia Minor
Athens and her Allies
Sparta and her Allies
Cydonia
Chossus
MT. IDA
CRETE
Gortyna
Authorities:—
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus
C. Rinaudo, Atlante Storico
Greenwich 22
24
26
28

were fostered by their free institutions, and declared their city to be "the school of Hellas" and the model for all other cities.

Continuing, the speaker declared that Athens alone of all existing cities was greater than the report of her in the world; and that she would never need a Homer to perpetuate her memory, because she herself had set up everywhere eternal monuments of her greatness. "Such is the city," he exclaimed impressively, "for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf."

FIG. 51. — THE SO-CALLED MOURNING ATHENA.[2] (From a photograph)

Then followed words of tribute to the valor and self-devotion of the dead, whose sepulchers and inscriptions were not the graves and the memorial stones of the cemetery, — "for the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men," and the memorials of them are "graven not on stone but in the hearts of mankind." Finally,

[2] A bas-relief recently excavated on the Acropolis of Athens. Dr. Charles Waldstein thinks that this sculpture may "have headed an inscription containing the names of those who had fallen in battle, which record was placed in some public spot in Athens or on the Acropolis. Our Athene-Nike would then be standing in the attitude of mourning, with reversed spear, gazing down upon the tombstone which surmounts the grave of her brave sons." As to the possible connection of this relief with the funeral oration of Pericles, Dr. Waldstein says: "Though I

with words of comfort for the relatives of the dead, the orator dismissed the assembly to their homes.[8]

199. The Plague at Athens (430 B.C.); **Death of Pericles** (429 B.C.). — Upon the return of the next campaigning season the Peloponnesians broke once more into Attica and ravaged the land anew. The walls of Athens were unassailable by the hostile army; but unfortunately they were no defense against a more terrible foe. A pestilence broke out in the crowded city and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. The mortality was frightful. One fourth of the population of the city was swept away. In the third year of the war the plague reappeared at Athens. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens during all these dark days, fell a victim to the disease.

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell to a great degree into the hands of demagogues. The mob element got control of the Ecclesia, so that hereafter we shall find many of its measures marked neither by virtue nor by wisdom.

200. The Cruel Character of the War. — On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. As a rule, all prisoners taken on either side were killed. In the year 428 B.C. the Lesbian city of Mytilene revolted from the Athenians. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mytileneans was in the hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon, a rash and violent leader, proposed that all the men of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed, and a galley dispatched bearing the sentence for execution to the Athenian general at Mytilene.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called, the barbarous vote was repealed, and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake

do not mean to say that the inscription which it surmounted referred immediately to those who had fallen in the campaign of 431 B.C., I still feel that the most perfect counterpart in literature is the famous funeral oration of Pericles as recorded by Thucydides."

[8] Thucydides, ii. 35–46, for the whole oration.

the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The trireme reached the island just in time to prevent the execution of the cruel edict. The second resolution of the Athenians, though more discriminating than the first, was quite severe enough. Over one thousand of the nobles of Mytilene were killed, the walls of the city were thrown down, and the larger part of the lands of the island was given to citizens of Athens.

Still more unrelenting and cruel were the Spartans. In the summer of the same year that the Athenians wreaked such vengeance upon the Mytileneans, the Spartans and their allies captured the city of Platæa, put to death all the men, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the city into pasture land.

201. The Surrender of a Spartan Force; the Significance of this. — Soon after the affair at Mytilene and the destruction of Platæa, an enterprising general of the Athenians, named Demosthenes, seized and fortified a point of land (Pylos) on the coast of Messenia. The Spartans made every effort to dislodge the enemy. In the course of the siege some Lacedæmonians, having landed upon an adjacent little island (Sphacteria), were so unfortunate as to be cut off from the mainland by the sudden arrival of an Athenian fleet. After having made a splendid fight, they were surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered. They must now either surrender or die They decided to surrender. Among those giving themselves up were over a hundred Spartans, some of whom were members of the best families at Sparta.

The surrender of Spartan soldiers had hitherto been deemed an incredible thing. "Nothing which happened during the war," declares Thucydides, "caused greater amazement in Hellas; for it was universally imagined that the Lacedæmonians would never give up their arms, either under the pressure of famine or in any other extremity, but would fight to the last and die sword in hand."

The real significance of the affair was the revelation it made of the relaxing at Sparta of that tense military discipline and spirit which had made for the Spartans such a reputation in the Hellenic world. It was the beginning of the end. In passing from Thermopylæ to Pylos we cross a great divide in Spartan history.

202. The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — After four more years of fighting both sides became weary of the war. Negotiations for peace were opened, which, after many embassies back and forth, resulted in what is known as the Peace of Nicias, because of the prominent part that Athenian general had in bringing it about. The treaty provided for a truce of fifty years.

The Peace of Nicias was only a nominal one. Some of the allies of the two principal parties to the truce were dissatisfied with it, and so the war went on. For about seven years, however, Athens and Sparta refrained from invading each other's territory; but even during this period each was aiding its allies in making war upon the dependents or confederates of the other. Finally hostilities flamed out in open and avowed war, and all Hellas was again lit up with the fires of the fratricidal strife.

FIG. 52. — ALCIBIADES

203. Alcibiades. — It becomes necessary for us here to introduce a new leader of the Athenian demos, Alcibiades, who played a most conspicuous part, not only in Athenian but also in Hellenic affairs, from this time on to near the close of the war. Alcibiades was a young man of noble lineage and of aristocratic associations. He was versatile, brilliant, and resourceful, but unscrupulous, reckless, and profligate. He was a pupil of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing escapades kept all Athens talking, yet seemed only to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. He was able to carry through the Ecclesia almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.

The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after

Alcibiades had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.

204. The Sicilian Expedition (415–413 B.C.). — The most prosperous enterprise of Alcibiades, in the Timonian sense, was the inciting of the Athenians to undertake an expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The resolution to engage in the tremendous enterprise seems to have been taken lightly by the Athenians, which was quite in keeping with their usual way of doing things. The vastness of the armament needed seemed to captivate their imagination. The expedition further presented itself to the ardent imagination of the youth as a sort of pleasure and sight-seeing excursion among the wonders of the land of the "Far West."

An immense fleet was carefully equipped and manned.[4] Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the departing ships until they were lost to sight. Could the anxious watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair: "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never to return."

Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily, before Alcibiades, who was one of the generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety.[5] Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned. The surest way, he told the Spartans, in which to wreck the plans of the Athenians was to send to Sicily at once a force of heavy-armed men, and above all a good Spartan general, who alone would be worth a whole army. The Spartans acted upon this advice and sent to Sicily their ablest

[4] It consisted of one hundred and thirty-four costly triremes, bearing thirty-six thousand soldiers and sailors.

[5] Just upon the eve of the departure of the expedition, the numerous statues of Hermes scattered throughout the city were grossly mutilated. Alcibiades was accused of having had a hand in the affair, and furthermore of having mimicked the sacred rites of the Eleusinian mysteries.

general, Gylippus, with instructions to push the war there with the utmost vigor.

The affairs of the Athenians in Sicily at just this time were prospering greatly. But the arrival of Gylippus changed everything at once. After some severe fighting in which the Athenians lost heavily, they resolved to withdraw their forces from the island while retreat by the sea was still open to them.

Just as the ships were about to weigh anchor, there occurred an eclipse of the moon. This portent caused the greatest consternation among the Athenian troops. Nicias, the general in chief command, unfortunately was a superstitious man, having full faith in omens and divination. He sought the advice of his soothsayers. They pronounced the portent an unfavorable one, and advised that the retreat be delayed thirty-seven days. Never did a reliance upon omens more completely undo a people. The delay was fatal.

Further disaster and a failure of provisions finally convinced the Athenians that they must without longer delay fight their way out by sea or by land. But already it was too late. The attempt to force their way through the enemy's fleet in the harbor failed dismally. There was now no course open save retreat by land. Making such preparations as they could for their march, they set out. Pursued and harassed by the Syracusans, the fleeing multitude was practically annihilated. The prisoners, about seven thousand in number, were crowded in deep, open stone quarries around Syracuse, where hundreds soon died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold as slaves. The tragedy of the Sicilian expedition was ended.

205. The Decelean War; the Fall of Athens (404 B.C.). — While the Athenians were before Syracuse, the Spartans, acting upon the advice of Alcibiades, had taken possession of and fortified a strong and commanding position known as Decelea, in Attica, only fourteen miles from Athens. This was a thorn in the side of Athens. Secure in this stronghold, the Spartans could annoy and keep in terror almost all the Attic plain. The occupation by the Spartans of this strategic point had such a determining

influence upon the remainder of the Peloponnesian War, that this latter portion of it is known as the Decelean War (413–404 B.C.).

With most admirable courage the Athenians, after the great disaster in Sicily, set to work to retrieve their seemingly irretrievable fortune. Forgetting and forgiving the past, they recalled Alcibiades and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said respecting the disposition of the Athenians towards the spoiled favorite, — "They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

Alcibiades gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. The struggle grew more and more hopeless. Alcibiades was defeated, and, fearing to face the Athenians, who had deposed him from his command, sought safety in flight.[6]

Finally, at Ægospotami, on the Hellespont, the Athenian fleet was surprised and captured by the Spartan general Lysander (405 B.C.). The native Athenians, to the number of four thousand it is said, were put to death, the usual rites of burial being denied their bodies. Among the few Athenian vessels that escaped capture was the state ship *Paralus*, which hastened to Athens with the tidings of the terrible misfortune. It arrived in the nighttime, and from the Piræus the awful news, published by a despairing wail, spread up the Long Walls into the upper city. "That night," says Xenophon, "no one slept."

Besieged by sea and land, Athens was soon forced to surrender. Some of the allies insisted upon a total destruction of the city. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece." The real motive of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful, and the leadership of Sparta be thereby endangered. The final resolve was that the lives of the Athenians should be spared, but that they should be required to demolish their Long Walls and those of the Piræus, to give up all their

[6] Some years later he was killed in Asia Minor.

ships save twelve, and to bind themselves to do Sparta's bidding by sea and land.

The Athenians were forced to surrender on these hard conditions. Straightway the victors dismantled the harbor at Piræus, burning the unfinished ships on the docks, and then began the demolition of the Long Walls and the fortifications, the work going on to the accompaniment of festive music and dancing; for the Peloponnesians, says Xenophon, looked upon that day as the beginning of liberty for the Hellenes.

The long war was now over. The dominion of the imperial city of Athens was at an end, and the great days of Greece were past.

206. The Results of the War. — "Never," says Thucydides, commenting upon the results of the Peloponnesian War, "never were so many cities captured and depopulated. . . . Never were exile and slaughter more frequent, whether in the war or brought about by civil strife." Greece never recovered from the blow which had destroyed so large a part of her population.

Athens was merely the wreck of her former self. The harbor of the Piræus, once crowded with ships, was now empty. The population of the capital had been terribly thinned. Things were just the reverse now of what they were at the time of the Persian invasion, when, with Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis, taunted with being a man without a city, could truthfully declare that Athens was there on the sea in her ships. Now the real Athens was gone; only the empty shell remained.

Not Athens alone, but all Hellas, bore the marks of the cruel war. Sites once covered with pleasant villages or flourishing towns were now plow and pasture land. The Greek world had sunk many degrees in morality, while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

II. The Spartan and the Theban Supremacy

207. Spartan Supremacy. — For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404–371 B.C.), Sparta held the leadership of the Grecian states. Throughout that struggle she had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain for the Grecian cities the liberty of which she had deprived them. But no sooner was the power of Athens broken than Sparta herself began to play the tyrant. Aristocratic governments, with institutions similar to the Spartan, were established in the different cities of the old Athenian Empire. At Athens the democratic constitution under which the Athenians had attained their greatness was abolished, and an oppressive oligarchy established in its stead. The Thirty Tyrants, however, who administered this government, were, after eight months' infamous rule, driven from the city, and the old democratic constitution, somewhat modified, was reëstablished (403 B.C.).

208. The Expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (401–400 B.C.). — One of the most memorable episodes of this period of Spartan supremacy was the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Cyrus, brother of the Persian king Artaxerxes II, and satrap in Asia Minor, feeling that he had been unjustly excluded from the throne by his brother, secretly planned to dethrone him. From various quarters he gathered an army of over a hundred thousand barbarians and about thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries. Setting out from Sardis, he had penetrated to the very heart of the Persian Empire before, at Cunaxa in Babylonia, his farther advance was disputed by Artaxerxes with an army numbering, it is said, eight hundred thousand men. In the battle which here followed the splendid conduct of the Greeks won the day for their leader. Cyrus, however, was slain; and the Greek generals, lured to a conference, were treacherously seized and put to death.

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. One of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Now commenced one of the most memorable retreats in all history. After a most harassing

march over the hot plains of the Tigris and the icy passes of Armenia, the survivors reached the Black Sea, the abode of sister Greek colonies.

The march of the Ten Thousand is regarded as one of the most remarkable military exploits of antiquity. Its historical significance is owing to the fact that it paved the way for the later expedition of Alexander the Great. This it did by revealing to the Greeks the decayed state of the Persian Empire, and showing how feeble was the resistance which it could offer to the march of an army of disciplined soldiers.

209. The Condemnation and Death of Socrates (399 B.C.). — While Xenophon was yet away on his expedition there happened in his native city one of the saddest tragedies in history. This was the trial and condemnation to death by the Athenians of their fellow-citizen Socrates, the greatest moral teacher of pagan antiquity. The double charge upon which he was condemned was worded as follows: "Socrates is guilty of crime, — first, for not worshiping the gods whom the city worships, but in introducing new divinities of his own; next, for corrupting the youth." The trial was before a dicastery or citizen court (sec. 193) composed of over five hundred jurors, and the sentence of death was pronounced by a majority vote.

It so happened that the sentence fell just after the sacred ship that yearly bore the offering to Delos in commemoration of the deliverance of the Athenian youth from the Cretan Minotaur (sec. 117) had set sail on its holy mission, and since by a law of the city no one could be put to death while it was away, Socrates was led to prison, and there remained for about thirty days before the execution of the sentence. This period Socrates spent in serene converse with his friends upon those lofty themes that had occupied his thoughts during all his life. When at last the hour for his departure had arrived, he bade his friends farewell, and then calmly drank the cup of poison.

210. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). — Throughout the period of her supremacy Sparta continued to deal most tyrannically with the other Greek cities. One of her worst crimes was the

treacherous seizure of the citadel of Thebes and the placing of a Spartan garrison in it. All Greece stood aghast at this perfidious and high-handed act, and looked to see some awful misfortune befall Sparta as a retribution.

And misfortune came speedily enough, and not single-handed. The Spartan garrison was driven out of the citadel by an uprising led by Pelopidas, a Theban exile of distinguished family. A Spartan army was soon in Bœotia. The Thebans met the invaders at Leuctra. The Spartans had no other thought than that they should gain an easy victory. But the military genius of the Theban commander, Epaminondas, had prepared for Hellas a startling surprise. Hitherto the Greeks had fought drawn up in extended and comparatively thin opposing lines, not more than twelve ranks deep. The Spartans at Leuctra formed their line in the usual way. Epaminondas, on the other hand, massed his best troops in a solid column, that is in a phalanx, fifty deep, on the left of his battle line, the rest being drawn up in the ordinary extended line. With all ready for the attack, the phalanx was set in motion first. It plowed through the thin line of the enemy "as the beak of a ship plows through a wave," — and the day was won. Of the seven hundred Spartans in the fight four hundred were killed. It was the first time that a Spartan army with its king had been fairly beaten in a great battle by an enemy inferior in numbers. The Spartan forces at Thermopylæ headed by their king had, it is true, been annihilated, — but annihilation is not defeat.

The manner in which the news of the overwhelming calamity was received at Sparta affords a striking illustration of Spartan discipline and self-control. It so happened that when the messenger arrived the Spartans were celebrating a festival. The Ephors would permit no interruption of the entertainment. They merely sent lists of the fallen to their families, and ordered that the women should make no lamentation nor show any signs of grief. "The following day," says Xenophon, "those who had lost relatives in the battle appeared on the streets with cheerful faces, while those whose relatives had escaped, if they appeared in public at all, went about with sad and dejected looks." When

we contrast this scene at Sparta with that at Athens upon the night of the receipt of the news of the disaster of Ægospotami (sec. 205), we are impressed with the wide interval which separated the Athenian from the Spartan.

211. **The Theban Supremacy** (371–362 B.C.). — From the victory of Leuctra dates the short but brilliant period of Theban supremacy. The year after that battle Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus to aid the Arcadians against Sparta. Laconia was ravaged, and for the first time Spartan women saw the smoke of the camp fires of an enemy.

But, moved by jealousy of the rapidly growing power of Thebes, Athens now formed an alliance with her old rival Sparta against her. Three times more did Epaminondas lead an army into the Peloponnesus. Upon his last expedition he fought with the Spartans and Athenians the great battle of Mantinea, in Arcadia. On this memorable field Epaminondas led the Thebans once more to victory; but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes (362 B.C.).

All the states of Greece now lay exhausted, worn out by their endless domestic contentions and wars. There was scarcely sufficient strength left to strike one worthy blow against enslavement by the master destined soon to come from the North.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Alcibiades*. THUCYDIDES, ii. 35–46; the funeral oration of Pericles. PLATO, *Apology*, xxxi–xxxiii; the bearing of Socrates before his judges.

Secondary Works. — CURTIUS, vol. iii, pp. 321–413, and vol. iv. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vols. iv–vi, on the war; and vol. vii, pp. 81–172, on Socrates. ABBOTT, vol. iii, chaps. iii–xii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. xxi–xxviii. COX, *History of Greece*, vol. ii, pp. 104–594; and *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Kleon," "Brasidas," "Demosthenes," and "Nikias." CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. ii, "Defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, B.C. 413." SANKEY, C., *The Spartan and Theban Supremacies*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The debate in the Athenian assembly on the proposed Sicilian expedition. See *Thucydides*, vi. 8–23. 2. The siege of Platæa. 3. The trial and condemnation of Socrates.

CHAPTER XIX

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(336–323 B.C.)

212. The Macedonians and their Rulers. — Macedonia was a country lying north of the Cambunian Mountains and back of Chalcidice (see map, p. 152). The people were for the most part mountaineers still in the tribal state. They were Aryans in speech, but since they did not speak pure Greek and were backward in culture, they were looked upon as barbarians by their more refined city kinsmen of the South. The ruling race in the country, however, claimed to be of genuine Hellenic stock, and this claim had been allowed by the Greeks, who had permitted them to appear as contestants in the Olympian games,— a privilege, it will be recalled, accorded only to those who could prove pure Hellenic ancestry.

213. Philip of Macedon. — Macedonia first rose to importance under Philip II (359–336 B.C.), generally known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of preëminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and of rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain. The art of war he had learned in youth as a hostage-pupil of Epaminondas of Thebes. The "Macedonian phalanx,"[1] which he is said to have originated, and which holds some such place in the military history of Macedonia as the "legion" holds in that of Rome, was simply a modification of the Theban phalanx that won the day at Leuctra and again at Mantinea.

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the leadership of the Greek states.

[1] The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground it was irresistible.

214. The Second Sacred War (355–346 B.C.). — Philip quickly extended his power over a large part of Thrace and the Greek cities of Chalcidice. Meanwhile he was, in the following way, acquiring a commanding position in the affairs of the states of Greece proper.

The Phocians had put to secular use some of the lands which at the end of the First Sacred War (sec. 130) had been consecrated to the Delphian Apollo. Taken to task and heavily fined for this act by the other members of the Delphian Amphictyony, they took possession of the temple and used the treasure in the maintenance of a large force of mercenary soldiers. The Amphictyons, being unable to punish them for their impiety, were forced to ask help of Philip, who gladly rendered the assistance sought.

FIG. 53. — DEMOSTHENES (Vatican Museum)

The Phocians were now quickly subdued. All their cities save one were broken up into villages, and the inhabitants were forced to undertake to pay back in yearly installments the treasure they had taken from the Delphian shrine. The place that the Phocians had held in the Delphian Amphictyony was given to Philip, upon whom was also bestowed the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The position he had now secured was just what Philip had coveted in order that he might use it to make himself master of all Greece.

215. Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). — Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed to understand the real designs of Philip. With all the energy of his wonderful eloquence he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist his encroachments. He hurled against him his famous "Philippics," speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

At length the Athenians and Thebans, aroused by the oratory of Demosthenes and by some fresh encroachments of Philip, united their forces, and met him upon the memorable field of Chæronea in Bœotia. The battle was stubbornly fought, but finally went against the allies. The power and authority of Philip were now extended and acknowledged throughout Greece (338 B.C.).

216. Philip's Plan to invade Asia; his Death (336 B.C.). — Soon after the battle of Chæronea, Philip convened at Corinth a council of the Greek states. His main object in calling the congress was to secure aid in an expedition for the conquest of the Persian Empire. The exploit of the Ten Thousand Greeks had shown the feasibility of such an undertaking (sec. 208). The plan was indorsed by the congress. Every Greek city was to furnish a contingent for the army of invasion. Philip was chosen leader of the expedition.

All Greece was now astir with preparations for the great enterprise. In the midst of all Philip was assassinated, and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power.

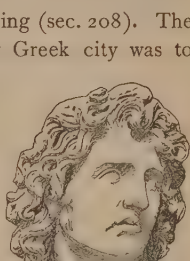


FIG. 54. — ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Capitoline Museum)

217. The Youth of Alexander. — Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. The spirit of the man is shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories reached him: "Boys," said he to his playmates, "my father will get ahead of us in everything, and will leave nothing great for you or me to do."

Certain influences under which the boy came in his earliest years left a permanent impress upon his mind and character. By his mother he was taught to trace his descent from the great Achilles, and was incited to emulate his exploits and to make him his model in all things. The *Iliad*, which recounts the deeds of that mythical hero, became the prince's inseparable companion.

After his mother's influence, perhaps that of the philosopher Aristotle, whom Philip persuaded to become the tutor of the youthful Alexander, was the most formative. This great teacher implanted in the mind of the young prince a love of literature and philosophy, and through his inspiring companionship exercised over the eager, impulsive boy an influence for good which Alexander himself gratefully acknowledged in later years.

218. **The Destruction of Thebes.** — For about two years after his accession Alexander was kept busy in thwarting conspiracies and suppressing open revolts against his authority. Thebes having risen against him, he razed the city to the ground, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, and sold thirty thousand of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus was one of the most renowned of the cities of Greece blotted out of existence.

219. **Alexander crosses the Hellespont; the Battle of the Granicus** (334 B.C.). — Alexander was now free to carry out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring of 334 B.C. he set out at the head of an army numbering about thirty-five thousand men for the conquest of the Persian Empire. Crossing the Hellespont, he met on the banks of the Granicus a Persian army, over which he gained a decisive victory. All Asia Minor now lay open to the invader, and soon practically all of its cities and tribes were brought to acknowledge the authority of the Macedonian.[2]

220. **The Battle of Issus** (333 B.C.). — At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander met another Persian army, numbering, it is said, six hundred thousand men, and inflicted upon it an overwhelming defeat. The king himself [3] escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital Susa to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

[2] At Gordium, in Phrygia, Alexander performed an exploit which has given the world one of its favorite apothegms. In the temple at this place was a chariot to the pole of which a yoke was fastened by a curiously intricate knot. An oracle had been spread abroad to the effect that whoever should untie the knot would become master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the knot, he drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot," — meaning a short way out of a difficulty.

[3] Darius III, Codomannus (336–330 B.C.).

EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER THE
About 323 B. C.
March of Alexander.
0 50 100 200 300 400
Scale of Miles.
SCYTHIA
ILLYRIA
BLACK SEA
THRACE
HAMUS MTS.
Getæ
Triballi
Ister R.
Pæonia
ACEDONIA
Pella
Pydna
Philippi
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
Sinope
Trapezus
PONTUS
Colchis
CAUCASUS
Iberia
Ancyra
Halys R.
Gordium
Pergamus
Magnesia
Sardis
PHRYGIA
Ipsus
Celænæ
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Araxes
GREECE
Megalopolis
Sparta
Thebes
Mitylene
Ephesus
PISIDIA
Cilician Gates
Syrian Gates
CILICIA
Tarsus
Issus
Alexandria
Nisibis
Nineveh
Gaugamela
Arbela
Crete
Rhodes
Patara
Cyprus
Antioch
Apamea
MESOPOTAMIA
Thapsacus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Tyre
SYRIA
Palmyra
Damascus
Opis
Cunaxa
Babylon
Alexandria
Selencia
CYRENAICA
Paretonium
Canopus
Alexandria
Memphis
Jaffa
Gaza
Jerusalem
Pelusium
Ammonium (Siwah)
Maris L.
EGYPT
Petra
Nabathæi
Nile R.
Thebes
RED SEA
ARABIA
Adriatic Sea
Rome
Samnium
Tuscan Sea
ROME
and her possessions
326 B.C.
Sicily
Same scale as main Map
Longit

CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
Jaxartes R.
Massagetæ
Oxus
Maracanda
SOGDIANA
Alexandria Oxiana
BACTRIA
Bactra
Alexandria Margiana
HYRCANIA
Hecatompylos
Caspian Gates
PARTHIA
Ecbatana
Plateau of Iran
ARIA
Alexandria Ariana
HINDU KUSH Mts.
Alexandria ad Caucasum
ARIANA
DRANGIANA
Alexandria Arachosiana
Bucephala
K. OPHORUS
Nicæa
Alexandria
Hyphasis R.
INDIA
Alexandria Sogdiorum
Indus R.
Alexandria Carmania
Persepolis
PERSIS
Pasargadæ
Salmus Alexandria
CARMANIA
Pura
GEDROSIA
Salmus
Ichthyophagi
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
EAT
Authorities:—
H. Kiepert, Atlas Antiquus
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus
East 50 from Greenwich 55
60
65
70
75
80
45
40
35
30
25
20

221. The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.). — Alexander now turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phœnicia. The island-city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole built with incredible labor through the sea to the city. The causeway still remains, uniting the rock with the mainland. When at last the city was taken after a siege of seven months, eight thousand of the inhabitants were slain and thirty thousand sold into slavery. The reduction of Tyre has been pronounced the greatest military achievement of Alexander.

222. Alexander in Egypt. — From Syria Alexander marched down into Egypt. The Egyptians made no resistance to him, but willingly exchanged masters. While in the country, Alexander founded at one of the mouths of the Nile a city named after himself Alexandria. Ranke declares this to have been the "first city in the world, after the Piræus at Athens, erected expressly for purposes of commerce." The city became the meeting place of the East and West; and its importance through many centuries attests the farsighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwah, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his vanity, as well as to impress his new Oriental subjects, Alexander evidently desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of Zeus and the destined ruler of the world.

223. The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — From Egypt Alexander retraced his steps to Syria and marched eastward. At Arbela, not far from the ancient Nineveh, his farther advance was disputed by Darius with an immense army, numbering, if we may rely upon our authorities, over a million men. The vast Persian host was overthrown with enormous slaughter. Darius fled from the field, as he had done at Issus, and later was treacherously killed by an attendant.

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the

West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all Western Asia.

224. Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. — From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized incredible quantities of gold and silver ($57,000,000, it is said), the treasure of the Great King.

From Susa Alexander's march was directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance for all Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred and others sold into slavery, while the palaces of the Persian kings were given to the flames.[4]

Having thus overthrown the power of Darius, Alexander now began to regard himself not only as his conqueror but as his successor. He assumed the pomp and state of an Oriental monarch, and required the most obsequious homage from all who approached him. His Macedonian companions, unused to paying such servile adulation to their king, were much displeased at Alexander's conduct, and from this time forward intrigues and conspiracies were being constantly formed among them against his power and life.

225. Conquests in India. — With the tribes of what is now known as Afghanistan subdued, and the remote countries of Bactria and Sogdiana, lying north of the Hindu Kush, conquered and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains and led his army down into the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur at the length and hardness of their campaigns, and reluctantly he turned back. His return route lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Beluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings. After a trying and

[4] Read Dryden's *Alexander's Feast.*

calamitous march of over two months, Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania. Here, to his unbounded joy, he was joined by Nearchus, the trusted admiral of his fleet, whom he had ordered to explore the sea between the Indus and the Euphrates.[5]

226. The Plans of Alexander; the Hellenizing of the World. — As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates, for the reason that such a location of the seat of government would help to promote his plans, which aimed at nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of plants and trees from one continent to the other. Common laws and customs and a common language were to unite the nations into one great family. Intermarriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married a daughter of Darius III, and also another of Artaxerxes Ochus; to ten thousand of his soldiers, whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives, he gave magnificent gifts.

227. The Death of Alexander (323 B.C.). — In the midst of his vast projects Alexander was seized by a fever, brought on doubtless by his insane excesses, and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a hundred battlefields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried first to Memphis, but afterwards to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there inclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

[5] Strange as it may seem, the Greeks had no positive knowledge of what sea the Indus emptied into. According to Arrian, when Alexander reached the Indus he at first thought that he had struck the upper course of the Nile (*Anabasis of Alexander*, vi. 1).

228. Results of Alexander's Conquests. — The remarkable conquests of Alexander had far-reaching consequences. First, they ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and Western Asia. It is particularly this spreading abroad of the culture of Greece which makes the short-lived Macedonian Empire of such importance in universal history.

Second, the distinction between Greek and barbarian was obliterated, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the cosmopolitan creed of Christianity.

Third, the world was given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings.

But the evil effects of these conquests were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and the effeminate luxury of the Oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of classical antiquity was undermined.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Alexander*. ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vii. 9, Alexander's speech to his soldiers reminding them of the debt they owe to his father; and vii. 28–30, for an estimate of Alexander's character.

Secondary Works. — WHEELER, B. I., *Alexander the Great;* affords a most interesting and scholarly treatment of our subject. DODGE, T. A., *Alexander*. HOGARTH, D. G., *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*. MAHAFFY, J. P., *Problems in Greek History*, chap. vii, "Practical Politics in the Fourth Century"; *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. viii; *The Story of Alexander's Empire;* and *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ii. HOLM, vol. iii, chaps. xiv–xxvii. BURY, J. B., *History of Greece*, pp. 681–836. CURTEIS, A. M., *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Imperialism *vs.* Home Rule; or, Was Demosthenes' policy of opposition to Philip wise? See Mahaffy's *Problems*. 2. Alexander as a god. Bring this into harmony with the ideas of the time, both in Greece and in Egypt. This is a subject for mature students.

CHAPTER XX

THE GRÆCO-ORIENTAL WORLD FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS

(323–146 B.C.)

229. Partition of Alexander's Empire. — There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. It is said that, when dying, being asked to whom the kingdom should belong, he replied, "To the strongest," and handed his signet ring to his general Perdiccas. But Perdiccas was not strong enough to master the difficulties of the situation. Indeed, who is strong enough to rule the world?

Consequently the vast empire created by Alexander's unparalleled conquests was distracted by the wranglings and wars of his successors, and soon was broken into many fragments.[1] Besides minor states,[2] three kingdoms of importance rose out of the ruins, centering in Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt. All were finally overwhelmed by the now rapidly rising power of Rome. In the following sections we will merely indicate the fortunes of each, and add a word concerning the fate of the cities of Greece proper.

230. Macedonia (323–146 B.C.). — Macedonia was one of the first countries east of the Adriatic to come in hostile contact with the great military republic of the West (secs. 350 and 352). After

[1] The important battle of this period was the battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.C.

[2] Of these lesser states the following should be noted:

a. **Rhodes.** — The city of Rhodes, on the island of the same name, became the head of a federation of adjacent island and coast cities, and thus laid the basis of a remarkable commercial prosperity and naval power. It was one of the chief centers of Hellenistic culture, and acquired a wide fame through its schools of art and rhetoric. Julius Cæsar and Cicero both studied here under Rhodian teachers of oratory.

b. **Pontus.** — Pontus (Greek for *sea*), a state of Asia Minor, was so called from its position upon the Euxine. It was never thoroughly conquered by the Macedonians. It has a place in history mainly because of the luster shed upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithradates the Great (sec. 369).

much intrigue and a series of wars, the country was finally brought into subjection to the Italian power and made into a Roman province (146 B.C.).

231. Syria, or the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ (312–65 B.C.).— Under its first ruler this kingdom comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator.

Seleucus Nicator (312–281 B.C.), besides being a ruler of unusual ability, was a most liberal patron of learning and art. He is declared to have been "the greatest founder of cities that ever lived." Throughout his dominions he founded a vast number, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as homes and centers of Hellenistic civilization.

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and became independent states.[3] Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.), called "the Great," raised the kingdom for a short time into great prominence; but finally the country was overrun by the Roman legions and was made a part of the Roman Republic[4] (63 B.C.).

232. Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323–30 B.C.). — The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the house and dynasty was Ptolemy I, surnamed Soter (323–283 B.C.), a companion of Alexander.[5]

[3] The most noteworthy of these was Pergamum, a state in Western Asia Minor which became independent upon the death of Seleucus Nicator (281 B.C.). Under the patronage of the Romans it gradually grew into a powerful kingdom. Its capital, also called Pergamum, became a most noted center of Greek learning and civilization, and through its great library and university gained the renown of being, next to Alexandria in Egypt, the greatest city of the Hellenistic world.

[4] Compare secs. 351 and 378.

[5] Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy had received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Phœnicia, Palestine, Cœle-Syria, Cyrene, and Cyprus.

Under Ptolemy, Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the productions of the world. At the entrance of the harbor stood the Pharos, or lighthouse, — the first structure of its kind. This edifice was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders.

But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual center of the world, — the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum,[6] a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established the renowned Alexandrian Library. He encouraged poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning to settle in Alexandria by conferring upon them immunities and privileges, and by gifts and a munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father. He added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage that his father had before him. It was under his direction that the translation into Greek of the Hebrew Testament was made (sec. 262).

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323–30 B.C.). The story of the beautiful but dissolute Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, belongs properly to the history of Rome, which city was now interfering in the affairs of the Orient. In the year 30 B.C., the year which marks the death of Cleopatra, Egypt was made a Roman province.[7]

233. Greece. — From the subjection of Greece by Philip of Macedon to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were, much of the time, under the real or nominal suzerainty of the Macedonian kings. But the Greeks were never made for royal subjects, and consequently they were in a state of chronic revolt against this foreign authority.

[6] "The Museum was the first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government; that was something great" (Holm).

[7] Compare sec. 393.

A matter of special moment in the history of Greece during this period was an invasion of the Gauls (278 B.C.), kinsmen of the Celtic tribes that about a century before this time had sacked the city of Rome (sec. 316). These terrible marauders, pouring down from the north, ravaged Greece as far south as Delphi and the Pass of Thermopylæ. If we may believe the Greek accounts, they met with heroic resistance and were driven back with great loss. A little later some of the tribes settled in Asia Minor and there

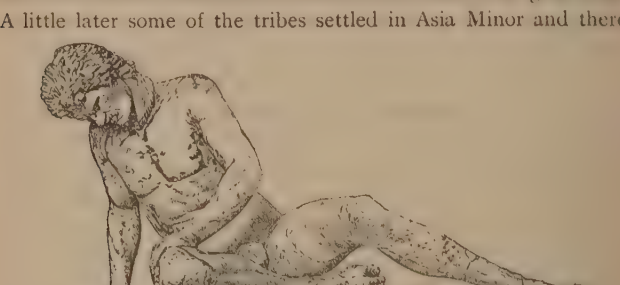


FIG. 55. — THE DYING GAUL. (Capitoline Museum)

A memorial of the Gallic invasion of Greece in the third century B.C.

gave name to the province of Galatia. The celebrated Greek sculpture, *The Dying Gaul*, is a most interesting memorial of this episode in Greek history (Fig. 55).

234. The Achæan and the Ætolian League. — In the third century B.C. there arose in Greece two important confederacies, known as the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, whose history embraces almost every matter of interest and instruction in the later political life of the Greek cities.[8] These late attempts at federation among the Grecian cities were fostered by the intense desire

[8] The Achæan League (281–146 B.C.) was in its beginnings simply a revival of a very ancient religious union of the cities of Achæa, but it came finally to embrace all the states of the Peloponnesus as well as some cities beyond its limits. It was one of the most successful efforts ever made to unite the Greek cities into a real federal state. The Ætolian League, established about 280 B.C., was composed not of cities but of tribes, — chiefly the half-civilized tribes of the mountainous regions of Central Greece.

of all patriotic Hellenes to free themselves from the hated arbitership of Macedonia. The Greeks had learned at last — but unhappily too late — that the liberty they prized so highly could be maintained only through union.

Both of the leagues were broken up by Rome. In the year 146 B.C. Corinth, the most important member of the Achæan League, was taken by the Romans, the men were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, the rich art treasures of the city sent as trophies to Rome, and its temples and other buildings given to the flames (sec. 353). Later, all Greece, under the name of Achæa, was reduced to the status of a province of the Roman Empire.

235. Conclusion. — We have now traced the political fortunes of the Greek race through about six centuries of authentic history. In succeeding chapters, in order to render more complete the picture we have endeavored to draw of ancient Hellas, we shall add some details respecting Hellenic art, literature, philosophy, and society. Even a short study of these matters will help us to form a more adequate conception of that wonderful, many-sided genius of the Hellenic race which enabled Hellas, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Philopœmen.*

Secondary Works. — HOLM, vol. iv; the best history in English of the period. GARDNER, P., *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East." MAHAFFY, J. P., *The Story of Alexander's Empire; Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest; A Survey of Greek Civilization*, chaps. viii and ix; and *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire.* GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vii. FREEMAN, E. A., *History of Federal Government*, chaps. v–ix, gives with great fullness the history of the Achæan League. SAYCE, A. H., *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Lect. x, "The Place of the Egyptian Religion in the History of Theology." DAVIDSON, T., *The Education of the Greek People*, chap. viii, "Greek Education in Contact with the Great Eastern World." DRAPER, J. W., *Intellectual Development of Europe;* has an account of the Alexandrian Museum.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Museum and Library at Alexandria. 2. The Achæan League. See *Freeman* and *Greenidge*. 3. Daphne at Antioch. 4. Rhodes as a center of Hellenistic culture. See *Holm*.

CHAPTER XXI

GREEK ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

236. Introductory: the Greek Sense of Beauty. — The Greeks were artists by nature. Everything they made, from the shrines for their gods to the meanest utensils of domestic use, was beautiful. "Ugliness gave them pain like a blow." Beauty they placed next to holiness; indeed, they almost or quite made beauty and goodness the same thing. They are said to have thought it strange that Socrates was good, seeing he was so homely.

I. Architecture

237. Orders of Greek Architecture. — By the close of the sixth century B.C. Greek architecture had made great advance and presented three distinct styles or orders. These are known as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian (Fig. 56). They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and the ornamentation of the column.

The Doric column is without a base and has a perfectly plain capital. The Ionic column is characterized by the spiral volutes of the capital. This form was principally employed by the Greeks of Ionia, whence its name. The Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. This order was not much employed in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great.

The entire structure was made to harmonize with its supporting columns. The general characteristics of the orders are happily suggested by the terms we use when we speak of the "severe" Doric, the "graceful" Ionic, and the "ornate" Corinthian.

Speaking of the place which these styles held in Greek architecture and have held in that of the world since Greek times, an eminent authority says, "We may admit that the invention and perfecting of these orders of Greek architecture has been (with

one exception — the introduction of the arch) the most important event in the architectural history of the world."

It was religious feeling which created the noblest monuments of the architectural genius of Hellas. Hence in the few words which we shall have to say about Greek buildings our attention will be confined almost exclusively to the temples of Greece.

238. **The Delphian Temple.** — One of the oldest temple sites in Greece was the spot at Delphi whence issued the mysterious vapors (sec. 126). In the year 548 B.C. the temple then standing

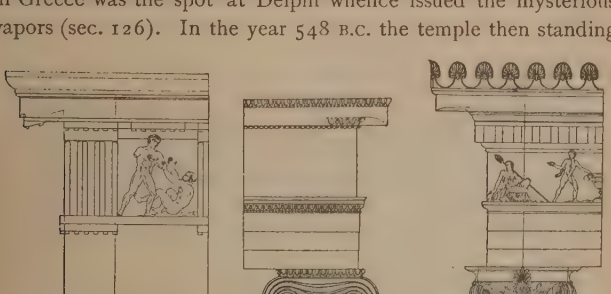


FIG. 56. — ORDERS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding. The later structure was impressive both from its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battlefields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art.[1] After remaining long secure, through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, it finally suffered repeated spoliation. The Phocians despoiled the temple of a treasure equivalent,

[1] Besides being in a sense museums, the temples of the Greeks were also banks of deposit. The priests often loaned out on interest the money deposited with them, the revenue from this source being added to that from the leased lands of the temple and from the tithes of war booty to meet the expenses of the services of the shrine. Usually the temple property in Greece was managed solely by the priests, but the treasure of the Parthenon at Athens formed an exception to this rule. The treasure

it is estimated, to more than $10,000,000 (sec. 214), and later the Romans seem to have stripped it bare of its art treasures.

239. **The Athenian Parthenon.** — We have already glanced at the Parthenon, the sanctuary of the virgin goddess Athena, upon the Acropolis at Athens (sec. 194). This temple, which is built in the Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus, is regarded as the finest specimen of Greek architecture. The art exhibited in its construction is an art of ideal perfection. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder magazine in a war with the Venetians in 1687. Unfortunately a bomb ignited the magazine, and more than half of the wonderful masterpiece was shivered into fragments. Even in its ruined state the structure constitutes the most highly prized memorial that we possess of the builders of the ancient world.

240. **Olympia and the Temple of Zeus Olympius.** — The sacred plain of the Alpheus in Elis was, as we have learned, the spot where were held the celebrated Olympian games. Here was raised a magnificent Doric temple consecrated to Zeus Olympius, and around it were grouped a vast number of shrines, treasure-houses, porticoes, and various other structures.

For many centuries these buildings adorned the consecrated spot and witnessed the recurring festivals. But in the fifth century of our era the Christian Emperor Theodosius II ordered their destruction, as monuments of paganism, and the splendid structures were given to the flames. Earthquakes, landslips, and the floods of the Alpheus completed in time the work of destruction and buried the ruins beneath a thick layer of earth.

For centuries the desolate spot remained unvisited; but late in the last century the Germans excavated the temple site and

here belonged to the state, and was controlled and disposed of by the vote of the people. Even the personal property of the goddess, the gold drapery of the statue, which was worth about $600,000, could be used in case of great need; but it must be replaced in due time, with a fair interest.

the sites of about forty other structures. The remains unearthed were of such an extensive nature as to make possible a restoration of the noble assemblage of buildings which we may believe recreates with fidelity the scene looked upon by the visitor to Olympia in the days of its architectural glory (see Frontispiece).

241. Theaters. — The Greek theater was semicircular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut. The structure comprised three divisions: first, the semicircle of seats for the spectators; second, the orchestra, or dancing place for the

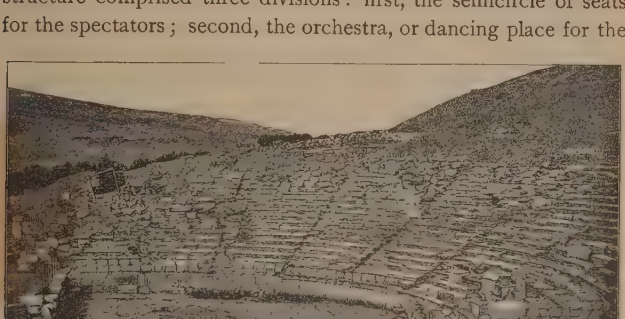


FIG. 57. — THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS
(From a photograph)

chorus, which embraced the space between the lower range of seats and the stage; and third, the stage, a narrow platform for the actors.

The most noted of Greek theaters was the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was cut partly in the native rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theaters generally taking advantage of a hillside. There were about one hundred rows of seats, the lowest, bordering the orchestra, consisting, in later times, of sixty-seven marble armchairs. The structure, it is said, would hold thirty thousand spectators.

II. Sculpture

242. Traces of Oriental Influence in Early Greek Art. — The earliest art in Greece to which we can without hesitation apply the term "Hellenic" exhibits distinct marks of Oriental influence. From both Egypt and Assyria the early Greek artist received models in gold, silver, ivory, and other material, decorative designs, and a knowledge of technical processes. From the beginning of the sixth century B.C. forward to the fifth we can trace clearly the growing excellence of Greek sculpture until it blooms in the supreme beauty of the art of the Periclean Age.

Fig. 58. — Stele of Aristion

Example of archaic Attic sculpture

243. The Archaic Period, down to the Persian Wars. — The oldest remains of Greek sculpture are specimens of carvings in relief. A good example of this archaic phase of Greek sculpture is seen in the tombstone of Aristion (Fig. 58), discovered in Attica in 1838. The date of this work is placed at about 550 B.C. A sort of Assyrian rigidity still binds the limbs of the figure, yet there are suggestions of the grace and freedom of a truer and higher art.

244. Influence of the Olympian Games and the Gymnasium upon Greek Sculpture. — Towards the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it became the custom to set up images of the victors in the Olympian games. Now in representing the figures of the gods it was thought, if not impious, at least presumptuous, to change materially the conventional forms; but in the representation of the forms of mere men the sculptor was bound by no conventionalism, being perfectly free to exercise his skill and genius in handling his subject. Progress and improvement now became possible.

In still another way did the Olympian contests and the exercises of the gymnasia exert a most helpful influence upon Greek sculpture. They afforded the artist unrivaled opportunities for the study of the human form. "The whole race," as Symonds says, "lived out its sculpture and its painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great works of Phidias and Polygnotus, in physical exercises, before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

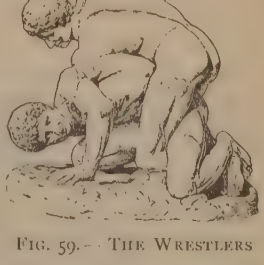


FIG. 59. — THE WRESTLERS

"Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art" (sec. 129)

245. The Period of Perfection of Greek Sculpture; Phidias. — Greek sculpture was at its best during the last half of the fifth century B.C.[2] The preëminent sculptor of this period of perfection was Phidias. It was his genius which, as already mentioned, created the marvelous figures of the pediments and of the frieze of the Parthenon.[3]

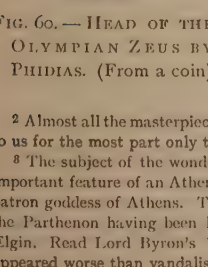


FIG. 60. — HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS BY PHIDIAS. (From a coin)

The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of Athena within the Parthenon and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was of gigantic size, being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, and drapery being of the latter material. The statue of Olympian Zeus was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high and represented the god seated

[2] Almost all the masterpieces of the Greek sculptors have perished; they are known to us for the most part only through Roman copies.

[3] The subject of the wonderful frieze was the procession which formed the most important feature of an Athenian festival celebrated every four years in honor of the patron goddess of Athens. The best part of the frieze is now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been largely despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva*. To the poet Lord Elgin's act appeared worse than vandalism.

on his throne. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus.[4] The statue was in existence for eight hundred years. It is believed to have been carried to Constantinople and to have perished there in a conflagration in the fifth century A.D.

FIG. 61. — HERMES WITH THE INFANT DIONYSUS

An original work of Praxiteles, found in 1877 at Olympia

246. Praxiteles. — Though Greek sculpture attained its highest perfection in the fifth century, still the following century produced sculptors whose work possessed qualities of rare excellence. The most eminent sculptor of this period was Praxiteles (period of activity about 360–340 B.C.), of whom it has been said that he "rendered into stone the moods of the soul." Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the *Cnidian Aphrodite* and the *Hermes*. The last was set up at Olympia. To the great joy of archæologists this precious memorial of antiquity was discovered in 1877, so that now we possess an undoubtedly original work of one of the great masters of Greek sculpture (Fig. 61).

[4] "Phidias avowed that he took his idea from the representation which Homer gives in the first book of the *Iliad* in the passage thus translated by Pope:

> "He spake, and awful bends his sable brow,
> Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
> The stamp of fate and sanction of the god.
> High heaven with reverence the dread signal took,
> And all Olympus to the center shook."

BULFINCH, *Age of Fable*.

247. The School of Rhodes. — The Græco-Oriental period saw the rise at Rhodes, at this time the commercial emporium of the Eastern Mediterranean, of a celebrated school of sculpture. Very many of the prized works of Greek art in our museums were executed by members of this Rhodian school. One of the most noted of the Rhodian sculptors was Chares, the designer of the celebrated *Colossus of Rhodes* (about 280 B.C.). This work was reckoned as one of the wonders of the world.[5]

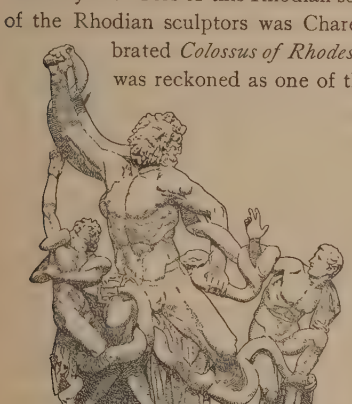


FIG. 62. — THE LAOCOÖN GROUP (Vatican, Rome)

FIG. 63. — NIKE OR VICTORY OF PÆONIUS (Found at Olympia)

But the most remarkable piece of sculpture attributed to members of the school of Rhodes is the celebrated group known as the *Laocoön* (Fig. 62), found at Rome in 1506. The subject represented is the unjust punishment inflicted, through the agency of two serpents, upon Laocoön, a Trojan priest and seer, and his two sons, by some gods whom he had innocently offended. Of this masterpiece it has been said that "it expresses physical pain and passion better than any other existing group of statuary."

[5] The statue was not quite as large as the statue of Liberty in New York harbor. After standing about half a century, the Colossus was overthrown by an earthquake. Nine hundred years later it was broken up and sold for old metal.

III. Painting

248. Introductory. — The Greek artists never brought the art of painting to that perfection which they reached in sculpture. One reason for this was that paintings were never, like statues, objects of veneration; hence less attention was directed to them.[6]

Fig. 64. — Portrait in Wax Paint (From the Fayum)

"These paintings [Fayum portraits] give us a better idea of what ancient painting was, and what a high state it must have reached in its prime, than anything yet known, excepting some Pompeian frescoes" (Petrie)

With the exception of antique vases, a few patches of mural decoration, some interesting portraits (Fig. 64), dating probably from the second century after Christ, found in graves in Lower Egypt, and colored sculpturings,[7] all specimens of Greek painting have perished. Not a single work of any great painter of antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently our knowledge of Greek painting is derived chiefly from the description by the ancient writers of renowned works, and their anecdotes of great painters.

249. Polygnotus. — Polygnotus (flourished 475–455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. "In his hand," it is affirmed, "the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul." Of a Polyxena[8] painted by this great master it was said that "she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War."

[6] The influence of religion upon the painter's art is illustrated by the Italian Renaissance, when painting entered the service of the Church (sec. 680).

[7] It is difficult for us to believe that the Greeks painted their statues and the surfaces of their stone buildings; but the recent discovery of statues and carved stones with the colors still upon them has placed the matter beyond all doubt.

[8] Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings.

250. Zeuxis and Parrhasius. — These great artists lived and painted in the later years of the fifth century B.C. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed," generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival; "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

251. Apelles. — Apelles, the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting and carried it to such a state of perfection that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "Art of Apelles." After him the art declined, and no other really great name appears.

Selection from the Sources. — PAUSANIAS, x. 25–31; description of the paintings of Polygnotus at Delphi.

Secondary Works. — COLLIGNON, *A Manual of Greek Archæology;* has valuable references in connection with each chapter. PERROT, G., and CHIPIEZ, C., *History of Art in Primitive Greece*, 2 vols. GARDNER, E. A., *Ancient Athens* and *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*. MITCHELL, L. M., *History of Ancient Sculpture* (new ed.). MACH, E. VON, *Greek Sculpture: Its Spirit and Principles*. TARBELL, F. B., *A History of Greek Art*. BUTLER, H. C., *Story of Athens*. HARRISON, J. E., *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*. Teachers will enjoy PATER, W., *Greek Studies*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The relation of the art of the Mycenæan Age to that of the classical period in Greece. 2. The friezes of the Parthenon. 3. The Great Altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamum. The remarkable sculptures of this monument were exhumed on the ancient acropolis of Pergamum during the years 1878–1886. The figures, which were in high relief and of colossal size, decorated the four sides of the substruction of a great altar dedicated to Zeus the Deliverer, in commemoration of the victory of the Greeks over the Gallic invaders of Asia Minor (sec. 233). The altar is supposed to have been built by King Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.). The subject of the sculpturings was the mythical contest of the gods with the earth-born giants, which struggle seemed to the Greeks the counterpart of their own terrific fight with the uncouth and savage Gauls. The reliefs are now in the Berlin Museum. 4. The influence of the gymnasium upon Greek art. 5. Greek painting as represented by the wax-paint portraits found in Egyptian cemeteries.

CHAPTER XXII

GREEK LITERATURE

252. The Greeks as Literary Artists. — It was that same exquisite sense of beauty which made the Greeks artists in marble that made them also artists in language. "Of all the beautiful things which they created," says Professor Jebb, "their own language was the most beautiful." This language they wrought into epics and lyrics and dramas and histories and orations as incomparable in form and beauty as their temples and statues.

FIG. 65. — HOMER

253. The Homeric Poems; their Authorship. — The earliest specimens of Greek poetry, as we have already learned (sec. 133), are the so-called "Homeric poems," consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Until the rise of modern German criticism these poems were almost universally ascribed to a single bard named Homer, who was believed to have lived about the middle of the ninth century B.C., one or two centuries after the events commemorated in his poems. Tradition represents seven different cities as contending for the honor of having been his birthplace. He traveled widely (so it

was believed), lost his sight, and then as a wandering minstrel sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas.

But it is now the opinion of the majority of scholars that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they stand to-day, are not, either of them, the creation of a single poet. They are believed to be the work of many bards. The "Wrath of Achilles," however, which forms the nucleus of the *Iliad*, may, with very great probability, be ascribed to Homer, whom we may believe to have been the most prominent of a brotherhood of bards who flourished about 850 or 750 B.C.

254. Hesiod. — Hesiod, who is believed to have lived towards the close of the eighth century B.C., was the poet of nature and of peasant life in the dim transition age of Hellas. The Homeric bards sang of the deeds of heroes, and of a far-away time when gods mingled with men. Hesiod sings of common men, and of everyday, present duties. His greatest poem is entitled *Works and Days*. This is in the main a sort of farmer's calendar, with minute instructions respecting farm labor, and beautiful descriptive passages of the changing seasons.

255. Lyric Poetry: Pindar. — As epic poetry, represented by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, was the characteristic production of the earlier part of the first period of Greek literature, so was lyric poetry the most noteworthy product of the latter part of the period. The Æolian island of Lesbos was the hearth and home of several of the earlier lyric poets. Among these singers was Sappho (about 610–570 B.C.), who was exalted by the Greeks to a place next to Homer. Plato calls her the Tenth Muse. Although her fame endures, her poetry, excepting a few precious verses, has long since perished. Anacreon (period of poetical activity about 550–500 B.C.) was a courtier at the time of the Greek tyrannies. Simonides of Ceos (556–467 B.C.) lived during the Persian Wars. He composed immortal couplets for the monuments of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

But the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and perhaps the greatest of all lyric poets of every age and race, was Pindar

(522–448 B.C.). He was born at Thebes, but spent most of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. The greater number of Pindar's poems were inspired by the scenes of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympian chariot races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian, the Nemean, or the Pythian games.

256. **Origin of the Greek Drama.** — The Greek drama, in both its branches of tragedy and comedy, grew out of the songs and dances instituted in honor of the god of wine, Dionysus. Tragedy (goat song, possibly from the accompanying sacrifice of a goat) sprang from the graver songs, and comedy (village song) from the lighter and more farcical ones. Gradually recital and dialogue were added, there being at first but a single speaker, then two, and finally three, which last was the classical number.

Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character and, further, presented two distinct features, the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first the chorus was the all-important part; but later the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained at great expense, and the dialogue and choral odes formed the masterpiece of some great poet, — and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

257. **The Three Great Tragic Poets.** — There are three great names in Greek tragedy, — Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. These dramatists all wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian Wars. They drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of his plays used the legends of the semi-historical periods of his own country or of other lands. Of the two hundred and more dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have escaped the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525–456 B.C.) knew how to touch the hearts of the generation that had won the victories of the Persian Wars, for he had fought at Marathon and probably also at Salamis. The

Athēnians called him the Father of Tragedy. The central idea of his dramas is that "no mortal may dare raise his heart too high," — that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart." *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works. Another of his great tragedies is *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. Nowhere is portrayed with greater power the awful vengeance with which the implacable Nemesis is armed. The theme of his *The Persians* was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride."

FIG. 66. — SOPHOCLES. (Lateran, Rome)

Sophocles (about 496–405 B.C.) while yet a youth gained the prize in a poetic contest with Æschylus. Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. Sophocles now became the leader of tragedy at Athens. He lived through nearly a century, — a century, too, that comprised the most brilliant period of the life of Hellas. His dramas were perfect works of art.[1] The central idea of his pieces is the same as that which

[1] The chief works of Sophocles are *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, and *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon the old tales of the prehistoric royal line of Thebes.

characterizes those of Æschylus, namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) was a more popular dramatist than either Æschylus or Sophocles. His fame passed far beyond the limits of Greece. Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters his verses.

258. **Comedy: Aristophanes.** — Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 450–385 B.C.). He introduces us to the everyday life of the least admirable classes of Athenian society. Four of his most noted works are the *Clouds*, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Wasps*.

259. **The Three Great Historians.** — Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until two centuries or more after the composition of the Homeric poems, that is about the sixth century B.C., that prose writing appeared among the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We can speak briefly of only three historians — Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon — whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued by ourselves.

Herodotus (about 484–425 B.C.), born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the Father of History. He traveled over much of the then known world, visiting Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia, and described as an eyewitness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller. To him we are indebted for a large part of the tales of antiquity, — stories of men and events which we never tire of repeating. He was overcredulous, and was often imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. The central theme of his great history is the Persian Wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece.

Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more philosophical writer. He held a command during the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War, but having incurred the displeasure of the Athenians he was sent into the exile which afforded him leisure to compose his history of that great struggle. Thucydides died before his task was completed.[2] His work is considered a model of historical writing. Demosthenes read and reread his writings to improve his own style; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

FIG. 67. — THUCYDIDES (National Museum, Naples)

Xenophon (about 445–355 B.C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sec. 208), and his *Memorabilia*, or "Recollections" of Socrates.

260. Oratory; Influence of Democratic Institutions. — The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the generally democratic character of their institutions. The public assemblies of the democratic cities were great debating clubs, open to all. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure preëminence. The great jury courts of Athens (sec. 193) were also schools of oratory; for every citizen there was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case. Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection attained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion.

261. Demosthenes; his Oration on the Crown. — It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence.[3] The

[2] His history breaks off abruptly in the twenty-first year of the war. The *Hellenica* of Xenophon forms a continuation of the interrupted narrative.

[3] Lysias (458–378? B.C.), Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), and Isæus (b. about 420 B.C.) were all noted forerunners of Demosthenes.

labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides of the path to success. Respecting the several orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon we have already spoken (sec. 215).

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the state, the Athenians awarded to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines, along with other enemies of the orator, attacked this measure of the assembly and brought the matter to a trial. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens, as we have seen, was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes made the grandest effort of his life. His address, known as the *Oration on the Crown*, has been declared to be "the most polished and powerful effort of human oratory." It was an unanswerable defense by Demosthenes of his whole policy of opposition to Philip of Macedon, and of his counsel to the Athenians to try doubtful battle with him on the fatal field of Chæronea (sec. 215). The refrain that runs through all the speech is this: It is better to have fought at Chæronea and to have left our dead on the lost field, than never to have undertaken battle in defense of the liberties of Hellas. It was ours to do our duty, the issue rested with the gods.[4]

262. The Alexandrian Age (300–146 B.C.). — Under the Ptolemies Alexandria in Egypt became the center of literary activity, hence the term "Alexandrian," applied to the literature of the age. The great Museum and Library of the Ptolemies afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in no other city in the world. But the creative age of Greek literature was over. With the loss of political liberty and the decay of faith in the old religion, literature was cut off from its sources of inspiration. Consequently the Alexandrian literature lacked

[4] It should be borne in mind that the oration was given in the year 330 B.C., when the Macedonian power was supreme, with Alexander lord of both the East and the West.

freshness and originality. It was imitative, critical, and learned. The writers of the period were commentators and translators.

One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the *Old Testament* of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. From the traditional number of translators (seventy) the version is known as the *Septuagint*.

Among the poets of the period one name, and only one, stands out clear and preëminent. This is that of Theocritus, a Sicilian poet, who wrote at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. His idyls are charming pictures of Sicilian pastoral life.

263. Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers. — After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman period (146 B.C.–527 A.D.).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (d. 121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though it has reached us in a sadly mutilated state, is of great worth; for Polybius wrote of matters that had become history in his own day. He had lived to see the greater part of the world he knew absorbed by the ever-growing power of the Imperial City.

Plutarch (b. about A.D. 40), "the prince of biographers," will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek and Roman statesmen and soldiers.

Selections from the Sources. — HOMER, *Iliad*, vi. 370–481; the parting of Andromache and Hector. ÆSCHYLUS, *Prometheus Bound*, 342–378; the lament of Prometheus.

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CHAPTER XXIII

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

264. The Seven Sages; the Forerunners. — About the sixth century B.C. there lived in different parts of Hellas many persons of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the Seven Sages, who held the place of preëminence.[1] The wise sayings — such as "Know thyself" and "Nothing in excess" — attributed to them are beyond number.

While the maxims and proverbs ascribed to the sages, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, they do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

265. The Ionic Natural Philosophers; Thales. — The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginnings. The founder of the school was Thales of Miletus[2] (b. about 640 B.C.), the Father of Greek Philosophy.

Thales visited Egypt, and it is probable that what he learned there formed the basis of his work in geometry and astronomy. He is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by means of their shadows.

Thales taught, as did the other Ionic philosophers, that there are four elements, earth, water, air, and fire. Out of these four elements all things in heaven and earth were supposed to be made.

266. Pythagoras. — Pythagoras (about 580–500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of the "Samian sage." The most of his later years were passed at Croton, in Southern

[1] As in the case of the Seven Wonders of the World, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men.

[2] Other members of the school were Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus.

Italy, where he became the founder of a celebrated brotherhood or association. Legend tells how his pupils, in the first years of their novitiate, were never allowed to look upon their master; how they listened to his lectures from behind a curtain; and how in debate they used no other argument than the words *Ipse dixit* (He himself said so). It is to Pythagoras, according to the legend, that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher," that is, a "lover of wisdom."

In astronomy the Pythagoreans — it is impossible to separate the teachings of Pythagoras himself from those of his disciples — held views which anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus and his school. They taught that the earth is a sphere, and that it, together with the other planets, revolves about a central globe of fire, "the hearth or altar of the universe."

267. Anaxagoras. — Anaxagoras (500–427? B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *mind*, instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. "Reason rules the world" was his first maxim. Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He ventured to believe that the moon was somewhat like the earth, and inhabited; and taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as the Peloponnesus. He suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the serenity of his mind. In banishment he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me." [8]

268. The Sophists. — The Sophists were a class of philosophers or teachers who gave instruction in rhetoric and the art of disputation.[4] They traveled about from city to city, and contrary to the custom of the Greek philosophers took fees from their pupils. They were in general teachers of superficial knowledge, who cared more for the dress in which the thought was arrayed than for the

[8] In the teachings of Empedocles (about 492–432 B.C.) and Democritus (about 460–370 B.C.) we meet with many speculations respecting the constitution of matter and the origin of things which are startlingly similar to some of the doctrines held by modern scientists. Empedocles has been called the Father of the Evolution Idea.

[4] The most noted of the Sophists were Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus.

thought itself. The better philosophers of the time despised them, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason."

269. Socrates. — Volumes would not contain all that would be both instructive and interesting respecting the teachings and speculations of the three great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We can, however, accord to each only a few words.

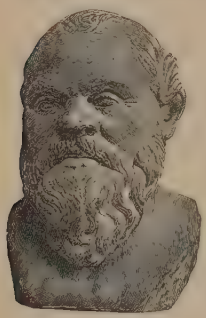

FIG. 68. — SOCRATES (National Museum, Naples)

Of these three eminent thinkers, Socrates (469–399 B.C.), though surpassed in grasp of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was ugly as a satyr's, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then to draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His method was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. In the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils.[5]

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being, "Know thyself"; hence he is said to have brought philosophy from the heavens and introduced it to the homes of men. He taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known, and which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He thought

[5] Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband, whose life at home she at times made very uncomfortable. Her name has been handed down as "the synonym of the typical scold."

himself to be restrained by a guardian spirit from entering upon what was inexpedient or wrong. He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, but sometimes spoke slightingly of the temples and the popular deities. Of his prosecution and condemnation to death on the charge of impiety, and of his last hours with his devoted disciples, we have already spoken (sec. 209).

270. **Plato.** — Plato (427–347 B.C.), "the broad-browed," was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In foreign lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences. He finally returned to Athens and established a school of philosophy in the Academy. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life — he died 347 B.C., at the age of eighty-one years — laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.

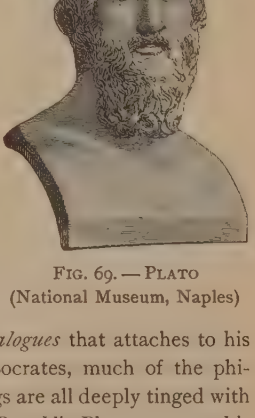

FIG. 69. — PLATO
(National Museum, Naples)

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates' method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches; yet his writings are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples, — an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (postexistence) but also in preëxistence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our

intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience.[6] Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible; and to become like him is to become holy and just and wise."

271. **Aristotle.** — As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hellenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira, and hence is frequently called the "Stagirite."

FIG. 70. — ARISTOTLE
(Spada Palace, Rome)

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle accepted the invitation of Philip II of Macedon to become the preceptor of his son, the young prince Alexander (sec. 217). In after years Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, encouraged and aided him in his scientific studies by causing to be sent to him collections of plants and animals gathered on his distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher delivered his lectures while walking about beneath the trees and porticoes of the Lyceum;

[6] In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of preëxistence:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:

Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home.

Ode on Immortality.

hence the term *peripatetic* (from the Greek *peripatein*, to walk about) applied to his philosophy.

Among the productions of his fertile intellect are works on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

272. Zeno and the Stoics. — We are now approaching the period when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this intellectual people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Roman world. From among all the philosophers of this long period we can select for brief mention only a few. And first we shall speak of Zeno and Epicurus, who are noted as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and the conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics,[7] lived in the third century before our era (about 340–265 B.C.). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek, *stoa*), from which circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples. The Stoics inculcated virtue for its own sake. They believed — and it would be difficult to frame a better creed — that "man's chief business here is to do his duty." They schooled themselves to bear with composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly. Thus

[7] The Stoical philosophy was the outgrowth, in part at least, of that of the Cynics. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a wine cask (πίθος), and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man* The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits.

a certain Stoic, when told of the sudden death of his son, is said merely to have remarked, "Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal."

Stoicism became a favorite system of thought with certain classes of the Romans, and under its teachings and doctrines were nourished some of the purest and loftiest characters produced by the pagan world.

273. **Epicurus and the Epicureans.** — Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) taught, in opposition to the Stoics, that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, "Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness"; Zeno said, "Be virtuous, because you ought to be."

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the later corrupt period of the Empire. Many of these disciples carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. Allowing full indulgence to every appetite, their whole philosophy was expressed in the proverb, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

274. **The Neoplatonists.** — Neoplatonism was a blending of Greek philosophy and Oriental religious feeling. Its representatives were at one and the same time Greek thinkers and Hebrew seers. The center of this last movement in Greek philosophical thought was Alexandria in Egypt, the meeting place, in the closing centuries of the ancient world, of the East and the West.

Philo the Jew (b. about 30 B.C.), who labored to harmonize Hebrew doctrines with the teachings of Plato, was the forerunner of the Neoplatonists. But the greatest of the school was Plotinus (A.D. 204–269), who spent the last years of his life at Rome, where he was a great favorite.

While the Neoplatonists were laboring to restore, in modified form, the ancient Greek philosophy and worship, the teachers of Christianity were fast winning the world over to a new faith. The two systems came into deadly conflict. Christianity triumphed.

With the triumph of the Christian Fathers the work of the Greek philosophers, as living personal teachers, was ended; but their systems of thought will never cease to attract and influence the best minds of the race.

275. Science among the Greeks. — The contributions of the Greek observers to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers were careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences, basing their labors upon what had already been achieved by the Egyptians and the Chaldeans.

276. Mathematics: Euclid and Archimedes. — Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Soter, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools to-day. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry." In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced.

277. Astronomy and Geography. — Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers the names of Aristarchus and Claudius Ptolemy are best known. Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center, and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Claudius Ptolemy lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. He compiled a vast work which preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects.

In this way it happened that the phrase "Ptolemaic System" became attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these probably were not originated by Ptolemy. The conception of the solar system set forth in his works continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus, fourteen centuries later.

Ptolemy combated the theory of Aristarchus in regard to the rotation and revolution of the earth; yet he believed the earth to be a globe, and supported this view by exactly the same arguments that we to-day use to prove the doctrine.

278. Medicine and Anatomy. — Hippocrates (b. about 460 B.C.) did so much to emancipate the art of healing from superstition and ignorance, and to make it a scientific study, that he is called the Father of Medicine.

The advance of the science of anatomy among the ancient Greeks was hindered by their feelings respecting the body, which caused them to look with horror upon its deliberate mutilation. Surprising as the statement may appear, it is nevertheless true that Aristotle, "the greatest of all thinkers in antiquity, the son of a physician, especially educated in physical science, and well acquainted for the time with the dissection of animals, regarded the brain as a lump of cold substance, quite unfit to be the seat and organ of the *sensus communis*.[8] This important office he ascribed rather to the heart. The brain he considered to be chiefly useful as the source of fluids for lubricating the eyes, etc."[9]

Selections from the Sources. — PLATO, *Republic*, ii. 379 and 380, on God as the author of good; and *Phædo*, on immortality.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Sophists. 2. Plato's *Republic* 3. The Stoics.

[8] The thinking faculty, the mind.

[9] Ladd's *Elements of Physiological Psychology* (1887), p. 240.

CHAPTER XXIV

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS

279. Education. — Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair (sec. 140); but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These schools were of all grades, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in the Athenian Academy and Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

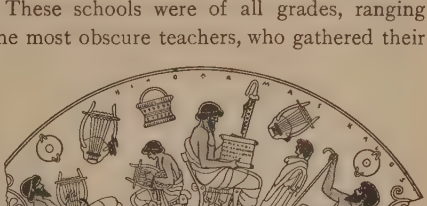

FIG. 71. — A GREEK SCHOOL
(From a vase painting)

It was only the boys who received education. These Grecian boys, Professor Mahaffy imagines, were "the most attractive the world has ever seen." At all events, we may believe that they were trained more carefully and delicately than the youth among any other people before or since the days of Hellenic culture.

In the nursery the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.[1] At about seven

[1] Infanticide was almost universally practiced throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle saw nothing in the custom to condemn. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas all turning upon points afforded by this common practice. The career of Sargon of Agade, of Cyrus the Great of Persia, of the Hebrew Moses, of Œdipus of Thebes, of Romulus and Remus of Roman legend, and a hundred others, are all prefaced by the same story of exposure and fortunate rescue.

he entered school, being led to and from the place of training by an old slave, who bore the name of "pedagogue," which in Greek means a guide or leader of boys, not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music, and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertainments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battlefield. The exercises of the palestræ and the gymnasia trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle struggles in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

Upon reaching maturity the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious possessions, the representations of an unrivaled stage, the Panhellenic games, — all these were splendid and efficient educational agencies, which produced and maintained a standard of average intelligence and culture among the citizens of the Greek cities that probably has never been attained among any other people on the earth. Freeman, quoted approvingly by Mahaffy, says that "the average intelligence of the assembled Athenian citizens was higher than that of our [the English] House of Commons."

280. Social Position of Woman. — Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraitures of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman. Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb, "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether for good or for evil."

This unworthy conception of woman of course consigned her to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between Oriental seclusion and modern or Western freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was practically one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, she was accorded unusual freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

281. Theatrical Entertainments. — Among the ancient Greeks the theater was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution." This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (sec. 256), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, being religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals, — certain festivals observed in honor of Dionysus, — and were attended by all classes, rich and poor, men, women, and children. The women, however, were, it would seem, permitted to witness tragedies only; the comic stage was too gross to allow of their presence. The spectators sat under the open sky; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till nightfall.

While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents a parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also the performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor, and assisted in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theater, were taken by men.

The tragic actor increased his height and size by wearing thick-soled buskins, an enormous mask, and padded garments. The actor in comedy wore thin-soled slippers, or socks. The sock being thus a characteristic part of the make-up of the ancient

comic actor, and the buskin that of the tragic actor, these foot coverings have come to be used as the symbols respectively of comedy and tragedy, as in the familiar lines of Dryden:

> Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
> Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear.

The theater exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people; and later, when with the Macedonian the days of decline came, the stage was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek literary culture over the world.

FIG. 72. — A BANQUET SCENE

282. Banquets and Symposia. — Banquets and drinking parties among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainments among other people.

The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guests in a reclining position, upon couches or divans arranged about the table in the Oriental manner. After the usual courses a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the "symposium."

The symposium was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, riddles, and convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Generally professional singers and musicians, dancing

girls, jugglers, and jesters were called in to contribute to the merrymaking. The symposium must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his *Banquet* and Plato in his *Symposium* have each left us a striking report of such an entertainment.

283. **Slavery.** — There is a dark side to Greek life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement, — "these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery."

Slaves were very numerous in Greece. No exact estimate can be made of their number, but it is believed that they greatly outnumbered the free population. Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves.

This large class of slaves was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times, the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude; while foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the Greek as a perfectly natural one. A free community, in his view, could not exist without slavery. It formed the natural basis of both the family and the state, the relation of master and slave being regarded as "strictly analogous to the relation of soul and body." Even Aristotle and other Greek philosophers approved the maxim that "slaves were simply domestic animals possessed of intelligence."[2]

[2] This harsh, selfish doctrine, it should be noted, was somewhat modified and relaxed when the slave class, through the numerous captives of the unfortunate civil wars, came to be made up in considerable part of cultured Greeks, instead of being, as was the case in earlier times, composed almost exclusively of barbarians, or of inferior branches of the Hellenic race, between whom and their cultured masters there was the same difference in mental qualities as existed between the negro

In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly, judging their treatment by the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family, and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master. Yet at Sparta, where slavery assumed the form of serfdom, the lot of the slave was peculiarly hard and unendurable.

If ever slavery was justified by its fruits, it was in Greece. The brilliant civilization of the Greeks was its product, and could never have existed without it. Relieving the citizen of all drudgery, the system created a class characterized by elegant leisure, refinement, and culture.

We find an almost exact historical parallel to all this in the feudal aristocracy of mediæval Europe. Such a society has been well likened to a great pyramid whose top may be gilded with light while its base lies in dark shadows. The civilization of ancient Hellas was splendid and attractive, but it rested with a crushing weight upon all the lower orders of Greek society.

Selections from the Sources. — ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, viii; on education. XENOPHON, *Symposium*, i and iv.

Secondary Works. — BLÜMNER, H., *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*. DAVIDSON, T., *The Education of the Greek People* and *Ancient Educational Ideals*. MAHAFFY, J. P., *Social Life in Greece, Old Greek Education, Greek Life and Thought* (selected chapters), and *Old Greek Life*. GUHL, E., and KONER, W., *Life of the Greeks and the Romans* (first part). GULICK, C. B., *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Home life of the Greeks. 2. Greek education. See Monroe's *Source Book in the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*. 3. Daily life in Athens. 4. Greek slavery. 5. Marriage and funeral customs.

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slaves and their masters in our own country. The sentiment that a slave was an unfortunate person, rather than an inferior being, came to prevail, — a sentiment which aided powerfully in preparing the way for the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man.

Division III — Rome

CHAPTER XXV

ITALY AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

284. Divisions of Italy. — The peninsula of Italy, like that of Greece, may be divided into three parts, — Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the Po, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts, — Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, which means "Gaul on this [the Italian] side of the Alps," and Venetia.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western or Tuscan Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern or Adriatic Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the ancient districts of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria formed the "heel,"[1] and Bruttium the "toe," of the bootlike peninsula. The coast region of Southern Italy, as we have already learned, was called *Magna Græcia*, or "Great Greece," on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established on these shores.

The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy, so intimately has its history been connected with that of the peninsula.

285. Mountains, Rivers, and Harbors. — Italy, like the other two peninsulas of Southern Europe, Greece and Spain, has a high

[1] During the Middle Ages this name was transferred to the toe of the peninsula, and this forms the Calabria of to-day.

mountain barrier, the Alps, along its northern frontier. Corresponding to the Pindus range in Greece, the Apennines run as a great central ridge through the peninsula. Eastward of the ancient Latium they spread out into broad uplands, which in early times nourished a race of hardy mountaineers, who incessantly harried the territories of the more civilized lowlanders of Latium and Campania. Thus the physical conformation of this part of the peninsula shaped large sections of Roman history, just as in the case of Scotland the physical contrast between the north and the south was reflected for centuries in the antagonisms of highlanders and lowlanders.

Italy has only one really great river, the Po, which drains the large northern plain, already mentioned, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The streams running down the eastern slope of the Apennines are short and of little volume. Among them the Aufidus, the Metaurus, and the Rubicon are connected with great matters of history.[2] Among the rivers draining the western slopes of the Apennines, the one possessing the greatest historic interest is the Tiber, on the banks of which Rome arose.

The finest Italian harbors, of which that of Naples is the most celebrated, are on the western coast. The eastern coast has few good havens. Italy thus faces the west. What makes it important for us to notice this circumstance is the fact that Greece faces the east (sec. 113, n. 2), and that thus these two peninsulas, as the historian Mommsen expresses it, turn their backs to each other. This brought it about that Rome and the cities of Greece had almost no dealings with one another for many centuries.

286. Early Inhabitants of Italy. — There were in early times three chief races in Italy, — the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. The Italians, a branch of the Aryan family, embraced many tribes (Latins, Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, etc.), that occupied nearly all Central, and a considerable part of Southern, Italy.[3] Their life was for the most part that of shepherds and farmers.

[2] See secs. 342, 345, and 383.

[3] Notice carefully the large area covered by the Italian color on the accompanying map. The Italian race formed the best part of the material out of which the real Roman nation was formed.

ANCIENT ITALY
before the Rise of Rome
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles
Greeks
Italians
Gauls
Ligurians &c.
Etruscans
Venetians
Phœnicians
The M.-N. Works
THE ALPS
GALLIA CISALPINA
Liguria
Venetia
ADRIATIC SEA
Fæsulæ
R. Arno
Volaterræ
Clusium
Volsinii
Telamon
Tarquinii
Veii
Cære
Rome
Tibur
Tusculum
Alba Longa
Cora
Latium
Volscians
Sentinum
Asculum
Umbria
Picenum
Salines
Tiber
Equi
Samnium
Bovianum
Apulia
Camus
Beneventum
Cumae or Kyme
Caudine Forks
Campania
Mt. Vesuvius
Poseidonia
Taras
Tarentum
Heraclea
Sybaris
Lucania
Croton
Calabria
Bruttium
Æoliæ Is.
Mylæ
Scylla
Messena
Charybdis
Eryx
Panormos
Drepana
Lilybæum
Himera
Enna
Sicanians
SICILY
Selinus
Acragas
Ecnomus
Syracuse
Catane
Ortygia I.
Utica
Hippo
Carthage
AFRICA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
TUSCAN OR TYRRHENE SEA
8° 10° 12° 14° 16° 18°
46° 44° 42° 40° 38° 36° 34°

The Etruscans, a wealthy, cultured, and seafaring people of uncertain race and origin, dwelt in Etruria, now called Tuscany after them.[4] Before the rise of the Roman people they were the leading race in the peninsula. Certain elements in their culture lead us to believe that they had learned much from the cities of Magna Græcia. The Etruscans in their turn became the teachers of the early Romans and imparted to them at least some minor elements of civilization, including hints in the art of building and various religious ideas and rites.

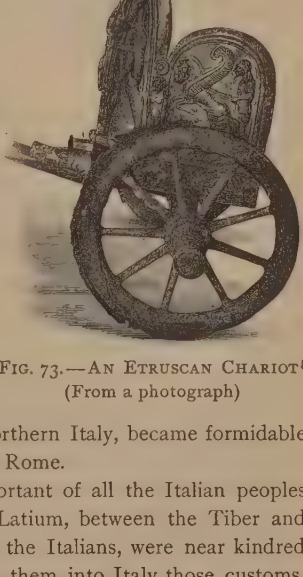


Fig. 73.—An Etruscan Chariot[5] (From a photograph)

With the Greek cities in Southern Italy and in Sicily we have already formed an acquaintance. Through the medium of these cultured communities the Romans were taught the use of letters and given valuable suggestions in matters of law and constitutional government.

Some five hundred years B.C., the Gauls, a Celtic race, came over the Alps, and settling in Northern Italy, became formidable enemies of the infant republic of Rome.

287. The Latins. — Most important of all the Italian peoples were the Latins, who dwelt in Latium, between the Tiber and the Liris. These people, like all the Italians, were near kindred of the Greeks, and brought with them into Italy those customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions which seem to have been the early common possession of the various Aryan-speaking peoples.

[4] In early times they had settlements in Northern Italy and in Campania.

[5] This interesting memorial of Etruscan art has recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York at a cost of $48,000. It was found in an ancient Etruscan cemetery (1901). Almost every part of the chariot, including the wheels, was sheathed in figured bronze. The relic probably dates from the seventh century B.C.

According to tradition there were in all Latium in prehistoric times thirty towns or petty city-states. These had formed an alliance among themselves known as the Latin League. At the dawn of history the leadership in this confederacy was held by Rome, which was situated on a cluster of low hills on the left bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea. This little fortress town was intended doubtless as an outpost to protect the northern frontier of Latium against the Etruscans, the most powerful and aggressive neighbors of the Latin people.

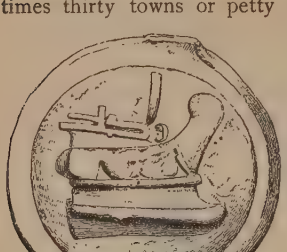


FIG. 74. — AN ANCIENT ROMAN COIN BEARING THE PROW OF A SHIP

From the use of this symbol on the city's money we may assume that commerce held an important place in the life of early Rome

Concerning the government and the religious and social arrangements of the Roman community, and concerning the fortunes of the city of Rome under its early kings, we shall give a brief account in the next chapter.

Selections from the Sources. — CICERO, *On the Commonwealth*, ii. 3–6. For additional selections for this and following chapters on the Republic and the early Empire, see Munro's *A Source Book of Roman History*. The teacher will find this admirable collection of extracts from the sources an invaluable aid in imparting a sense of life and reality to the story of ancient Rome.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, chaps. i and ii. FREEMAN, E. A., *The Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i (text), pp. 7–9 and 43–49. TOZER, H. F., *Classical Geography*, chaps. ix and x. HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chaps. i and ii. SHUCKBURGH, E. S., *History of Rome*, chaps. ii and iii. ALLCROFT, A. H., and MASOM, W. F., *Tutorial History of Rome*, pp. 1–18. DENNIS, G., *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, Introduction. The author probably exaggerates the debt which the early civilization of Rome owed to the preceding culture of Etruria.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Geographical conditions tending to make the history of Italy different from that of Greece. 2. Etruscan civilization. 3. The debt of Rome to Etruria. 4. Relation to Rome of the Greek colonies in Italy.

FIG. 75. — THE BRONZE WOLF OF THE CAPITOL

CHAPTER XXVI

ROME AS A KINGDOM

I. SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

288. The Roman Family; the Worship of Ancestors. — At the bottom of Roman society was the family. This was a very different group from that which among us bears the same name. The typical Roman family consisted of the father (*paterfamilias*) and mother, the sons together with their wives and sons, and the unmarried daughters. When a daughter married she became a member of the family to which her husband belonged.

The most important feature or element of this family group was the authority of the father. His power over each and all of its members was legally absolute. He could sell his wife or his son just as he could sell one of his slaves. He was the sole judge of the members of the family, and could put to death without appeal even a son grown to man's estate.

The father was the high priest of the family, for the family had a common worship. This was the cult of its dead ancestors (the Lares and Penates). The spirits of these were believed to linger near the old hearth. If provided with frequent offerings of meat and drink, they would, it was thought, watch over the living

members of the family and aid and prosper them in their daily work and in all their undertakings. If they were neglected, however, these spirits became restless and suffered pain, and in their anger would bring trouble in some form upon their undutiful kinsmen.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the family upon the history and destiny of Rome. It was the cradle of at least some of those splendid virtues of the early Romans that contributed so much to the strength and greatness of Rome, and that helped to give her the dominion of the world. It was in the atmosphere of the family that were nourished in the Roman youth the virtues of obedience and of deference to authority. When the youth became a citizen, obedience to magistrates and respect for law were with him an instinct and indeed almost a religion. And, on the other hand, the exercise of the parental authority in the family taught the Roman how to command as well as how to obey, — how to exercise authority with wisdom, moderation, and justice.

289. Dependents of the Family; Clients and Slaves. — Besides those members constituting the family proper there were attached to it usually a number of dependents. These were the clients and slaves. The client was a person standing to the head of the family, who was called his patron, in a relation which, in some respects, was like that of the mediæval serf to his lord. The class of clients was probably made up of homeless refugees or strangers from other cities, or of freed slaves dwelling in their former master's house. They were free to engage in business at Rome and to accumulate property, though whatever they gathered was legally the property of the patron.

The slaves constituted merely a part of the family property. There were only a few slaves in the early Roman family, and these were held for service chiefly within the home and not in the fields. It was not until later times, when luxury crept into Rome, that the number of domestic slaves became excessively great.

290. The Clan, the Curia, the Tribe, and the City. — Above the family stood the clan, or gens. This was probably in the earliest times simply the expanded family, the members of which had

outgrown the remembrance of their exact relationship. Yet they all believed themselves to have had a common ancestor and called themselves by his name, as, for instance, in the case of the Fabii, the Claudii, the Julii, and so on. The gens, like the family, had a common altar.

The next largest group or division of the community was the curiæ, which has been compared to the ward of the modern city. This was the most important political division of the people, as the family was the most important social group. It was so for the reason that levies for the army were made by curiæ, and that the voting in the primitive assembly of the people, as we shall explain presently, was done by these same bodies. There were thirty curiæ in primitive Rome.

Above the curiæ was the tribe, the largest subdivision of the community. In early Rome there were three tribes, each comprising ten curiæ.

These several groups made up the community of early Rome. This city, like the cities of ancient Greece (sec. 122), was a city-state, — that is, an independent sovereign body like a modern nation. As such it possessed a constitution and government, concerning which we will next give a short account.

291. The King and the Senate. — At the head of the early Roman state stood a king, the father of his people, holding essentially the same relation to them that the father of a family held to his household. He was at once ruler of the nation, commander of the army, and judge and high priest of his people. In theory his power was absolute. He was preceded by servants called lictors, each bearing a bundle of rods (the fasces) with an ax bound therein, the symbol of his power to punish by flogging and by putting to death.

Next to the king stood the Senate, a body composed of the "fathers," or heads of the ancient clans of the community. This was the king's advisory council.

292. The Popular Assembly. — The popular assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised all the freemen of Rome. This was not properly a legislative body, but an assembly called together to hear

announcements as to festivals, to ratify the nomination of a new king, to witness wills, and to authorize certain public acts.

The manner of taking a vote in this assembly should be noted, for the usage here was followed in all the later popular assemblies of the republican period. The voting was not by individuals but by curiæ; that is, each curia had one vote, and the measure before the body was carried or lost according as a majority of the curiæ voted for or against it.

It should be further noted that this assembly was not a representative body, like a modern legislature, but a primary assembly, that is, a meeting like a New England town meeting. All of the later assemblies at Rome were like this primitive assembly. The Romans never learned, or at least never employed, the principle of representation, without which device government by the people in the great states of the present day would be impossible. How important the bearing of this was upon the political fortunes of Rome we shall learn later.

293. The Patricians and the Rights of the Roman Citizen.—The heads of the ancient gentes at Rome, who constituted the Senate, were called *patres*, or "fathers," whence it probably came that all the members of these groups were called *patricians*. These patricians formed the hereditary nobility of the earlier Roman state. They alone possessed the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

And here we must acquaint ourselves with what the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship included. The rights of the Roman citizen were divided, first, into private rights and public rights.

The chief private rights were two, namely, the right of trade (*jus commercii*) and the right of marriage (*jus connubii*). The right of trade or commerce was the right to acquire, to hold, and to bequeath property (both personal and landed) according to the forms of the Roman law. This in the ancient city was an important right and privilege.[1] The right of marriage was the "right of contracting a full and religious marriage." Such a marriage could take place in early Rome only between patricians.

[1] In some modern states aliens are not allowed to acquire landed property; in Roman terms there is withheld from them a part of the *jus commercii*.

The three chief public rights of the Roman citizen were the right of voting in the public assemblies, the right to hold office, and the right of appeal from the decision of a magistrate to the people.

Now in primitive Rome the patricians alone possessed all these rights of citizenship. Some of the private rights they shared with an inferior class in the state, as will appear in the following paragraph, but the political rights they jealously guarded as the sacred patrimony of their own order.

294. **The Plebeians.** — When Rome first appears in history, we notice a large class in the community, known as *plebeians* (from *plebs*, the multitude), who enjoy only a part of the rights of citizenship as given in the preceding section. The greater number of the plebeians were petty landowners, holding and tilling with their own hands farms of a few acres in extent in the near neighborhood of Rome. They possessed at least one of the most important rights of Roman citizenship, namely, the private right of engaging in trade. But from most of the other rights and privileges of the full citizen they were wholly shut out. A large part of the early history of Rome is made up of the struggles of these plebeians to better their economic condition and to secure for themselves social and political equality with the patricians.

II. Religion

295. **The Chief Roman Deities.** — The basis of the Roman religious system was the same as that of the Greek. At the head of the pantheon stood Jupiter, identical in all essential attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno and Minerva, was consecrated a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the city.

Mars, the god of war, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games and festivals were celebrated in his

honor during the first month of the Roman year, which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March.

Janus was a double-faced deity to whom the month of January was sacred, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The fire upon the household hearth was regarded as the symbol of the goddess Vesta. Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth in the temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state.

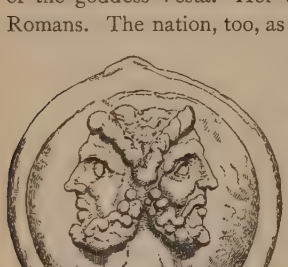


FIG. 76. — HEAD OF JANUS
(From a Roman coin)

296. Oracles and Divination. — There were no true oracles at Rome. The Romans, therefore, often had recourse to those among the Greeks. Particularly in great emergencies did they seek advice from the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi. From Etruria was introduced the art of the haruspices, or soothsayers, which consisted in discovering the will of the gods by the appearance of the entrails of victims slain for the sacrifice.

297. The Sacred Colleges. — The four chief sacred colleges or societies were the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of the Heralds.

The Sibylline Books were volumes written in Greek, the origin of which was lost in fable. They were kept in a stone chest in a vault beneath the Capitoline temple, and special custodians were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The books were consulted only in times of extreme danger (sec. 335).

The duty of the members of the College of Augurs was to interpret the omens, or auspices, — which were casual sights or appearances, particularly the flight of birds, — by which means it

was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the "taking of the auspices," as it was called. No business of importance, public or private, was entered upon without the auspices being first consulted to ascertain whether they were favorable. The public assembly, for illustration, must not convene, to elect officers or to enact laws, unless the auspices had been taken and found propitious.

The College of Pontiffs was so called probably because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair a certain bridge (*pons*) over the Tiber. To the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. The head of the college was called *Pontifex Maximus*, or "Chief Bridge Builder," which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome, and thus has come down to our times.

The College of Heralds had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. Thus, if the Roman people had suffered any wrong from another state, and war was determined upon, then it was the duty of a herald to proceed to the frontier of the enemy's country and hurl over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war.

298. Sacred Games and Festivals. — The Romans had many religious games and festivals. Prominent among these were the so-called Circensian Games, or Games of the Circus, which were very similar to the sacred games of the Greeks. They consisted, in the main, of chariot racing, wrestling, foot racing, and various other athletic contests. These festivals, as in the case of those of the Greeks, had their origin in the belief that the gods delighted in the exhibition of feats of skill, strength, or endurance; that their anger might be appeased by such spectacles; or that they might be persuaded by the promise of games to lend aid to mortals in great emergencies.[2]

2 The games were an entertainment offered to the guests [the gods, who were "the guests of honor"], which were as certainly believed to be gratifying to their sight as a review of troops or a deer hunt to a modern European sovereign. — WHEELER, *Dionysos and Immortality*, p. 11.

The *Saturnalia* were a festival held in honor of Saturn, the god of sowing. It was an occasion on which all classes, including the slaves, who were allowed their freedom during the celebration, gave themselves up to riotous amusements; hence the significance we attach to the word *saturnalian*. The well-known Roman carnival of to-day is a survival of the ancient Saturnalia.

III. Rome under the Kings (753?–509 B.C.)

299. The Legendary Kings. — The early government of Rome was a monarchy. The regal period, according to tradition, embraced nearly two and a half centuries (from 753 to 509 B.C.). To span this period the legends of the Romans tell of the reigns of seven kings, — Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, both conquerors; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the reorganizer of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The traditions of the doings of these monarchs and of what happened to them blend hopelessly fact and fable. We cannot be quite sure even as to their names. Respecting Roman affairs, however, under the last three rulers (the Tarquins), who were of Etruscan origin, some important things are related, the substantial truth of which we may rely upon with a fair degree of certainty; and these matters we shall notice in the following sections.

300. Growth of Rome under the Tarquins. — The Tarquins extended their authority over the whole of Latium. The position of supremacy thus given Rome was attended by the rapid growth of the city in population and importance. The original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes; new ramparts were built, — tradition says under the direction of the king Servius Tullius, — which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of seven hills on the south bank of the Tiber, whence the name that Rome acquired of "the City of the Seven Hills."

A large tract of marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained by means of the *Cloaca Maxima*, an arched canal, which was so admirably constructed that it has been preserved to the present day. It still discharges its waters through a great arch into the Tiber. The land thus reclaimed became the *Forum*, the public market place of the early city. At one end of this public square, as we should call it, was the *Comitium*, an inclosure where assemblies for voting purposes were held.

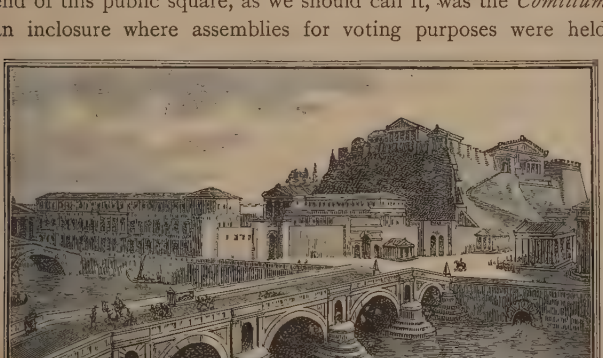


FIG. 77. — VIEW OF THE CAPITOLINE, WITH THE CLOACA MAXIMA (A reconstruction)

Standing on the dividing line between the Comitium and the Forum proper was the speakers' stand, later named the *Rostra*.[3] This assembling place in later times was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticoes. Here more was said, resolved upon, and done than upon any other spot in the ancient world.

301. The Reforms of Servius Tullius: the Five Classes and the Four New Tribes. — It was the second king of the Etruscan house,

[3] So called because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of war galleys taken from enemies (sec. 319).

Servius Tullius by name, to whom tradition attributes a most important change in the constitution of the Roman state.[4] He did here at Rome just what Solon at about this time did at Athens. He made property and residence, instead of birth or membership in the patrician clans (sec. 293), the basis of the duties and consequently of the privileges of citizenship.

Up to this time service in the army had been the duty and the privilege of the patricians. But the growing state had come to need a larger military force than the patrician order alone could maintain. Servius Tullius increased the army by requiring all landowners, whether patricians or plebeians, between seventeen and sixty years of age, to assume a place in the ranks. The whole body of persons thus made liable to military service was divided into five classes according to the amount of land each possessed. The largest landowners were enrolled in the first three classes, and were required to provide themselves with complete armor; the smaller proprietors, who made up the remaining two classes, were called upon to furnish themselves with only a light equipment.

At the same time in place of the three old patrician tribes there were now created four new ones, each made up of the landowners residing in a given district. Though these new divisions of the population were called tribes, still they were very different in character from the earlier divisions bearing this name. Membership in one of the old tribes was determined by birth or relationship, while membership in one of the new tribes was determined by place of residence.[5]

302. The Army and the Comitia Centuriata. — The unit of the military organization was the century, probably containing at this time, as the name (*centuria*) indicates, one hundred men. Forty-two centuries were united to form the legion, which thus at this period probably numbered forty-two hundred men, its normal strength.

[4] The reform itself is an historical fact, but it is possible that it was not effected by the efforts of any particular king. It may have been the result of a long period of slow constitutional development.

[5] Thus these new tribes were like our wards or townships. As new territory was acquired by the Romans through conquest, new tribes were created, until there were finally thirty-five, which number was never exceeded.

The assembling place of the military classes was a large plain just outside the city walls, called the *Campus Martius*, or "Field of Mars." The meeting was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the "assembly of hundreds." This body, which of course was made up both of patricians and plebeians as active members, came in the course of time to absorb most of the powers of the earlier assembly (*comitia curiata*).

303. Importance of the Servian Reforms. — The reforms of Servius Tullius were an important step towards the establishment of social and political equality between the two great orders of the state, — the patricians and the plebeians. The new constitution, indeed, as Mommsen says, assigned to the plebeians duties only, and not rights; but being called upon to discharge the most important duties of citizens, it was not long before they demanded all the rights of citizens; and as the bearers of arms they were able to enforce their demands.

304. The Expulsion of the Kings. — The legends, as already noted, make Tarquinius Superbus the last king of Rome. He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event, according to the Roman annalists, occurred in the year 509 B.C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens (sec. 165).

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Romulus* and *Life of Numa*. In the case of these particular lives the student will of course bear in mind that he is reading Roman folklore; but it is worth while for the student of Roman history to know what the Romans of later times themselves believed respecting their early kings. LIVY, i and ii; a choice may be made among the early legends.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. i, chaps. v–vii and xii, COULANGES, FUSTEL DE, *The Ancient City*, bk. ii, chap. i, "Religion was the Constituent Principle of the Ancient Family"; and chap. x, "The Gens at Rome and in Greece." PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. i, chaps. ii and iii. IHNE, W., *Early Rome*. FOWLER, W. W., *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. ii and iii. MOREY, W. C., *Outlines of Roman Law*, chap. i, "The Organization of Early Roman Society." ABBOTT, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, chaps. i and ii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Roman family. 2. The worship of Vesta. 3. The Sibylline Books.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EARLY REPUBLIC; PLEBEIANS BECOME CITIZENS WITH FULL RIGHTS

(509–367 B.C.)

305. Republican Magistrates: the Consuls and the Dictator. — With the monarchy overthrown the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king there were elected (509 B.C.) two patrician magistrates, called at first *prætors*, or "leaders," but later, *consuls*, or "colleagues." These magistrates were chosen for one year, and were invested at first with all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been exercised by the king. In public each consul was attended, as the king had been, by twelve lictors, bearing the "dread fasces" (sec. 291).

Each consul had the power of obstructing the acts or vetoing the commands of the other. This division of authority weakened the executive, so that in times of great public danger it was necessary to supersede the consuls by the appointment of a special officer bearing the title of *dictator*, whose term of office was limited to six months, but whose power during this time was as unlimited as that of the king had been. The dictator always named as his lieutenant and representative a magistrate known as "master of the horse" (*magister equitum*).

A consul could not be impeached, or reached by any legal process, while in office; but after the expiration of his term he could be prosecuted for any misconduct while holding his magistracy. This rule was applied to all the other magistrates of the Republic.

306. First Secession of the Plebeians (494 B.C.). — Taking advantage of the disorders which followed the expulsion of the Tarquins, the Latin towns rose in revolt, with the result that almost all the conquests that had been made under the kings were lost. Troubles without brought troubles within. The poor plebeians during this

period of disorder fell in debt to the wealthy class, and payment was exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death.

The situation was intolerable. The plebeians resolved to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, known afterwards as the Sacred Mount. Having on one occasion been called to arms to repel an invasion, they refused to march out against the enemy, but instead marched away in a body from Rome to the spot selected beforehand, and began to make preparations for erecting new homes (494 B.C.).

FIG. 78. — LICTORS WITH FASCES

The symbolic fasces borne by these officers were probably of Etruscan origin. The Tarquins are said to have brought them to Rome along with other insignia of the kingly office

307. The Covenant and the Tribunes. — The patricians well knew that such a division would prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. A commission was sent to treat with the insurgents. The plebeians were at first obdurate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the embassy to return, being won to this mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, who made use of the well-known fable of the body and the members.

The following covenant was entered into and bound by the most solemn oaths: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be canceled and debtors held in slavery set free; and there were to be chosen two plebeian magistrates (the number was soon increased to ten), called *tribunes*, whose duty it should be to watch over and protect the plebeians.

That the tribunes might be the protectors of the plebeians in something more than name, they were invested with an extraordinary power known as the *jus auxilii*, "the right of aid"; that is, they were given the right, should any patrician magistrate attempt to deal wrongfully with a plebeian, to annul his act or stop his proceeding.

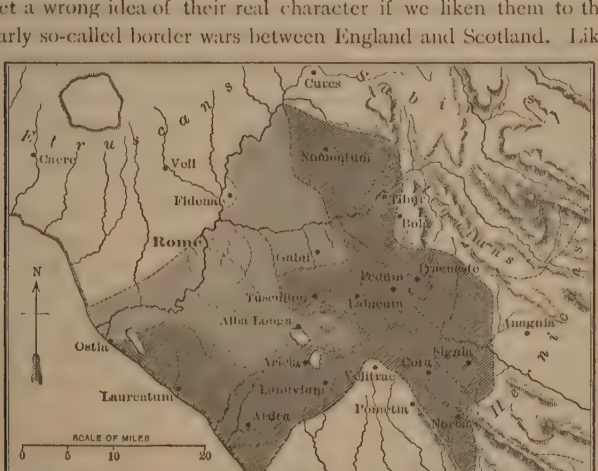
The persons of the tribunes were made sacrosanct, that is, inviolable, like the persons of heralds. Any one interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties or doing him any violence was declared an outlaw whom any one might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night and day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

The tribunes were attended and aided by officers called *ædiles*, who were elected from the plebeian order, and, like the tribunes, invested with a sacrosanct character. Among their duties was the care of the streets and markets and of the public archives.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this establishment of the plebeian tribunate. Under the protection and leadership of the tribunes, who were themselves protected by oaths of inviolable sanctity, the plebeians carried on a struggle for a share in the offices and dignities of the state which never ceased until the Roman government, as yet only republican in name, became in fact a real democracy, in which patrician and plebeian shared equally in all emoluments and privileges.

308. Border Wars and Border Tales; Cincinnatus. — The chief enemies of early Rome and her Latin allies were the Volscians, the Æquians, the Sabines, and the Etruscans. For more than a hundred years after the founding of the Republic, Rome, either

alone or in connection with her confederates, was almost constantly fighting one or another or all of these peoples. But these operations cannot be regarded as real wars. They were, on both sides, for the most part mere plundering forays or cattle-raiding expeditions into the enemy's territories. We shall probably not get a wrong idea of their real character if we liken them to the early so-called border wars between England and Scotland. Like



THE ROMAN DOMAIN AND THE LATIN CONFEDERACY IN THE TIME OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, ABOUT 450 B.C.

the Scottish wars, they were embellished by the Roman story-tellers with the most picturesque tales. One of the best known of these is that of Cincinnatus.

According to the tradition, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, the Æquians defeated the forces of the other and shut them up in a narrow valley whence escape seemed impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city. The Senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a grand old patrician, dictator.

The commissioners who carried to him the message from the Senate found him upon his little farm across the Tiber, at work plowing. Cincinnatus at once accepted the office, gathered the Roman army, surrounded and captured the enemy, and sent them all beneath the yoke.[1] He then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, having held it only sixteen days, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

309. The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables of Laws (451–450 B.C.).—Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and what shall be its penalty are clearly written down and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions or inflict unjust punishment, and yet run little risk of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what either the law or the penalty really is. Hence in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of a ruling class, the demand for written law is one of the first measures taken by them for the protection of their persons and property. Thus the commons of Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanded and obtained a code of written laws (sec. 162). The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that the laws be written down and published. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to their wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission, so tradition says, was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study their laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy, a commission of ten magistrates, known as *decemvirs*, was appointed to frame a code of laws (451 B.C.). These officers, while engaged in this work, were also to administer the entire government, and so were invested with the supreme power of the state. The patricians gave up their consuls, and the plebeians their tribunes. At the end of the first year the task of the board was far from being finished, so a new decemvirate was elected to complete the work. The code was soon

[1] This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third spear. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this yoke as a symbol of submission.

finished, and the laws were written on twelve tablets of bronze, which were fastened to the Rostra, or orator's platform in the Forum, where they might be seen and read by all.

Only a few fragments of these celebrated laws have been preserved, but the substance of a considerable part of the code is known to us through the allusions to it in the works of later writers and jurists. The provisions regarding the treatment of debtors are noteworthy. The law provided that, after the lapse of a certain number of days of grace, the creditor of a delinquent debtor might either put him in the stocks or in chains, sell him to any stranger resident beyond the Tiber, or put him to death. In case of there being several creditors the law provided as follows: "After the third market day his [the debtor's] body may be divided." We are informed by later Roman writers that this savage provision of the law was, as a matter of fact, never carried into effect.

Touching the power of the father over his sons the law provided that "during their whole life he shall have the right to imprison, scourge, keep to rustic labor in chains, to sell, or to slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices."

These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were to Roman jurisprudence what the good laws of Solon were to the Athenian constitution. They formed the basis of all new legislation for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth, — every schoolboy being required to learn them by heart.

310. Misrule and Overthrow of the Decemvirs; Second Secession of the Plebeians (450 B.C.). — The first decemvirs used the great power lodged in their hands with justice and prudence; but the second board, under the leadership of a certain Appius Claudius, instituted a most infamous and tyrannical rule. The result was a second secession of the plebeians to the Sacred Hill. This procedure, which once before had proved so effectual in securing justice to the oppressed, had a similar issue now. The situation was so critical that the decemvirs were forced to resign. The consulate and the tribunate were restored.

311. **The Valerio-Horatian Laws; "the Roman Magna Carta"** (449 B.C.). — The consuls chosen were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who secured the passage of certain laws, known as the Valerio-Horatian Laws, which were of such constitutional importance that they have been called "the Magna Carta of Rome." Among the important provisions of the laws was the following: That the resolutions (*plebiscita*) passed by the plebeian assembly of tribes[2] should in the future have the force of laws and should bind the whole people the same as the resolutions of the *comitia centuriata*. Hitherto these resolutions had possessed no force save as expressions of opinion, like the resolutions of a mass meeting among ourselves.

312. **Marriages between Patricians and Plebeians made Legal** (445 B.C.). — Up to this time the plebeians had not been allowed to contract legal marriages with the patricians. But only three or four years after the passing of the Valerio-Horatian Laws, the tribune Gaius Canuleius carried a resolution known as the Canuleian Law, whereby marriages between the plebeians and the patricians were legalized. This law established social equality between the two orders.

313. **Military Tribunes with Consular Power** (444 B.C.). — This same tribune also brought forward another proposal, which provided that plebeians *might* be chosen as consuls. This suggestion led to a violent contention between the two orders. The issue of the matter was a compromise. It was agreed that, in place of the two patrician consuls, the people might elect from either order magistrates that should be known as "military tribunes with consular powers." These officers, whose number varied, differed from consuls more in name than in functions or in authority. In fact, the plebeians had gained the consular office but not the consular name.

The patricians were especially unwilling that any plebeian should bear the title of consul, for the reason that an ex-consul enjoyed certain dignities and honors, such as the right to wear a particular kind of dress and to set up in his house images of

[2] The *concilium tributum plebis*. The origin of this assembly is obscure.

his ancestors. These honorary distinctions the higher order wished to retain exclusively for themselves.

314. The Censors (443 B.C.). — No sooner had the plebeians secured the right of admission to the military tribunate with consular powers, than the patricians began scheming to rob them of the fruit of their victory. They effected this by taking from the consulate some of its most distinctive duties and powers, and conferring them upon two new patrician officers called *censors*.

The functions of these magistrates were many and important. They could, for immorality or any improper conduct, degrade a knight from his rank, expel a member from the Senate, or deprive any citizen of his vote by striking his name from the roll of the tribes. It was their duty to rebuke ostentation and extravagance in living, and in particular to watch over the morals of the young. From the name of these Roman officers comes our word *censorious*, meaning fault-finding.

315. Siege and Capture of Veii (405–396 B.C.); **the Romanization of Southern Etruria.** — We must now turn our attention once more to the fortunes of Rome in war. Almost from the founding of the city we find its warlike citizens carrying on a fierce contest with their powerful Etruscan neighbors on the north. The war finally gathered around Veii, the largest and richest of the cities of Etruria. According to the tradition, the Romans, like the Greeks at Troy, laid siege to this city for ten years. The place was at length taken and the spoils carried to Rome.

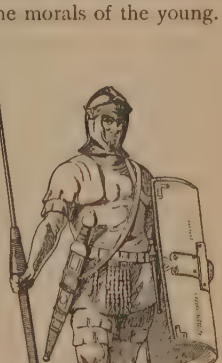


FIG. 79. — ROMAN SOLDIER

The siege of Veii forms a sort of landmark in the military history of Rome. The length of the siege and the necessity of maintaining a force permanently in the field, winter and summer alike, led to the introduction of pay into the army; for hitherto the common soldier

had not only equipped himself but had served without pay. From this time forward the professional soldier came more and more to take the place of the citizen soldier.

The capture of Veii was followed by that of many other Etruscan towns, and all the southern portion of Etruria, divided into four tribes (sec. 301), was added to the Roman domain.

By this act of incorporation all the Etruscan freemen living in these regions and possessing the legal property qualification were made citizens of Rome, and were invested with that measure of the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship that up to this time had been secured by the plebeians.

Into this rich and inviting region thus opened up to Roman enterprise, Roman immigrants now crowded in great numbers, and soon all this part of Etruria became Roman in manners, in customs, and in speech.[8] The Romanization of Italy was now fairly begun.

At this moment there broke upon the city a storm from the north which all but cut short the story we are narrating.

316. Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.). — We have noticed how, in early times, Celtic tribes from Gaul crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy. While the Romans were conquering the towns of Etruria these barbarian hordes were moving southward and overrunning and devastating the countries of Central Italy.

They soon appeared in the neighborhood of Rome. A Roman army met them on the banks of the Allia, eleven miles from the capital. But an unaccountable panic seized the Romans and they abandoned the field in disgraceful flight. It would be impossible to picture the consternation and despair that reigned at Rome when the fugitives brought to the city intelligence of the terrible disaster. It was never forgotten, and the day of the battle of the Allia was ever after a black day in the Roman calendar. The sacred vessels of the temples were buried; the eternal fires of Vesta were hurriedly borne by their virgin keepers to a place of

[8] Later, the rest of Etruria was absorbed by Rome, and the Etruscan people and the Etruscan civilization as distinct factors in history disappeared from the world.

safety in Etruria; and a large part of the population fled in dismay across the Tiber. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

The little garrison within the Capitol, under the command of the hero Marcus Manlius, for seven months resisted all efforts of the Gauls to dislodge them. Finally news was brought the Gauls that enemies were overrunning their possessions in Northern Italy. This led them to open negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold the Gauls agreed to retire from the city. As the story runs, while the gold was being weighed out in the Forum the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Væ victis!*" (Woe to the vanquished!) Just at this moment, so the tale continues, Camillus, a brave patrician general who had been appointed dictator, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives. As he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed with steel, and not with gold."

The city was quickly rebuilt. There were some things, however, which could not be restored. These were the ancient records and documents, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity.

317. The Licinian Laws (367 B.C.); the Final "Equalization of the Orders." — A great advance of the plebeians towards political equality with the patricians was effected through the passage of the Licinian Laws, so called from one of their proposers, the tribune Gaius Licinius. Among other provisions these laws contained the following: (1) That the office of military tribune with consular power (sec. 313) should be abolished, that two consuls should be chosen yearly as at first, and that one of these should be a plebeian;[4] (2) that in place of the two keepers of the

[4] When the patricians saw that it would be impossible to prevent the passage of the proposals, they had recourse to the old device. They lessened the powers of the consulship by taking away from the consuls their judicial functions and devolving them upon a new patrician magistrate bearing the name of *prætor*. The pretext for this was that the plebeians had no knowledge of the sacred formulas of the law.

Sibylline Books (sec. 297) there should in the future be ten, and that five of these should be plebeians.

The equalization of the two orders was now practically effected. The son of a peasant might rise to the highest office in the state. The plebeians gained with comparative ease admission to the remaining offices from which the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them.[5]

The incorporation of the plebeians with the body of Roman citizens with full rights was a matter of immense import for the future of Rome. The strength of the state was thereby practically doubled, and the city was advanced a long way towards the goal of its destiny, — the making of all the world Roman.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Gaius Marcius Coriolanus*. LIVY, ii. 33, 34, 39, and 40, for the story of Coriolanus; ii. 48 and 49, for the legend of the Fabii; iii. 26–28, for that of Cincinnatus; v. 35–49, on the taking of Rome by the Gauls; v. 50–54, on the debate among the Romans in regard to removing to Veii after the sack of Rome by the Gauls. The last reference is particularly valuable, since the passage here conveys an idea of the feelings of the ancients respecting the sacredness of the city and the relation of its patron gods to it.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. i–iii. DURUY, vol. i, chaps. vi–xiii. PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. i. HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chaps. v–xiii. ABBOTT, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 24–56. IHNE, W., *Early Rome*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Virtues prized by the early Romans as shown by the stories of their heroes. 2. Tales concerning the siege of Veii. 3. Legends connected with the sack of Rome by the Gauls. 4. Roman magistrates. 5. The Tarpeian Rock.

[5] They secured admission to the dictatorship in 356 B.C.; to the censorship in 351 B.C.; to the prætorship in 337 B.C.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(367–264 B.C.)

318. The Samnites. — The most formidable competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, rough and warlike mountaineers who held the Apennines to the southeast of Latium. The successive struggles between these martial races are known as the First, Second, and Third Samnite wars. They extended over a period of half a century, and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy. Of the first war (343–341 B.C.) we know very little, although Livy wrote a long, but unfortunately unreliable, account of it.

319. The Revolt of the Latin Cities (340–338 B.C.). — In the midst of the Samnite struggle, Rome was confronted by a dangerous revolt of her Latin allies.[1] Leaving the war unfinished, she turned her forces against the insurgents.

The strife between the Romans and their Latin allies was simply, in principle, the old contest within the walls of the capital between the patricians and the plebeians transferred to a larger arena. As the patricians, before the equalization of the orders, had claimed for themselves alone the right to manage the affairs of Rome, so now did the united orders claim for Rome alone the right to manage the affairs of all Latium. But the Latins had become dissatisfied with their position in the unequal alliance, and had resolved that Rome should give up the sovereignty she

[1] In the year 493 B.C. Rome had formed a most important league with the Latin towns (a renewal probably of an earlier alliance). At the outset this league was somewhat such a federation as the Delian League, which Athens just a few years before this had formed with her Ionian allies (sec. 186). There is an instructive parallel between the way in which Athens used her position in the Delian Confederacy to establish an empire and the way in which Rome used her position in the at first equal alliance between her and the towns of Latium to build up a like sovereignty.

was practically exercising. Accordingly they sent an embassy to Rome, demanding that the association should be made one of perfect equality. To this end the ambassadors proposed that in the future one of the consuls should be a Latin, and that one half of the Senate should be chosen from the Latin nation. Rome was to be the common fatherland, and all were to bear the Roman name.

These demands of the ambassadors were listened to by the Roman senators with amazement and indignation. "O Jupiter!" exclaimed one of the consuls, Titus Manlius by name, addressing the statue of the god; "canst thou endure to behold in thy own sacred temple strangers as consuls and as senators?" The demands of the Latin allies were refused, and war followed.

After about three years' hard fighting, the rebellion was subdued. The Latin League as a political body was now dissolved. Several of the towns were allowed to retain their independence; others with their territories were made a part of the Roman domain, and became *municipia*[2] of different grades. The inhabitants of some of these cities were admitted at once to full Roman citizenship, while those of others were given only a part of the rights and privileges of citizens. To prevent any further combination among the cities, intermarriage and trade between them were forbidden.

One noted trophy of the war set up at Rome was the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships of the city of Antium, which were attached

[2] The teacher will best convey to young pupils an understanding of the Roman municipal system by having them note the system as it exists among ourselves to-day, since our so-called municipal system, in its underlying principle, is an inheritance from Rome. The essential principle involved in the arrangement is local self-government carried on under the paramount authority of the state. In working out this municipal system Rome laid not only the foundation of her own greatness but, transmitting the system as a principle of government to later times, contributed an all-important element to the structure of the modern free state. We must not think that the problem here solved by Rome was one easy of solution. The difficulties met and overcome by her in working out this system were very much like those met and overcome by our statesmen of a century and more ago, when they devised the federal system and determined what should be the relations of the States of our Union to the general government at Washington. Indeed, this whole federal system is nothing more than the application to states of the principles of government that Rome applied to cities.

to the orator's platform in the Forum; hence the name *Rostra*, by which this stand was ever afterwards known.

320. The Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.). — In a few years after the close of the Latin contest, the Romans were at war again with their old rivals, the Samnites. The most memorable event of this struggle was the entrapping and capture of a Roman army at the celebrated Caudine Forks. The soldiers were deprived of their arms and sent beneath the yoke.

The war ended in 304 B.C., with the Romans as final victors. During its course Rome had added extensive territories to her domain, and had made her hold of these secure by means of colonies and military roads; for it was at this time that Rome began the construction of those remarkable highways that formed one of the most impressive features of her later empire. The first of these roads, which ran from Rome to Capua, was begun in the year 312 B.C. by the censor Appius Claudius, and called after him the *Via Appia*.

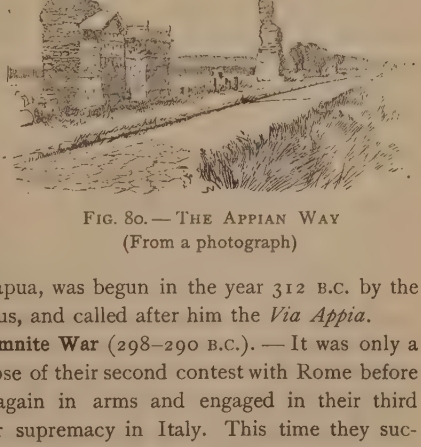


FIG. 80. — THE APPIAN WAY
(From a photograph)

321. The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.). — It was only a few years after the close of their second contest with Rome before the Samnites were again in arms and engaged in their third struggle with her for supremacy in Italy. This time they succeeded in forming against their old enemy a powerful coalition which embraced the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Gauls, and other nations. It was easy for them to accomplish this, for the rapid advance of the power of Rome had caused all the different peoples of the peninsula to realize that unless her encroachments were speedily checked their independence would be lost forever.

The league was soon shattered by the Roman legions. One after another the states and tribes that had joined the alliance were chastised, and the Samnites were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. Within a few years after this almost all of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, save Tarentum, had also come under the growing power of the imperial city.

322. The War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus (282–272 B.C.). — Nor did Tarentum long remain independent. The Tarentines having mishandled some Roman prisoners, the Roman Senate sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand amends. In the theater, in the presence of a great assembly, one of the ambassadors was grossly insulted, his toga being befouled by a clownish fellow amidst the approving plaudits of a giddy crowd. The ambassador, raising the soiled garment, said sternly, "Laugh now; but you will weep when this toga is cleansed with blood." Rome at once declared war.

The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and a cousin of Alexander the Great, who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with a small army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war elephants.

The hostile armies met at Heraclea (280 B.C.). The battle was won for Pyrrhus by his war elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his best troops. As he looked over the battlefield he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I shall be ruined"; hence the phrase, "a Pyrrhian victory."

After a second victory as disastrous as his first, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily to aid the Greeks there, who were being hard pressed by the Carthaginians. At first he was everywhere successful, but finally fortune turned against him, and he was glad to escape from the island. Recrossing the straits into Italy, he once more engaged the Romans; but at Beneventum he suffered a disastrous defeat (275 B.C.). Leaving a sufficient force to garrison

Tarentum, Pyrrhus now set sail for Epirus. He had scarcely embarked before Tarentum surrendered to the Romans (272 B.C.). This ended the struggle for the mastery of Italy. Rome was now mistress of all the peninsula south of the Arnus and the Rubicon.

323. United Italy. — We cannot make out clearly just what rights and powers Rome exercised over the various cities, tribes, and nations which she had brought under her rule.[8] This much, however, is clear. She took away from them the right of making war, and thus put a stop to the bloody contentions which from time immemorial had raged between the tribes and cities of the peninsula. She thus gave Italy what, after she had laid her restraining authority upon all the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, came to be called the *Pax Romana* (the Roman Peace).

This political union of Italy paved the way for the social and racial unification of the peninsula. The greatest marvel of all history is how Rome, embracing at first merely a handful of peasants, could have made so much of the ancient world like unto herself in blood, in speech, in custom, and in manners. That she did so, that she did thus Romanize a large part of the peoples of antiquity, is one of the most important matters in the history of the human race. Rome accomplished this great feat in large measure by means of her system of colonization, which was, in some respects, unlike that of any other people in ancient or in modern times. We must make ourselves familiar with some of the main features of this unique colonial system.

324. Roman Colonies and Latin Colonies. — The colonies that Rome established in conquered territories fall into two classes, known as Roman colonies and Latin colonies. Roman colonies were made up of emigrants, generally three hundred in number, who retained in the new settlement all the rights and privileges, both private and public, of Roman citizens, though of course some of these rights, as for instance that of voting in the public assemblies at Rome, could be exercised by the colonist only

[8] We refer here, not to those territories and communities which Rome had actually incorporated with the Roman domain, but to those communities to which was given the name of *Italian allies*.

through his return to the capital. Usually it was some conquered city that was occupied by the Roman colonists, the old inhabitants either being expelled in whole or in part or reduced to a subject condition. The colonists in their new homes organized a government which was almost an exact imitation of that of Rome, and through their own assemblies and their own magistrates managed all their local affairs. These colonies were in effect just so many miniature Romes, — centers from which radiated Roman culture into all the regions round about them.

The Latin colonies were so called, not because they were founded by Latin settlers, but because their inhabitants possessed substantially the same rights as the old Latin towns enjoyed that had retained their independence at the end of the great Latin War (sec. 319). The Latin colonist possessed some of the most valuable of the private rights of Roman citizens, together with the capacity to acquire the suffrage by migrating to the capital and taking up, under certain conditions, a permanent residence there.

The Latin colonies numbered about twenty at the time of the Second Punic War. They were scattered everywhere throughout Italy, and were, even to a much greater degree than the Roman colonies, active and powerful agents in the dissemination of the Roman language, law, and culture. They were Rome's chief auxiliary in her great task of making all Italy Roman.

All these colonies were kept in close touch with the capital by means of splendid military roads, the construction of which, as we have seen, was begun during the Second Samnite War (sec. 320).

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Pyrrhus*. LIVY, ix. 2–6, the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks; and x. 28 and 29, the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus.

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. i, bk. ii, chaps. iv–ix. IHNE, vol. i, bk. iii, chap. xviii, "Condition of the Roman People before the Beginning of the Wars with Carthage." FREEMAN, E. A., *The Story of Sicily*, chap. xiii, "Pyrrhus in Italy." PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. ii, chap. ii. HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D., *History of Rome*, chaps. xiii–xvii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Roman municipal system. 2. Tales of Pyrrhus. 3. The Roman colonial system.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE PUNIC WARS

I. The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.)

325. Carthage and her Empire. — Foremost among the colonies founded by the Phœnicians was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa.[1] Its favorable location upon one of the best harbors of the African coast gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. By the time Rome had extended her authority over Italy, Carthage held sway over the northern coast of Africa, and possessed the larger part of Sicily as well as Sardinia. She also collected tribute from the natives of Corsica and of Southern Spain. With all its shores dotted with her colonies and fortresses and swept in every direction by her war galleys, the Western Mediterranean had become a "Phœnician lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

The government of Carthage was democratic in theory but oligarchic in fact. Corresponding to the Roman consuls, two magistrates stood at the head of the state. The Senate was composed of the heads of the leading families; its duties and powers were very like those of the Roman Senate. The religion of the Carthaginians was the old Canaanitish worship of Baal. To this cruel fire-god they offered human sacrifices.

326. Rome and Carthage compared. — These two rival cities were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of antiquity. In material power and resources they seemed well matched as antagonists; yet Rome had elements of strength, hidden in the character of her citizens and embodied in the principles of her government, which Carthage did not possess. Carthage was a despotic oligarchy. The many different races of the Carthaginian Empire were held in an artificial union by force

[1] For geographical names mentioned in this chapter, see map at p. 236.

alone, for the Carthaginians had none of the genius of the Romans for political organization and state building. The Roman state, on the other hand, as we have learned, was the most wonderful political organism that the world had ever seen. It was not yet a nation, but it was rapidly growing into one. Every free man within its limits was either a citizen of Rome, or was on the way to becoming a citizen. Rome was already the common fatherland of more than a quarter of a million of men.

Again, the Carthaginian territories, though of great extent, were widely scattered, while the Roman domains were compact and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula.

As to the naval resources of the two states, there existed at the beginning of the struggle no basis for a comparison. The Romans were almost destitute of anything that could be called a war navy,[2] and were practically without experience in naval warfare; while the Carthaginians possessed the largest, the best manned, and the most splendidly equipped fleet that had ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean.

And in another respect Carthage had an immense advantage over Rome. She had Hannibal. Rome had some great commanders, but she had none like him.

327. The Beginning of the War. — Lying between Italy and the coast of Africa is the large island of Sicily. At the commencement of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians held possession of all the island save a strip of the eastern coast, which was under the sway of the Greek city of Syracuse. The Greeks and the Carthaginians had carried on an almost uninterrupted struggle through two centuries for the control of the island, but the Romans had not yet set foot upon it. In the year 264 B.C., however, on a flimsy pretext of giving protection to some friends, the Romans crossed over to the island. That act committed them to a career of conquest destined to continue till their armies had made the circuit of the Mediterranean lands.

[2] Polybius (i. 20) says that they did not have a single galley when they first crossed over to Sicily. He says they ferried their army across in boats borrowed from the Greek cities of Southern Italy.

The Syracusans and Carthaginians, old enemies and rivals though they had been, joined their forces against the newcomers. The allies were defeated in the first battle, and the Roman army obtained a sure foothold in the island. Hiero, king of Syracuse, seeing that he was upon the losing side, forsook the Carthaginians, formed an alliance with the Romans, and ever after remained their firm friend.

328. **The Romans gain their First Naval Victory** (260 B.C.). — Their experience during the past campaigns had shown the Romans that if they were to cope successfully with the Carthaginians, they must be able to meet them upon the sea as well as upon the land. So they determined to build a fleet. A Carthaginian galley, tradition says, that had been wrecked upon the shores of Italy served as a pattern.[8] It is affirmed that within the short space of sixty days a growing forest was converted into a fleet of one hundred and twenty war galleys.

FIG. 81. — THE COLUMN OF DUILLIUS (A restoration)

The column was decorated with the prows of captured ships

The consul G. Duillius was intrusted with the command of the fleet. He met the Carthaginian squadron near the city and promontory of Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily. Now, distrusting their ability to match the skill of their enemy in naval tactics, the Romans had provided each of their vessels with a drawbridge. As soon as a Carthaginian ship came near enough to a Roman vessel, this gangway was allowed to fall upon the approaching galley; and the Roman soldiers, rushing along the bridge, were soon engaged in a

[8] The Greek and Etruscan ships were merely triremes, that is, galleys with three banks of oars; while the Carthaginian ships were quinqueremes, or vessels with five rows of oars. The former were unable to cope with the latter, such an advantage did these have in their greater weight and height.

hand-to-hand conflict with their enemies, in which species of encounter the former were unequaled. The result was a complete victory for the Romans.

The joy at Rome was unbounded. It inspired in the more sanguine splendid visions of maritime command and glory. The Mediterranean should speedily become a Roman lake in which no vessel might float without the consent of Rome.

329. The Romans carry the War into Africa. — The Romans now resolved to carry the war into Africa. An immense Carthaginian fleet that disputed the passage of the Roman squadron was almost annihilated, and the Romans disembarked near Carthage (256 B.C.). At first they were successful in all their operations. Finally, however, Regulus, one of the consuls who led the army of invasion, suffered a crushing defeat and was made prisoner. A fleet which was sent to bear away the remnants of the shattered army was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Sicily. A second expedition to Africa ended in like disaster to the Romans, with the loss of another great fleet.

330. Regulus and the Carthaginian Embassy. — For a few years the Romans refrained from tempting again the hostile powers of the sea, and Sicily became once more the battle ground of the contending rivals. At last, having lost a great battle (battle of Panormus, 251 B.C.), the Carthaginians became dispirited, and sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate for peace. Among the commissioners was Regulus, who, since his capture five years before, had been held a prisoner in Africa. Before leaving Carthage he had promised to return if the embassy were unsuccessful. For the sake of his own release, the Carthaginians supposed he would counsel peace, or at least urge an exchange of prisoners. But it is related that, upon arrival at Rome, he counseled war instead of peace, at the same time revealing to the Senate the enfeebled condition of Carthage. As to the exchange of prisoners, he said, "Let those who have surrendered when they ought to have died, die in the land which has witnessed their disgrace."

The Roman Senate, following his counsel, rejected all the proposals of the embassy; and Regulus, in spite of the tears and

entreaties of his wife and friends, turned away from Rome, and set out for Carthage, to meet whatever fate the Carthaginians, in their disappointment and anger, might plan for him. The tradition affirms that he was put to a cruel death.

331. Loss of Two More Roman Fleets. — After the failure of the Carthaginian embassy the war went on for several years by land and by sea with many vicissitudes. At last, on the coast of Sicily, one of the consuls, Claudius, met with an overwhelming defeat.[4] Almost a hundred vessels of his fleet were lost. The disaster caused the greatest alarm at Rome. Superstition increased the fears of the people. It was reported that just before the battle, when the auspices were being taken and the sacred chickens would not eat, Claudius had given orders to have them thrown into the sea, irreverently remarking, "At any rate, they shall drink." Imagination was free to depict what further evils the offended gods might inflict upon the Roman state.

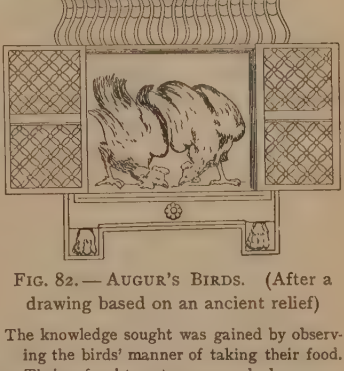


FIG. 82. — AUGUR'S BIRDS. (After a drawing based on an ancient relief)

The knowledge sought was gained by observing the birds' manner of taking their food. Their refusal to eat was an unlucky omen

The gloomiest forebodings might have found justification in subsequent events. The other consul just now met with a great disaster. He was proceeding along the southern coast of Sicily with a fleet of over nine hundred war galleys and transports, when a severe storm arising, the squadron was beaten to pieces upon the rocks. Not a single ship escaped.

332. Close of the First Punic War (241 B.C.). — The war had now lasted for fifteen years. Four Roman fleets had been destroyed, three of which had been sunk or broken to pieces by

[4] In a sea fight at Drepana, 249 B.C.

storms. It was several years before the Romans regained sufficient courage to again commit their fortune to the element that had been so unfriendly to them. A fleet of two hundred vessels was then built and equipped, entirely by private subscription, and intrusted to the command of the consul Catulus. He met the Carthaginian fleet near the Ægatian Islands, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat (241 B.C.).

The Carthaginians now sued for peace. A treaty was at length arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up all claims to the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about $4,000,000), one third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.

One important result of the war was the crippling of the sea power of the Phœnician race, which from time immemorial had been a most prominent factor in the history of the Mediterranean lands, and the giving practically of the control of the sea into the hands of the Romans.

II. Rome and Carthage between the First and the Second Punic War (241–218 B.C.)

333. The First Roman Province and the Beginning of the Provincial System (241 B.C.). — For the twenty-three years following the close of the first struggle between Rome and Carthage the two rivals strained every power and taxed every resource in preparation for a renewal of the contest.

The Romans settled the affairs of Sicily, organizing all of it, save the lands in the eastern part belonging to Syracuse, as a province of the Republic. This was the first Roman province, but as the imperial city extended her conquests, her provincial possessions increased in number and size until they formed at last a perfect cordon about the Mediterranean. Each province was governed by a magistrate exercising both civil and military authority,

and paid an annual tribute in kind, or a money tax, to Rome, something that had never been exacted of the Italian allies.

This Roman provincial system presented a sharp contrast to that liberal system of federation and incorporation that formed the very corner stone of the Roman power in Italy. There Rome had made all, or substantially all, of the conquered peoples either citizens or close confederates. Against the provincials she not only closed the gates of the city but denied to the most of them all but the mere *name* of allies. She made them practically her subjects, and administered their affairs not in their interest but in her own. This illiberal policy contributed largely, as we shall learn, to the undoing of the Roman Republic.

334. **Rome acquires Sardinia and Corsica; the Second Province** (227 B.C.). — The first acquisition by the Romans of lands beyond the peninsula seems to have created in them an insatiable ambition for foreign conquests. They soon found a pretext for seizing the island of Sardinia, the most ancient, and, after Sicily, the most prized of the possessions of the Carthaginians. This island in connection with Corsica, which was also seized, was formed into a Roman province (227 B.C.). With her hands upon these islands, the authority of Rome in the Western or Tuscan Sea was supreme.

335. **War with the Gauls; Roman Authority extended to the Alps.** — In the north, during this same period, Roman authority was extended from the Apennines and the Rubicon to the foot of the Alps. Alarmed at the advance of the Romans, who were pushing northward their great military road, called the Flaminian Way, Gallic tribes both sides the Alps gathered for an assault upon Rome. Intelligence of this movement among the northern tribes threw all Italy into a fever of excitement. At Rome the terror was great; for not yet had died out of memory what the city had once suffered at the hands of the ancestors of these same barbarians (sec. 316). An ancient prediction, found in the Sibylline Books, declared that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by Gauls. Hoping sufficiently to fulfill the prophecy and satisfy fate, the Roman Senate caused two Gauls to be buried alive in one of the public squares of the capital.

Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced into Etruria, ravaging the country as they moved southward. At Telamon they were surrounded by the Roman armies and almost annihilated (225 B.C.). The Romans, taking advantage of this victory, pushed on into the plains of the Po, captured the city now known as Milan, and extended their authority to the foothills of the Alps.

336. **Carthage in the Truceless War** (241–237 B.C.). — Scarcely had peace been concluded with Rome at the end of the First Punic War, before Carthage was plunged into a still deadlier struggle, which for a time threatened her very existence. Her mercenary troops, upon their return from Sicily, revolted on account of being unpaid. Their appeal to the native tribes of Africa was answered by a general uprising throughout the dependencies of Carthage. The extent of the revolt shows how hated was the rule of the great capital over her subject states.

The war was unspeakably bitter and cruel. It is known in history as "the Truceless War." But the genius of the great Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca at last triumphed, and the authority of Carthage was everywhere restored.

337. **The Carthaginians in Spain.**—After the disastrous ending of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians sought to repair their losses by new conquests in Spain. Hamilcar Barca was sent over into that country, and for nine years he devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a compact state, and to developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B.C.

As a rule, genius is not transmitted; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." Hannibal, the eldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and being thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him.

338. **Hannibal's Vow; he attacks Saguntum.** — Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B.C., Hannibal, now twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called

to be its leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar, and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

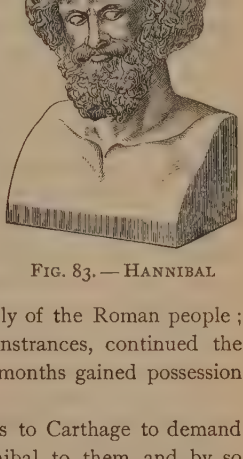


FIG. 83. — HANNIBAL

In two years Hannibal extended the Carthaginian power to the Ebro. Saguntum, a native city upon the east coast of Spain, alone remained unsubdued. The Romans, who were jealously watching affairs in the peninsula, had entered into an alliance with this city, and taken it, with some Greek cities at the foot of the Pyrenees, under their protection. Hannibal laid siege to the place in the spring of 219 B.C. The Roman Senate sent messengers to him forbidding him to make war upon a city that was an ally of the Roman people; but Hannibal, disregarding their remonstrances, continued the siege, and after an investment of eight months gained possession of the town.

The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the senate that they give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up his toga, said: "I carry here peace and war; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." "Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. "War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga.

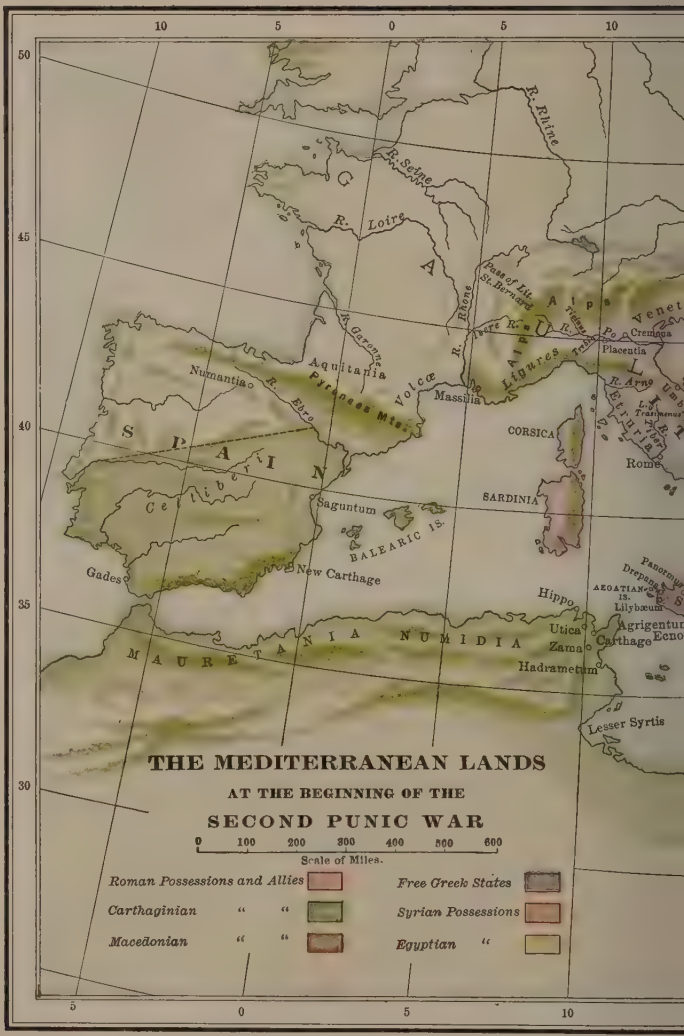
III. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (218–201 B.C.)

339. Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. — The Carthaginian Empire was now all astir with preparations for the mighty struggle. Hannibal was the life and soul of every movement.

His bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and the Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. Early in the spring of 218 B.C., he set out from New Carthage with an army numbering about a hundred thousand men, and including thirty-seven war elephants. Traversing Northern Spain and crossing the Pyrenees and the Rhone, he reached the foothills of the Alps, probably under the pass known to-day as the Little St. Bernard. The season was already far advanced, — it was October, — and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail, so that the passage of the mountains was accomplished only after severe toil and losses. At length the thinned columns, numbering barely twenty thousand men, issued from the defiles of the foothills upon the plains of the Po. This was the pitiable force with which Hannibal proposed to attack the Roman state, — a state that at this time had on its levy lists over seven hundred thousand foot soldiers and seventy thousand horse.

340. Battle of the Ticinus, of the Trebia, and of Lake Trasimenus. — The Romans had not the remotest idea of Hannibal's plans. With war determined upon, the Senate had sent one of the consuls, Tiberius Sempronius, with an army into Africa by the way of Sicily; while the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, they had directed to lead another army into Spain.

While the Senate were watching the movements of these expeditions, they were startled by the intelligence that Hannibal, instead of being in Spain, had crossed the Pyrenees and was among the Gauls upon the Rhone. Sempronius was hastily recalled from his attempt upon Africa to the defense of Italy. Scipio, on his way to Spain, had touched at Massilia, and there learned of the movements of Hannibal. He sent his army on to Spain under the command of his brother, to prevent Hannibal's receiving any reënforcements from that quarter. He himself turned back, hurried into Northern Italy, and took command of the levies there. The cavalry of the two armies met upon the banks of the Ticinus. The Romans were driven from the field by the fierce onset of the Numidian horsemen. Scipio now awaited the arrival of the other consular army, which was hurrying up


THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
SECOND PUNIC WAR
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
Roman Possessions and Allies
Carthaginian " "
Macedonian " "
Free Greek States
Syrian Possessions
Egyptian "
R. Rhine
R. Seine
R. Loire
R. Garonne
R. Rhone
R. Ebro
R. Arno
Pass of Lit. St. Bernard
Alps
Ligures
Aquitania
Pyrenees Mts.
Volcæ
Massilia
Numantia
Celtiberi
Saguntum
BALEARIC IS.
New Carthage
Gades
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Placentia
Cremona
Hippo
Utica
Zama
Carthage
Hadrametum
Lilybæum
Agrigentum
Lesser Syrtis
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA

20
25
30
35
40
45
50
45
40
35
30
Ister or Danube
Olbia
Chersonesus
ILLYRIA
Paphlagonia
Heraclea
THRACE
Byzantium
Nicæa
Galatia
KINGDOM OF THE SELEUCIDÆ
Cannæ
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Pydna
Tarentum
CORCYRA
Crotona
Messana
Rhegium
Syracuse
Ætolia
Ells
Corinth
Sparta
Megalopolis
Athens
LESBOS
CHIOS
SAMOS
Pergamus
Magnesia
Ephesus
R. Mæander
Caria
Lycia
RHODES
CRETE
Cilicia
Tarsus
Antioch
Syria
CYPRUS
Paphus
Cyrene
Barca
CYRENAICA
Alexandria
Gregteri Syrtis
EGYPT
R. Nile

through Italy by forced marches. In the battle of the Trebia (218 B.C.) the united armies of the two consuls were drawn into an ambuscade and almost annihilated.

The spring following the victory at the Trebia, Hannibal led his army, now recruited by many Gauls, across the Apennines, and moved southward. At Lake Trasimenus he entrapped the Romans under the consul Gaius Flaminius between the hills and the lake, where, bewildered by a fog, the greater part of the army was slaughtered, and the consul himself was slain (217 B.C.).

341. Fabius "the Delayer." — The way to Rome was now open. Believing that Hannibal would march directly upon the capital, the Senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. But Hannibal did not deem it wise to throw his troops against the walls of Rome. Crossing the Apennines, he pressed eastward to the Adriatic, and then marched southward into Apulia. The fate of Rome was in the hands of Fabius. Should he risk a battle and lose it, everything would be lost. He determined to adopt a more prudent policy, — to follow and annoy with his small force the Carthaginian army, but to refuse all proffers of battle. Thus time would be gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defense.

In every possible way Hannibal endeavored to draw his enemy into an engagement. He ravaged the fields far and wide and fired the homesteads of the Italians, in order to force Fabius to fight in their defense. The soldiers of the dictator began to murmur. They called him *Cunctator*, "the Delayer." But nothing moved him from the steady pursuit of the policy which he clearly saw was the only prudent one to follow.

342. The Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.). — The time gained by Fabius had enabled the Romans to raise and discipline an army that might hope to engage successfully the Carthaginian forces. Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C. these new levies, numbering eighty thousand men, under the command of the recently chosen consuls Paulus and Varro, confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannæ,

on the banks of the Aufidus, in Apulia. It was the largest army Rome had ever gathered on any battlefield. Through the skillful maneuvers of Hannibal, the Romans were completely surrounded and huddled together in a helpless mass; then they were cut down by the Numidian cavalry. From forty to seventy thousand are said to have been slain;[5] a few thousand were taken prisoners; only a handful escaped. The slaughter was so great that, according to Livy, when Mago, a brother of Hannibal, carried the news of the victory to Carthage, he, in confirmation of the intelligence, poured out on the floor of the senate house nearly a peck of gold rings taken from the fingers of Roman knights.

343. **Events after the Battle of Cannæ.** — The awful news flew to Rome. Consternation and despair seized the people. The city would have been emptied of its population had not the Senate ordered the gates to be closed. Never did that body display greater calmness, wisdom, and resolution. Little by little the panic was allayed. Measures were concerted for the defense of the capital, as it was expected that Hannibal would immediately march upon the city. Swift horsemen were sent out along the Appian Way to gather information of the conqueror's movements, and to learn, as Livy expresses it, "if the immortal gods, out of pity to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name."

But Hannibal did not deem it prudent to fight the Romans behind their walls. He even sent an embassy to Rome to offer terms of peace. The Senate would not even permit the ambassadors to enter the gates. Hardly less disappointed was Hannibal in the temper of the Roman confederates. All the allies of the Latin name adhered to Rome through all these trying times with unshaken loyalty. Some tribes in the south of Italy, however, among which were the Lucanians and the Apulians, now went over to the Carthaginians. Capua also seceded from Rome and entered into an alliance with Hannibal, who quartered his army for the winter following the battle of Cannæ in the luxurious city. A little later Syracuse also was lost to Rome.

[5] Polybius (iii. 117) places the killed at 70,000 and the prisoners at 10,000; Livy (xxii. 49) puts the number of the slain at 42,700.

344. **The Fall of Syracuse** (212 B.C.) **and of Capua** (211 B.C.). — While Hannibal was resting in Capua and awaiting reënforcements, Rome was busy raising and equipping new levies to take the place of the legions lost at Cannæ. The first task to be undertaken was the chastisement of Syracuse for its desertion of the Roman alliance. The distinguished general, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, called "the Sword of Rome," was intrusted with this commission. In the year 214 B.C. he laid siege to the city. For three years it held out against the Roman forces. It is said that Archimedes, the great mathematician, rendered valuable aid to the besieged with curious and powerful engines contrived by his genius. But the city fell at last, and was given over to sack and pillage (212 B.C.). Syracuse never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it at this time by the relentless Romans.

Capua must next be punished for opening its gates and extending its hospitalities to the enemies of Rome. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the city, and two Roman armies held it in close siege. Hannibal endeavored to create a diversion in favor of his allies by making a dash on Rome, — legend says that he rang a defiant lance against one of the city gates, — but he failed to draw the legions from before Capua, and was forced to abandon the Capuans to their fate. The city soon fell, and paid the penalty that Rome never failed to inflict upon an unfaithful ally. The chief men of the place were put to death and a large part of the inhabitants sold as slaves (211 B.C.).

345. **Hasdrubal attempts to carry Aid to his Brother; Battle of the Metaurus** (207 B.C.). — During all the years Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a desperate struggle with the Roman armies in Spain. At length he determined to leave the conduct of the war in that country to others and go to the relief of his brother, who was sadly in need of aid. He followed the same route that had been taken by Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to join him. Rome made a supreme effort to prevent the junction of the armies of

the two brothers. At the river Metaurus, Hasdrubal's march was blocked by a large Roman army. Here his forces were cut to pieces, and he himself was slain (207 B.C.). His head was severed from his body and sent to Hannibal. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal, it is said, exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I read thy fate."

346. The Romans carry the War into Africa; Battle of Zama (202 B.C.). — Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium. There he faced the Romans like a lion at bay. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the war into Africa, in hopes that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defense of Carthage. Publius Cornelius Scipio (son of the consul mentioned above, sec. 340) led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the Carthaginian senate sent for Hannibal. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile armies met. Hannibal here suffered his first and last defeat (202 B.C.).

347. The Close of the War (201 B.C.). — Carthage was now completely exhausted, and sued for peace. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city at the end of the First Punic War. She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; to surrender her war elephants, and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of four thousand talents (about $5,000,000) at once, and two hundred talents annually for fifty years; and not, under any circumstances, to make war upon an ally of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phœnician war galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned in full sight of the citizens.

Such was the end of the Hannibalic War, as called by the Romans. Scipio was accorded a grand triumph at Rome, and in honor of his achievements given the surname *Africanus*.[6]

[6] Some time after the close of the Second Punic War, the Romans, persuading themselves that Hannibal was preparing Carthage for another war, demanded his surrender by the Carthaginians. He fled to Syria, and thence to Asia Minor, where, to avoid capture, he committed suicide by means of poison (183 B.C.).

348. Effects of the War on Italy. — Italy never entirely recovered from the calamitous effects of this war. Agriculture in some districts was almost ruined. The peasantry had been torn from the soil and driven within the walled towns. The slave class had increased, and the estates of the great landowners had constantly grown in size, and absorbed the little holdings of the ruined peasants. In thus destroying the Italian peasantry, Hannibal's invasion and long occupancy of the peninsula did very much to aggravate all those economic evils which even before this time were at work undermining the earlier sound industrial life of the Romans, and filling Italy with a numerous and dangerous class of homeless and discontented men.

IV. Events between the Second and the Third Punic War (201–146 B.C.)

349. Introductory. — The terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the Western Mediterranean. During the eventful half century that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking out of the Third Punic War, her authority became supreme also in the Eastern Mediterranean. In an earlier chapter in which we narrated the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed their several histories until one after another they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were successively absorbed into her growing dominions (Chapter XX). We shall therefore in this place speak of these states only in the briefest manner, merely indicating the connection of their affairs with the series of events which mark the advance of Rome to universal empire.

350. The Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.). — Rome came first into hostile relations with Macedonia. During the Second Punic War Philip V of that kingdom had entered into an alliance with Hannibal. He was now troubling the Greek cities which were under the protection of Rome. For these things the Roman Senate resolved to punish him.

An army under Flamininus was sent into Greece, and on the plains of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly, the Roman legion demonstrated its superiority over the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx by subjecting Philip to a most disastrous defeat. The king was forced to give up all his conquests, and the Greek cities that had been brought into subjection to Macedonia were declared free. Unfortunately the Greeks had lost all capacity for self-government, and the anarchy into which their affairs soon fell afforded the Romans an excuse for extending their rule over all Greece.

351. **The Battle of Magnesia** (190 B.C.). — Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.) of Syria had at this time not only made important conquests in Asia Minor but had even carried his arms into Europe. As soon as intelligence of his movements was carried to Italy, the legions of the Republic were set in motion. At Magnesia, in Asia Minor, Antiochus was overthrown, and a large part of Lesser Asia fell into the hands of the Romans. Not yet prepared to maintain provinces so remote from the Tiber, the Senate conferred the greater part of the new territory upon their friend and ally, Eumenes, king of Pergamum (sec. 231, n. 3). This "Kingdom of Asia," as it was called, was really nothing more than a dependency of Rome, and its nominal ruler only a puppet king in the hands of the Roman Senate.

352. **The Battle of Pydna** (168 B.C.). — And now Macedonia, under the leadership of Perseus, son of Philip V, was again in arms and offering defiance to Rome; but in the year 168 B.C. the Roman consul Æmilius Paulus crushed the Macedonian power forever upon the memorable field of Pydna. Twenty-two years later (146 B.C.) the country was organized as a Roman province. The short but great part which Macedonia as an independent state had played in history was ended. She now drops below the historical horizon.

353. **The Destruction of Corinth** (146 B.C.). — During the last war between Rome and Macedonia the cities of the Achæan League (sec. 233) had shown themselves lukewarm in their friendship for Rome. Consequently, after the battle of Pydna, the Romans collected a thousand of the chief citizens of these

federated cities and transported them to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years as hostages for the good conduct of their countrymen at home. Among these exiles was the celebrated historian Polybius, who wrote an account of all these events which we are now narrating and which mark the advance of Rome to the sovereignty of the world.

At the end of the period named, the Roman Senate, in an indulgent mood, gave the survivors permission to return home. They went back inflamed with hatred towards Rome, and became active in the cities of the league in stirring up feeling against her. In Corinth particularly the people displayed the most unreasonable and vehement hostility towards the Romans. There could be but one issue of this conduct, and that was war with Rome.

This came in the year 147 B.C. Corinth was soon in the hands of the Romans. The men were killed, and the women and children sold into slavery. Much of the booty was sold on the spot at public auction. But a large part of the rich art treasures of the city must have been destroyed by the rude and unappreciative soldiers. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the sack of the city, himself saw groups of soldiers using priceless paintings as boards on which to play their games of dice.

The despoiled city, in obedience to the command of the Roman Senate, was given to the flames, its walls were leveled, and the very ground on which it had stood was accursed.

354. Effects upon Rome of her Conquest of the East. — In entering the lands beyond the Adriatic the Romans had entered the homeland of Greek culture, with which they had first come in close contact in Magna Græcia a century earlier. This culture was in many respects vastly superior to their own, and for this reason it exerted a profound influence upon life and thought at Rome. Greek manners and customs, Greek modes of education, and Greek literature and philosophy became the fashion at Rome, so that Roman society seemed in a fair way of becoming Hellenized. And to a certain degree this did take place.

But along with the many helpful elements of culture which the Romans received from the Hellenic East, they received also germs

of great social and moral evils. The simplicity and frugality of the earlier times were replaced by Græco-Oriental luxury and dissoluteness. Evidences of this decline in the moral life of the Romans, the presage of the downfall of the Republic, will multiply as we advance in our story.

355. **Cato the Censor.** — One of the most noted of the Romans of this time was Marcus Porcius Cato (232–147 B.C.), surnamed the Censor. Cato set his face like a flint against all Greek innovations, and did everything in his power to keep Greek ideas and customs out of Rome. His life and services, especially those which he rendered the state as censor, were approved and appreciated by his fellow-citizens, who set up in his honor a statue with this inscription: "This statue was erected to Cato because when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, he, by introducing wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it."

V. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.)

356. **"Carthage should be destroyed."** — The same year that Rome destroyed Corinth she also blotted her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth. It will be recalled that one of the conditions imposed upon the city at the close of the Second Punic War was that she should under no circumstances engage in war with an ally of Rome (sec. 347). Taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, Masinissa, king of Numidia and an ally of Rome, began to make depredations upon her territories. Carthage appealed to Rome for protection. The envoys sent to Africa by the Senate to settle the dispute, unfairly adjudged every point in favor of the robber Masinissa.

Chief of one of the embassies sent out was Marcus Cato the Censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage, — her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas, — he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. All of his addresses after this — no

matter on what subject — he is said invariably to have closed with the declaration, "Moreover, Carthage should be destroyed."

357. **Roman Perfidy.** — A pretext for destroying the city was not long wanting. In 150 B.C. the Carthaginians, when Masinissa made another attack upon their territory, instead of calling upon Rome, from which source experience had taught them they could hope for neither aid nor justice, gathered an army with the resolution of defending themselves. Their forces, however, were defeated by the Numidians and sent beneath the yoke.

In entering upon this war Carthage had broken the conditions of the last treaty. The Carthaginian senate, in great anxiety, now sent an embassy to Italy to offer any reparation the Romans might demand. They were told that if they would give three hundred hostages, children of the noblest Carthaginian families, the independence of their city should be respected. They eagerly complied with this demand. But no sooner were these hostages in the hands of the Romans than the consular armies, thus secured against attack, crossed from Sicily into Africa, and disembarked at Utica, only ten miles from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were now commanded to give up all their arms. Still hoping to win their enemy to clemency, they complied with this demand also. Then the consuls made known the final decree of the Roman Senate, — "That Carthage must be destroyed, but that the inhabitants might build a new city, provided it were located ten miles from the coast."

When this resolution of the Senate was announced to the Carthaginians and they realized the baseness and perfidy of their enemy, a cry of indignation and despair burst from the betrayed city.

358. **The Carthaginians prepare to defend their City.** — It was resolved to resist to the bitter end the execution of the cruel decree. The gates of the city were closed. Men, women, and children set to work and labored day and night manufacturing arms. The entire city was converted into one great workshop. The utensils of the home and the sacred vessels of the temples, statues and vases, were melted down for weapons. Material was torn from the buildings of the city for the construction of military

engines. The women cut off their hair and braided it into strings for the catapults. By such labor and through such sacrifices the city was soon put in a state to withstand a siege.

When the Romans advanced to take possession of the place, they were astonished to find the people they had just so treacherously disarmed, with weapons in their hands, manning the walls of their capital and ready to bid them defiance.

359. The Destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.). — For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the consul Scipio Æmilianus[7] succeeded in taking it by storm. When resistance ceased only fifty thousand men, women, and children, out of a population of seven hundred thousand, remained to be made prisoners. The city was set on fire, and for seventeen days the space within the walls was a sea of flames. Every trace of building which fire could not destroy was leveled, a plow was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon any one who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. Polybius, who was an eyewitness of the destruction of the city, records that Scipio, as he gazed upon the smoldering ruins, seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated the lines of Homer:

> The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
> And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.[8]

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city; and by means of traders and settlers Roman civilization was spread rapidly throughout the regions that lie between the ranges of the Atlas and the sea.

360. The Capture and Destruction of Numantia (133 B.C.). — It is fitting that the same chapter which narrates the blotting out of Corinth in Greece and of Carthage in Africa should tell also the story of the destruction, at the hands of the Romans, of Numantia in Spain.

[7] Grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. After his conquest of Carthage he was known as *Africanus Minor*.

[8] *Iliad*, vi. 448.

The Romans had expelled the Carthaginians from the peninsula, but the warlike native tribes — the Celtiberians and Lusitanians — of the North and the West were ready to dispute stubbornly with the newcomers the possession of the soil. The war gathered about Numantia, the siege of which was brought to a close by Scipio Æmilianus, the conqueror of Carthage. Before the surrender of the place, almost all the inhabitants had met death either in defense of the walls or by deliberate suicide. The miserable remnant which the ravages of battle, famine, pestilence, and despair had left alive were sold into slavery, and the city was leveled to the ground (133 B.C.).

Though ever since the Second Punic War Spain had been regarded as forming a part of the Roman dominions, still now for the first time it really became a Roman possession. Roman merchants and settlers crowded into the country. As a result of this great influx of Italians, the laws, the manners, the customs, and the language of the conquerors were introduced everywhere, so that the peninsula became in time thoroughly Romanized.

Selections from the Sources. — POLYBIUS, i. 10–63, for an account of the First Punic War; iii. 50–57, the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal; xxxviii. 3–11, the cause of the fall of Greece; and xxxix. 3–5, the fall of Carthage. It should be remembered that Polybius here writes as an eye-witness of the scenes that he describes. PLUTARCH, *Life of Fabius Maximus* and *Life of Marcus Cato.*

Secondary Works. — MOMMSEN, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. i–viii. PELHAM, H. F., *Outlines of Roman History*, bk. iii, chaps. i–iii. HOW, and LEIGH, *History of Rome*, chaps. xvii–xix and xxv–xxx. SMITH, R. B., *Carthage and the Carthaginians* and *Rome and Carthage.* ARNOLD, W. T., *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, chap. i. ARNOLD, T., *History of Rome*, chaps. xliii–xlvii. These chapters are generally regarded as the best account ever written of the Second Punic War. DODGE, T. A., *Hannibal.* MAHAN, A. T., *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, pp. 14–21. CREASY, E. S., *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. iv, "The Battle of the Metaurus, 207 B.C." MAHAFFY, J. P., *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. ii. CHURCH, A. J., *Story of Carthage;* interesting for younger classes.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Struggle between the Greeks and the Carthaginians in Sicily. 2. Fabius "the Delayer." 3. The fall of Syracuse. 4. The destruction of Corinth. 5. Rome and Greek culture. 6. Cato the Censor. 7. The last days of Carthage. 8. Viriathus.

CHAPTER XXX

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

(133–31 B.C.)

361. Introductory. — We have now traced in broad outlines the development of the institutions of republican Rome, and have told briefly the story of that wonderful career of conquest which made the little Palatine city first the mistress of Latium, then of Italy, and finally of the greater part of the Mediterranean world. In the present chapter we shall follow the declining fortunes of the Republic through the last century of its existence. During this time many agencies were at work undermining the institutions of the Republic and paving the way for the Empire. What these agencies were will best be made apparent by a simple narration of the events that crowd this memorable period of Roman history.

362. The First Servile War in Sicily (134–132 B.C.). — With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between masters and slaves, — what is known as the First Servile War. The condition of affairs in that island was the outgrowth of the Roman system of slavery.

The captives that the Romans took in war they usually sold into servitude. The great number furnished by their numerous conquests had caused slaves to become a drug in the slave markets of the Mediterranean world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor and then to buy others than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In case of sickness they were often left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some estates were worked by as many as twenty thousand slaves. That each owner might know his own, the poor creatures were branded like cattle. What makes all this the more revolting is the fact that many of these slaves were in every way the peers of their

owners, and often were their superiors. The fortunes of war alone had made the one servant and the other master.

The wretched condition of the slaves in Sicily, where the slave system exhibited some of its worst features, and the cruelty of their masters at last drove them to revolt. The insurrection spread throughout the island until two hundred thousand slaves were in arms, — if axes, reaping hooks, staves, and roasting spits may be called arms. They defeated four Roman armies sent against them, and for three years defied the power of Rome. Finally, however, in the year 132 B.C., the revolt was crushed, and peace was restored to the distracted island.[1]

363. The Public Lands. — In Italy itself affairs were in a scarcely less wretched condition than in Sicily. At the bottom of a large part of the social and economic troubles here was the public land system. By law or custom those portions of the public lands which remained unsold or unallotted as homesteads were open to any one to till or to pasture. In return for such use of the public land the user paid the state usually a fifth or a tenth of the yearly produce. Persons who availed themselves of this privilege were called possessors or occupiers; we should call them "squatters" or "tenants at will."

Now it had happened that, in various ways, the greater part of these public lands had fallen into the hands of the wealthy. They alone had the capital necessary to stock with cattle and slaves the new lands, and hence they were the sole occupiers of them. The small farmers everywhere, too, were being ruined by the unfair competition of slave labor, and their little holdings were passing by purchase, and often by fraud or barefaced robbery, into the hands of the great proprietors.

There was a law, it is true, which made it illegal for any person to occupy more than a prescribed amount of the public lands; but this law had long since become a dead letter. The greater part of the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than two thousand

[1] In the year 102 B.C. another insurrection of the slaves broke out in the island, which it required three years to quell.

persons. These great landowners found stock raising more profitable than working the soil. Hence Italy had been made into a great sheep pasture. The dispossessed peasants, left without home or employment, crowded into the cities, congregating especially at Rome, where they lived in vicious indolence. Thus, largely through the workings of the public land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes, — the rich and the poor, the possessors and the non-possessors.

364. The Reforms of the Gracchi. — The most noted champions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, "You are called 'lords of the earth' without possessing a single clod to call your own." The people made him tribune (134–133 B.C.); and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief.

As the end of his term of office drew near, Tiberius stood again for the tribunate.[2] The aristocrats combined to defeat him. It came to riot and street fighting. The partisans of Tiberius were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the Forum and their bodies thrown into the Tiber (133 B.C.). This was the first time that the Roman Forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Gaius Gracchus now came forward to assume the position made vacant by the death of his brother Tiberius. In the year 124 B.C. he was elected tribune. Once in the tribuneship, he entered with energy upon the work of reform. He won the affection of the poor of the city by carrying a law which provided that every Roman citizen, on personal application, should be given corn from the public granaries at half or less than half the market price. Gaius could not have foreseen all the evils to which this law was to lead. It led eventually to the free distribution of corn to all citizens who made application for it. Very soon a large

[2] This was unconstitutional, for at this time a tribune could not hold his office for two consecutive years.

proportion of the population of Rome was living in vicious indolence and feeding at the public crib (sec. 466).

Gaius proposed in the interest of the people other measures which were bitterly opposed by the aristocrats, and the two orders at last came into collision. Gaius sought death by a friendly sword (121 B.C.), and three thousand of his adherents were massacred. The consul Lucius Opimius had offered for the head of Gaius its weight in gold. "This is the first instance in Roman history of head money being offered and paid, but it was not the last" (Long).

The common people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs, and their memory was preserved in later times by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

365. **The War with Jugurtha** (111–106 B.C.). — After the death of the Gracchi there seemed no one left to resist the heartless oppressions of the aristocratic party. The Gracchan laws respecting the public lands were annulled or made of no effect. Italy fell again into the hands of a few overrich landowners. The provinces were plundered by the Roman governors. The votes of senators and the decisions of judges, the offices at Rome and the places in the provinces, — everything pertaining to the government had its price, and was bought and sold like merchandise. This is well illustrated by affairs in Africa.

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had seized all that country, having put to death the rightful rulers of different provinces, who had been confirmed in their possessions by the Romans at the close of the Punic wars. Commissioners sent from Rome to look into the matter were bribed by Jugurtha. Even the consul Bestia, who had been sent into Africa with an army to punish the insolent usurper, sold himself to the robber. An investigation was ordered; but many prominent officials at Rome were implicated in the offenses, and the matter was hushed up with money. The venality of the Romans disgusted even Jugurtha, who exclaimed, "O venal city, thou wouldst sell thyself if thou couldst find a purchaser!"

In the year 106 B.C. the war against Jugurtha was brought to a close by Gaius Marius, a man who had risen to the consulship from the lowest ranks of the people. Marius celebrated a grand triumph at Rome.

366. Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutons (113–101 B.C.). — The war was not yet ended in Africa before terrible tidings came to Rome from the north. Two mighty nations of "horrible barbarians," three hundred thousand strong in fighting men, coming whence no one could tell, had invaded and were now desolating the Roman province of Gaul, and might any moment cross the Alps and sweep down into Italy.

The mysterious invaders proved to be two Germanic tribes, the Teutons and Cimbri, the vanguard of that great German migration which was destined to change the face and history of Europe. These intruders were seeking new homes. They carried with them in rude wagons all their property, their wives, and their children. The Celtic tribes of Gaul were no match for the newcomers, and fled before them as they advanced. Several Roman armies beyond the Alps were cut to pieces. The terror at Rome was only equaled by that occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls three centuries before. The Gauls were terrible enough; but now the conquerors of the Gauls were coming.

Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was looked to by all as the only man who could save the state in this crisis. He was reëlected to the consulship, and intrusted with the command of the armies. The barbarians had divided into two bands. The Cimbri were to cross the Eastern Alps and join in the valley of the Po the Teutons, who were to force the defiles of the Western or Maritime Alps. Marius determined to prevent the union of the barbarians and to crush each band separately.

Anticipating the march of the Teutons, Marius hurried into Southern Gaul, and falling upon the barbarians at a favorable moment almost annihilated the entire host.[8] He now recrossed the Alps and hastened to meet the Cimbri, who were entering the northeastern corner of Italy. Uninformed as to the fate of the

[8] In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, fought 102 B.C.

Teutons, the Cimbri sent an embassy to Marius to demand that they and their kinsmen be given lands in the peninsula. Marius sent back in reply, "The Teutons have got all the land they need on the other side of the Alps." The devoted Cimbri were soon to have all they needed on this side.

A terrible battle almost immediately followed at Vercellæ (101 B.C.). More than one hundred thousand of the barbarians were killed, and sixty thousand taken prisoners to be sold as slaves in the Roman slave markets. Marius was hailed as the "Savior of his Country."

367. The Social or Marsic War (91–89 B.C.). — Scarcely was the danger of the barbarian invasion past before Rome was threatened by another and greater evil arising within her own borders. At this time all the free inhabitants of Italy were embraced in three classes, — *Roman citizens*, *Latins*, and *Italian allies*. The Roman citizens included the inhabitants of the capital, of certain towns called *municipia*, and of the Roman colonies (sec. 324), besides the dwellers on isolated farms and the inhabitants of villages scattered everywhere throughout Italy. The Latins comprised the inhabitants of the Latin colonies (sec. 324). The Italian allies were those conquered peoples that Rome had excluded wholly from the rights of the city.

The Social or Marsic War (as it is often called on account of the prominent part taken in the insurrection by the warlike Marsians) was a struggle that arose from the demands of the Italian allies for the privileges of Roman citizenship.[4] Their demands being stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratic and the popular party at Rome, they took up arms, resolved upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica. Thus in a single day a large part of Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome.

[4] It should be carefully noted that the opposition to the admission of strangers to the rights of the city was no longer based on religious grounds, as was the case in the earliest days of patrician Rome (sec. 319). The opposition now arose simply from the selfish determination of a privileged class in the Roman state to retain its monopoly rights and immunities.

The greatness of the danger aroused all the old Roman courage and patriotism. Aristocrats and democrats hushed their quarrels and fought bravely side by side for the endangered life of the Republic. The war lasted three years, and was finally brought to an end rather by prudent concessions on the part of Rome than by fighting. In the year 90 B.C., alarmed by signs of disaffection in certain of the communities that up to this time had remained faithful, Rome granted the franchise of the city to all Italian communities that had not declared war against her or had already laid down their arms. The following year the full rights of the city were offered to all Italians who should within two months appear before a Roman magistrate and express a wish for the franchise. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war.[5]

368. Comments on the Political Results of the Social War. — Thus as an outcome of the war practically all the freemen of Italy south of the Po were made equal in civil and political rights. This was a matter of great significance. "The enrollment of the Italians among her own citizens deserves to be regarded," declares the historian Merivale, "as the greatest stroke of policy in the whole history of the Republic." This wholesale enfranchisement of Latin and Italian allies more than doubled the number of Roman citizens.

This equalization of the different classes of the Italian peninsula was simply a later phase of that movement in early Rome which resulted in the equalization of the two orders of the patricians and plebeians (Chapter XXVII). But the purely political results of the earlier and those of the later revolution were very different. At the earlier time those who demanded and received the franchise were persons living either in Rome or in its immediate vicinity, and consequently able to exercise the acquired right to vote and to hold office.

But now it was very different. These new-made citizens were living in towns and villages or on farms scattered all over Italy,

[5] After the close of the war the rights that had up to this time been enjoyed by the Latin towns were conferred upon all the cities between the Po and the Alps.

and of course very few of them could ever go to Rome, either to participate in the elections there, to vote on proposed legislation, or to become candidates for the Roman magistracies. Hence the rights they had acquired were, after all, politically barren. But no one was to blame for this state of things. Rome had simply outgrown her city constitution and her system of primary assemblies (sec. 292). She needed for her widening empire a representative system like ours; but representation was a political device far away from the thoughts of the men of those times.

As a result of the impossibility of the Roman citizens outside of Rome taking part, as a general thing, in the meetings of the popular assemblies at the capital, the offices of the state fell into the hands of those actually living in Rome or settled in its immediate neighborhood. Since the free, or practically free, distribution of corn and the public shows were drawing to the capital from all quarters crowds of the poor, the idle, and the vicious, these assemblies were rapidly becoming simply mobs controlled by noisy demagogues and unscrupulous military leaders aiming at the supreme power in the state.

This situation brought about a serious division in the body of Roman citizens. Those of the capital came to regard themselves as the real rulers of the empire, as they actually were, and looked with disdain upon those living in the other cities and the remoter districts of the peninsula. They alone reaped the fruits of the conquered world. At the same time the mass of outside passive citizens, as we may call them, came to look with jealousy upon this body of pampered aristocrats, rich speculators, and ragged, dissolute clients and hangers-on at Rome. They became quite reconciled to the thought of power passing out of the hands of such a crowd and into the hands of a single man. The feelings of men everywhere were being prepared for the revolution that was to overthrow the Republic and bring in the Empire.

369. Mithradates the Great establishes an Empire in the Orient. — While the Social War was still in progress in Italy a formidable enemy of Rome appeared in the East. Mithradates VI, surnamed the Great, king of Pontus (sec. 229, n. 2), taking advantage of the

distracted condition of the Republic, had encroached upon the Roman possessions in Asia Minor, and had caused a general massacre of the Italian traders and residents in that country. The number of victims of this wholesale slaughter is believed to have been at least eighty thousand.

Mithradates now turned his attention to Europe and sent his army into Greece. Athens and most of the other Greek cities renounced the authority of Rome and hailed Mithradates as the protector of Hellenism against the barbarian Romans.

FIG. 84. — MITHRADATES THE GREAT

370. Marius and Sulla contend for the Command in the War against Mithradates. — The Roman Senate now bestirred itself. An army was raised for the recovery of the Orient. Straightway a contest arose between Marius and Sulla for the command of the forces. The Senate conferred this upon Sulla, who at that time was consul. Marius was furious. By violent means he succeeded in carrying a measure in an assembly of the people whereby the command was taken away from Sulla and given to him. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed. Sulla soon embarked with the legions to meet Mithradates in the East (88 B.C.).

371. Marius massacres the Aristocrats (87 B.C.). — Leaving Sulla to carry on the Mithradatic war,[6] we must first follow the fortunes of the proscribed Marius. Returning from Africa, whither he had fled, Marius joined the consul Cinna in an attempt to crush by force the senatorial party. Rome was cut off from her food supplies and starved into submission.

[6] This was what is known as the First Mithradatic War (88–84 B.C.).

Marius now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Gnæus Octavius, who represented the aristocrats, was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the Rostra. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome, — a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the hands of the revengeful Marius. As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. Marius was now consul for the seventh time. He enjoyed his seventh consulship only thirteen days, being carried away by death in the seventy-first year of his age (86 B.C.).

372. **The Proscriptions of Sulla** (82 B.C.). — With the Mithradatic war ended, Sulla wrote to the Senate, saying that he was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party, — his own and the Republic's foes. The terror and consternation produced at Rome by this letter were increased by the accidental burning of the Capitol. The Sibylline Books, which held the secrets of the fate of Rome, were consumed. This accident awakened the most gloomy apprehensions. Such an event, it was believed, could only foreshadow the most direful calamities to the state.

The returning army from the East landed in Italy (83 B.C.). After much hard fighting Sulla entered Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the Rostra. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and then grew rapidly until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered simply because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble, coming into the Forum and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas! my villa has proved my ruin." Julius Cæsar, at this time a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of

his relationship to Marius, but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him; as he did so, however, he said warningly, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

The number of victims of these proscriptions has been handed down as forty seven hundred. Almost all of these must have been men of wealth or of special distinction on account of their activity in public affairs. The property of the proscribed was confiscated and sold at public auction, or virtually given away by Sulla to his favorites. The bases of some of the most colossal fortunes that we hear of a little after this were laid during these times of proscription and robbery.

This reign of terror bequeathed to later times a terrible "legacy of hatred and fear." Its awful scenes haunted the Romans for generations, and at every crisis in the affairs of the commonwealth the public mind was thrown into a state of painful apprehension lest there should be a repetition of these frightful days of Sulla.

373. Sulla made Dictator, with Power to remodel the Constitution (82 B.C.). — The Senate now passed a decree which approved and confirmed all that Sulla had done, and made him dictator during his own good pleasure. This was the first time a dictator had been appointed since the war with Hannibal, and the first time the dictatorial authority had ever been conferred for a longer period than six months. The decree further invested Sulla with authority to make laws and to remodel the constitution in any way that might seem to him necessary and best. The power here given Sulla was like that with which the decemvirs had been clothed nearly four centuries before this time (sec. 309).

The reforms of Sulla had for their chief aim the restoration of the authority of the Senate, which recent revolutions had reduced almost to a nullity, and the lessening of the power of the tribunate.

374. The Death of Sulla; Result of his Rule. — After having exercised the unlimited power of his office for three years, Sulla, to the surprise of everybody, suddenly resigned the dictatorship and went into retirement. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.). One important result of the reign of Sulla as an

absolute dictator was the accustoming of the people to the idea of the rule of a single man. His short dictatorship was the prelude to the reign of the permanent imperator.

The parts of the old actors in the drama were now all played to the end. But the plot deepens, and new men appear upon the stage to carry on the new, which are really the old, parts.

375. **Spartacus; War of the Gladiators** (73–71 B.C.). — About a decade after the proscriptions of Sulla, Italy was the scene of fresh troubles. Gladiatorial combats had become at this time the favorite sport of the amphitheater. At Capua was a sort of training school from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments. In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his companions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented persons from every quarter. Their number at length increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. For three years they defied the power of Rome, and even gained control of the larger part of Southern Italy. But at length Spartacus himself was killed and the insurrection crushed.

376. **The Abuses and the Prosecution of Verres** (70 B.C.). — Terrible as was the state of society in Italy, still worse was the condition of affairs outside the peninsula. At first the rule of the Roman governors in the provinces, though severe, was honest and prudent. But during the period of profligacy and corruption upon which we have now entered, the administration of these foreign possessions had become shamefully dishonest and incredibly cruel and rapacious. The prosecution of Verres, the proprætor of Sicily, exposed the scandalous rule of the oligarchy, into whose hands the government had fallen. For three years Verres plundered and ravaged that island with impunity. He sold all the offices and all his decisions as judge. He demanded of the farmers the greater part of their crops, which he sold to swell his already enormous fortune. Agriculture was thus ruined and the farms were abandoned. Verres had a taste for art, and

when on his tours through the island confiscated gems, vases, statues, paintings, and other things which struck his fancy, whether in temples or in private dwellings.

Verres could not be called to account while in office (sec. 305); and it was doubtful whether, after the end of his term, he could be convicted, so corrupt and venal had become the Senate, the body by which all such offenders were tried. Indeed, Verres himself openly boasted that he intended two thirds of his gains for his judges and lawyers; the remaining one third would satisfy himself.

At length, after Sicily had come to look as though it had been ravaged by barbarian conquerors, the infamous robber was impeached. The prosecutor was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the brilliant orator, who was at this time just rising into prominence at Rome. The storm of indignation raised by the developments of the trial caused Verres to flee into exile to Massilia, whither he took with him much of his ill-gotten wealth.

377. **Growth of Piracy in the Mediterranean; War with the Pirates** (78–66 B.C.). — Another most shameful commentary on the utter incapacity of the government of the aristocrats was the growth of piracy in the Mediterranean waters during their rule. It is true that this was an evil which had been growing for a long time. The Romans through their conquest of the countries fringing the Mediterranean had destroyed not only the governments that had maintained order on the land, but at the same time had destroyed the fleets, as in the case of Carthage, which, since the days when the rising Greek cities suppressed piracy in the Ægean Sea, had policed the Mediterranean and kept its ship routes clear of corsairs. In the more vigorous days of the Republic the sea had been well watched by Roman fleets, but after the close of the wars with Carthage the Romans had allowed their war navy to fall into decay.

The Mediterranean, thus left practically without patrol, was swarming with pirates; for the Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits in those maritime countries to take to their

ships and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. These pirates had banded themselves together in a sort of government and state. They had as places of refuge numerous strong fortresses — four hundred, it is said — among the inaccessible mountains of the coast lands they frequented. They had a fleet of a thousand sails, with dockyards and naval arsenals.

The history of this pirate state is as interesting as a pirate's tale. Its swift ships, sailing in fleets and squadrons, scoured the waters of the Mediterranean, so that no merchantman could spread her sails in safety. Nor were these buccaneers content with what spoils the sea might yield them; like the Vikings of the Northern seas in later times, they made descents upon every coast, plundered villas and towns, and sweeping off the inhabitants sold them openly as slaves in the slave markets of the East. The pirates even ravaged the shores of Italy itself. They carried off merchants and travelers from the Appian Way and held them for ransom. At last they began to intercept the grain ships of Sicily and Africa and thereby threatened Rome with starvation. Corn rose to famine prices.

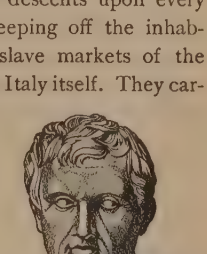


FIG. 85. — POMPEY THE GREAT (Spada Palace, Rome)

The Romans now bestirred themselves. In the year 67 B.C. Gnæus Pompey, a rising young general of the aristocrats, was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. He quickly swept the pirates from the sea, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the twenty thousand prisoners that fell into his hands in colonies in Asia Minor and Greece. His vigorous and successful conduct of this campaign against the pirates gained him great honor and reputation.

378. Pompey in the East; the Death of Mithradates (63 B.C.). — Pompey had not yet ended the war with the pirates before he was given, by a vote of the people, charge of the war against

Mithradates,[7] who now for several years had been in arms against Rome. In a great battle in Lesser Armenia Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithradates. The king fled from the field, and soon afterwards, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life[8] (63 B.C.). His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithradates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with respect and dread.

Pompey now turned south and conquered Syria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, which countries he erected into a Roman province under the name of Syria (64 B.C.). Still pushing southward, the conqueror entered Palestine, and after a short siege of Jerusalem, by taking advantage of the scruples of the Jews in regard to fighting on the Sabbath day, captured the city (63 B.C.).

379. The Conspiracy of Catiline (64–62 B.C.). — While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Catiline, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with debts and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state and to plunder and burn the capital. The proscriptions of Sulla were to be renewed and all debts were to be canceled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The Senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula that they "should take care that the Republic received no harm." Then in the Senate chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as *The First Oration against Catiline*. The senators shrank from the conspirator and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his

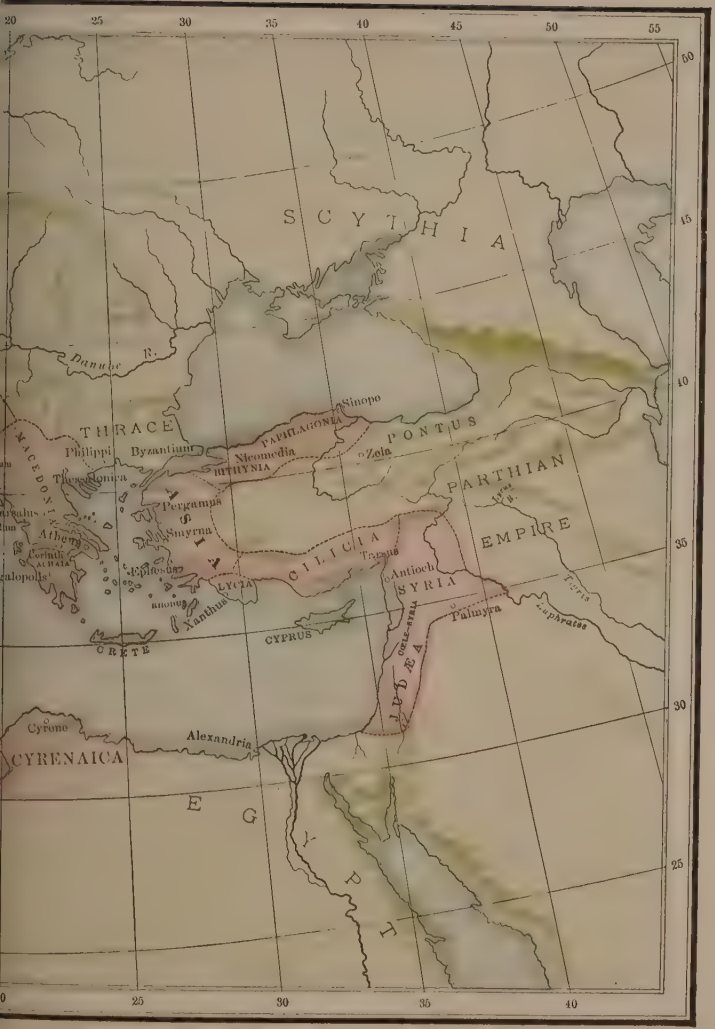
[7] The so-called Third Mithradatic War (74–64 B.C.). What is known as the Second Mithradatic War (83–82 B.C.) was a short conflict that arose just after the close of the First (sec. 371, n. 6). The chief conduct of the present war had been in the hands of Lucius L. Lucullus.

[8] Some authorities, however, say that he was murdered by his son.

THE ROMAN DOMINIONS

AT THE END OF THE MITHRADATIC WAR

B. C. 64


SCYTHIA
Danube R.
THRACE
Philippi
Byzantium
Thessalonica
MACEDONIA
Pergamus
Smyrna
Athens
Corinth
ACHAIA
Ephesus
LYCIA
Xanthus
CRETE
CYPRUS
Sinope
PAPHLAGONIA
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
Zela
PONTUS
PARTHIAN
EMPIRE
CILICIA
Tarsus
Antioch
SYRIA
Palmyra
Euphrates
Tigris
JUDEA
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Cyrene
CYRENAICA
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guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, Catiline fled from the chamber and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers in Etruria. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria he was slain with many of his followers (62 B.C.). His head was borne as a trophy to Rome.

380. Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey: the so-called First Triumvirate (60 B.C.). — Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, still it was very easy to foresee that the days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was practically in the hands of ambitious leaders or of corrupt combinations and "rings." Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the Republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men — Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey — who were destined to shape affairs. Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old patrician family, still he had identified himself with the democratic party. In every way he courted popular favor. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His debts are said to have amounted to 25,000,000 sesterces (about $1,250,000). His popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to the senatorial or aristocratic party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about $8,875,000).

With Gnæus Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great; for in settling the countries he subdued he had filled the offices with his friends and adherents. This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces.

What is commonly known as the First Triumvirate rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the reputation of Pompey. It was a private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control

of public affairs. Cæsar was the manager of the "ring." Through the aid of his colleagues he secured the consulship.

381. Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul (58–51 B.C.). — At the end of his consulship Cæsar had assigned him, as proconsul, the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum. Already doubtless he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and German tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such prestige as in other fields had been won and was now enjoyed by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs towards which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his admirable *Commentaries* Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 51 B.C.

The year 55 B.C. marked two notable achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain, but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the mainland without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans (sec. 402).

Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by Cæsar's victories over the Gauls. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

382. Results of the Gallic Wars. — One good result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. This Romanization of Gaul meant the adding of another to the number of Latin nations that were to arise from the break-up of the Roman Empire. There can be little doubt that if Cæsar had not conquered Gaul it would have been overrun by the Germans, and would ultimately have become simply an extension of Germany. There would then have been no great Latin nation north of the Alps and the Pyrenees. It is difficult to imagine what European history would be like if the French nation, with its semi-Italian temperament, instincts, and traditions, had never come into existence.

Another result of Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul was the checking of the migratory movements of the German tribes, which gave Græco-Roman civilization time to become thoroughly rooted not only in Gaul but also in Spain and other lands.

383. Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey; Cæsar crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.). — While Cæsar was in Gaul Crassus was leading an army against the Parthians in the East, hoping to rival there the brilliant conquests of Cæsar. But his army was almost annihilated by the enemy, and he himself was slain (54 B.C.).

The world now belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. A struggle between them was inevitable. While Cæsar was carrying on his campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his rival. He strove by a princely liberality to win the affections of the common people. On the Field of Mars he erected an immense stone theater with seats for forty thousand spectators. He gave magnificent games and set public tables, and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged he entertained them with gladiatorial combats.

In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of theaters

and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

The Senate, favoring Pompey, made him sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator, and issued a decree that Cæsar should resign his office and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a little stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast!"

384. **Cæsar becomes Master of the West** (49–48 B.C.). — As Cæsar marched southward, one city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey, with a few legions, fled to Greece. Within sixty days Cæsar had made himself master of all Italy. His moderation won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla reënacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred.

With order restored in Italy, and with Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain brought under his authority, Cæsar was free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East. The armies of the rivals met upon the plains of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's forces were cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing he was assassinated.

385. **A Laconic Message; End of the Civil War.** — Cæsar, who had followed Pompey to Egypt, was detained there nine months in settling a dispute respecting the throne. The kingdom was finally secured to the celebrated Cleopatra and a younger brother. Intelligence was now brought from Asia Minor that Pharnaces, son of Mithradates the Great, was inciting a revolt among the peoples of that region. Cæsar met the Pontic king at Zela, defeated him, and in five days put an end to the war (47 B.C.). His laconic message to the Senate announcing his victory is famous. It ran thus: "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (I came, I saw, I conquered).

Cæsar now hurried back to Italy, and thence proceeded to Africa, which the friends of the old Republic had made their last chief rallying place. At the great battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) they were crushed. Fifty thousand lay dead upon the field. Cato,[9] who had been the very life and soul of the army, refusing to outlive the Republic, took his own life.

386. Cæsar as an Uncrowned King. — Cæsar was now virtually lord of the Roman world.[10] He refrained from taking the title of king, but he assumed the purple robe, the insignia of royalty, and caused his effigy to be stamped, after the manner of sovereigns, on the public coins. His statue was significantly given a place along with those of the seven kings of early Rome. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The Senate made him perpetual dictator (44 B.C.), and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. Thus, though not a king in name, Cæsar's actual position at the head of the state was that of an absolute ruler.

387. Cæsar as a Statesman. — Cæsar was great as a general, yet greater, if possible, as a statesman. He had great plans which embraced the whole world that Rome had conquered. A chief aim of his was to establish between the different classes of the empire equality of rights, to place Italy and the provinces on the same footing, to blend the various races and peoples into a real nation, — in a word, to carry to completion that great work of making all the world Roman which had been begun in the earliest times. To this end he established numerous colonies in the provinces and settled in them the poorer citizens of the capital. With a liberality that astonished and offended many, he admitted to the Senate sons of freedmen, and particularly representative men from among the Gauls, and conferred upon individual provincials, and upon entire classes and communities in the provinces, the partial or full rights of the city. His action

[9] This was a grandson of Cato the Censor (sec. 355).

[10] The sons of Pompey — Gnæus and Sextus — had headed a revolt in Spain. Cæsar crushed the movement a little later in the decisive battle of Munda (45 B.C.).

here marks an epoch in the history of Rome. The immunities and privileges of the city had never hitherto been conferred, save in exceptional cases, upon any peoples other than those of the Italian race. Cæsar threw the gates of the city wide open to the non-Italian peoples of the provinces. Thus was foreshadowed the day when all freemen throughout the whole empire should be Roman in name and privilege[11] (sec. 416).

FIG. 86. — JULIUS CÆSAR
(Vatican Museum)

As Pontifex Maximus Cæsar reformed the calendar so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of 365 days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year. This is what is called the Julian Calendar.[12]

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many other undertakings which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution.

[11] One of the most important of all Cæsar's laws was that known as the *Lex Julia Municipalis* (45 B.C.). All the municipal governments organized after this, whether in towns in Italy or in the provinces, conformed to the principles embodied in this important constitutional measure.

[12] This calendar was in general use in Europe until the year 1582, when it was reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, and became what is known as the Gregorian Calendar. This in time came in vogue in all Christian countries save Russia, where the Julian Calendar is still followed.

388. **The Death of Cæsar** (44 B.C.). — Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old Republic to whom he was the destroyer of republican liberties. The impression began to prevail that he was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by the consul Mark Antony; but seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is no doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, the fabled cradle of the Roman race, and make that ancient capital the seat of the new Roman Empire. Others professed to believe that the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the center of the proposed kingdom. So many, out of love for Rome and the old Republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the Senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, were concerned in the plot. The soothsayers must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." No sooner had he entered the hall where the Senate assembled that day, and taken his seat, than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he is said to have exclaimed reproachfully, "*Et tu, Brute!*" (Thou, too, Brutus!), then to have drawn his mantle over his face and to have received unresistingly their further thrusts.

The Romans had killed many of their best men and cut short their work; but never had they killed such a man as Cæsar. He was the greatest man their race had yet produced or was destined ever to produce.

Cæsar's work was left all incomplete. What lends to it such great historical importance is the fact that in his reforms and policies Cæsar drew the broad lines which his successors followed, and indicated the principles on which the government of the future must be based.

389. **The Second Triumvirate** (43 B.C.); **the Death of Cicero.** — Antony, the friend and secretary of Cæsar, had gained possession of his will and papers, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator according to a decree of the Senate, entered upon a course of high-handed usurpation. He was aided in his designs by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, one of Cæsar's old lieutenants. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives."

To what lengths Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Gaius Octavius, the young grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and adopted as his son. Upon the Senate declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him and Antony and Lepidus. After several indecisive battles between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The outcome of a conference was a league known as the Second Triumvirate (43 B.C.).

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power of Sulla, was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill-will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero, — who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes, — and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. "Let me die," said he, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!"

His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, towards the coast, when his pursuers came up and dispatched him in the litter in which he was being carried. His head was taken to Rome and set up in the Forum. The right hand of the victim — the hand that had penned the eloquent orations — was nailed to the Rostra.

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were reënacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

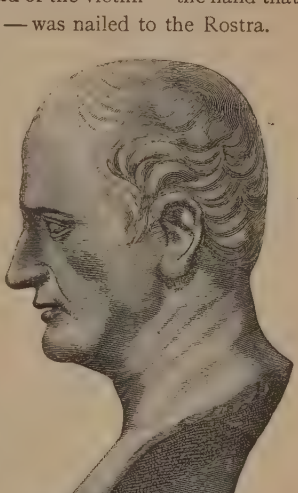

FIG. 87. — CICERO. (Madrid)

390. Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi (42 B.C.); the Roman World in the Hands of Antony and Octavius. — The friends of the old Republic and the enemies of the triumvirs were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius, who had fled from Rome after the assassination of Cæsar, were the animating spirits. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece to disperse the forces of the republicans there.

At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies met (42 B.C.). The new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the Republic lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the Republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the Empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme

power. Lepidus was at length expelled from the triumvirate, and then again the Roman world, as in the times of Cæsar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters, — Antony in the East and Octavius in the West.

391. Antony and Cleopatra. — After the battle of Philippi Antony went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of the provinces and vassal states there. He summoned Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia, there to give account to him for the aid she had rendered the liberators. She obeyed the summons, relying upon the power of her charms to appease the anger of the triumvir. She ascended the Cydnus in a gilded barge, with oars of silver and sails of purple silk. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Cæsar before him, by the dazzling beauty of the "Serpent of the Nile." Enslaved by her enchantments and charmed by her brilliant wit, in the pleasure of her company he forgot all else, — ambition and honor and country.

392. The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). — Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra. It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, as the heir of the Empire. All Rome was stirred. It was evident that a struggle was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City.

Both parties made the most gigantic preparations for the inevitable conflict. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the western coast of Greece. While the issue of the battle was yet undecided, Cleopatra turned her galley in flight. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel and became

her partner in the disgraceful flight. The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius. The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire.

393. Death of Antony and of Cleopatra; Egypt becomes a Roman Province. — Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide.

Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome to grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. With the death of Cleopatra the noted dynasty of the Ptolemies came to an end. Egypt was henceforth a province of the Roman state.

Selections from the Sources. — PLUTARCH, *Life of Tiberius Gracchus* and *Life of Julius Cæsar*. APPIAN, *The Civil Wars*, bk. ii, chap. xviii; the panic in Rome after Cæsar's death. MUNRO, *A Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 99–142 and 217–220.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Gaius Gracchus. 2. Tales illustrating the wrongs of the Italian allies. 3. Mithradates the Great. 4. Sertorius. 5. Spartacus and the gladiators. 6. Verres in Sicily. 7. Lucius Licinius Lucullus. 8. Mommsen's estimate of Cæsar.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

(31 B.C.–A.D. 14)

394. The Character of the Imperial Government. — The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman Republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remold its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the state, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. "The establishment of the Roman Empire," says Merivale, "was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon are not to be compared with it for a moment."

The government which Octavius established was a monarchy in fact but a republic in form. Mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, Octavius carefully veiled his really absolute power under the forms of the old republican state. He did not take the title of king. He knew how hateful to the people that name had been since the expulsion of the Tarquins, and was mindful how many of the best men of Rome, including the great Julius, had perished because they gave the people reason to think that they were aiming at the regal power. Nor did he take the title of dictator, a name that since the time of Sulla had been almost as intolerable to the people as that of king. But he adopted the title of *Imperator*, — whence the name *Emperor*, — a title which, although it carried with it the absolute authority of the commander of the legions, still had clinging to it no odious memories. He

also received from the Senate the honorary surname of *Augustus*, a title that hitherto had been sacred to the gods, and hence was free from all sinister associations. A monument of this act was erected in the calendar. It was decreed by the Senate that the sixth month of the Roman year should be called Augustus (whence our August) in commemoration of the Imperator, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name Julius (whence our July) in honor of Julius Cæsar.

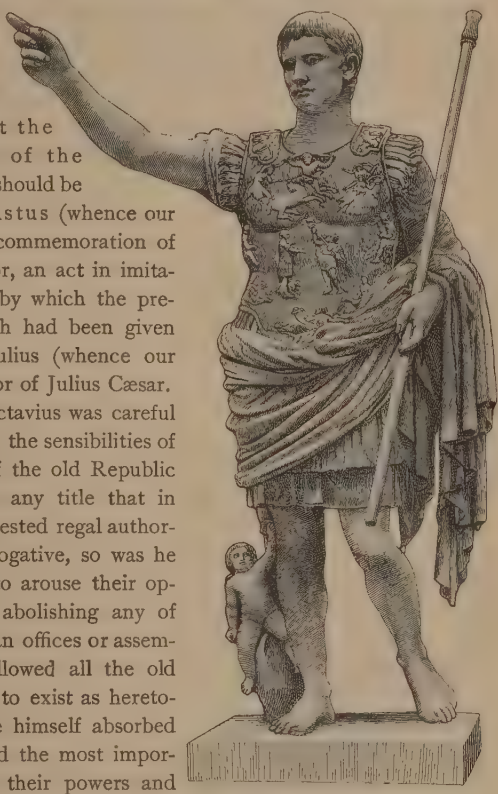

Fig. 88.— Augustus (Vatican Museum)

And as Octavius was careful not to wound the sensibilities of the lovers of the old Republic by assuming any title that in any way suggested regal authority and prerogative, so was he careful not to arouse their opposition by abolishing any of the republican offices or assemblies. He allowed all the old magistracies to exist as heretofore; but he himself absorbed and exercised the most important part of their powers and functions. The consuls and all the other republican magistrates were elected as usual; but they were virtually only the nominees and creatures of the Emperor. They were the effigies and figure-heads which deluded the people into believing that the Republic

still existed. Never did a people seem more content with the shadow after the loss of the substance.

Likewise all the popular assemblies remained and were convened as usual to hold elections and to vote on measures laid before them. But Octavius had the right to summon them, to place in nomination persons for the various offices, and to initiate legislation. The titular consuls and tribunes also, it is true, had this right, but after the new order of things had become firmly established they dared not exercise it without the concurrence of the new master of the state.

The Senate still existed, but it was shorn of all real independence, since Augustus had been armed with the censorial power for the purpose of revising its lists. This power Octavius exercised by reducing the number of senators, which had been raised to one thousand, to six hundred, and by striking from the rolls the names of unworthy members and of obstinate republicans.

We may summarize all these changes by saying that the monarchy abolished five hundred years before this was now rising again amidst the old forms of the Republic.

395. The Government of the Provinces. — The revolution that brought in the Empire effected a great improvement in the condition of the provincials. The government of all those provinces that were in an unsettled state and that needed the presence of a large military force Augustus[1] withdrew from the Senate and took the management of their affairs in his own hands. These were known as the *provinces of Cæsar*. Instead of these countries being ruled by practically irresponsible proconsuls and proprætors, they were henceforth ruled by legates of the Emperor, who were removable at his will and answerable to him for the faithful and honest discharge of the duties of their offices. Salaries were attached to their positions, and thus the scandalous abuses which had grown up in connection with the earlier system of self-payment through fees, requisitions, and like devices were swept away. These provinces were given, as we should say, a pure and able civil service.

[1] From this on we shall refer to Octavius by this his honorary surname.

The more tranquil provinces were still left under the control of the Senate, and were known as *public provinces*. These also profited by the change, since the Emperor extended his care and watch to them, and, as the judge of last appeal, righted wrongs and punished flagrant offenders against right and justice.

396. The Defeat of Varus by the Germans under Arminius (A.D. 9). — The reign of Augustus was marked by one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the Roman legions. The general Quintilius Varus had made the mistake of supposing that he could rule the freedom-loving Germans, who had in part been brought under Roman authority, just as he had governed the servile Asiatics of the Eastern provinces, and had thereby stirred them to determined revolt. While the general was leading an army of three legions, numbering altogether about twenty thousand men, through the almost pathless depths of the Teutoburg Wood, he was surprised by the barbarians under their brave chieftain Hermann, — called Arminius by the Romans, — and his army destroyed.

The disaster caused great consternation at Rome. Augustus, wearied and worn already with the cares of empire and domestic affliction, was inconsolable. He paced his palace in agony, and kept exclaiming, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions! give me back my legions!"

The victory of Arminius over the Romans was an event of great significance in the history of European civilization. The Germans were on the point of being completely subjugated and put in the way of being Romanized, as the Celts of Gaul had already been. Had this occurred, the history of Europe would have been changed; for the Germanic element is the one that has given shape and color to the important events of the last fifteen hundred years. Among these barbarians, too, were our ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, might never have received the name of England, and the great English nation might never have had an existence.

397. Literature and the Arts under Augustus. — The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. Although the government of Augustus, as we have learned, was

disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still never before, perhaps, had the civilized world enjoyed so long a period of general rest from the turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the gates of the temple of Janus at Rome, which were open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the existence of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in war.

This long repose from the strife that had filled all the preceding centuries was favorable to the upspringing of literature and art. Under the patronage of the Emperor and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this the Golden Age of Latin literature. During this reign Vergil composed his immortal epic of the *Æneid*, and Horace his famous odes, while Livy wrote his inimitable history, and Ovid his fancy-inspiring *Metamorphoses*. Many who lamented the fall of the Republic sought solace in the pursuit of letters; and in this they were encouraged by Augustus, as it gave occupation to many restless spirits that would otherwise have been engaged in political intrigues against his government.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures, including temples, theaters, porticoes, baths, and aqueducts. He said proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble."

398. Social and Religious Life at Rome under Augustus. — A striking feature of life at Rome at this time was the growing infatuation of the people for the bloody spectacles of the amphitheater (sec. 464). Even the prudent Augustus lavished on these shows money without measure or stint. He himself tells us that besides a great naval spectacle he gave eight gladiatorial exhibitions, in which ten thousand men fought on the arena.

For a long time before the fall of the Republic, the decay of religious faith had been going on. Augustus did all in his power to arrest the process. He restored the temples that had fallen into decay, erected new ones not only at Rome but in every part of the Empire, and in every way strove to awaken in the people fresh veneration for the ancestral deities of Rome.

It is preëminently worthy of note that it was in the midst of the happy reign of Augustus, when profound peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, — the doors of the temple of Janus having been closed, — that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The event was unheralded at Rome; yet it was filled with profound significance not only for the Roman Empire but for the world.

399. The Death and Deification of Augustus. — In the year A.D. 14 Augustus died, having reached the seventy-sixth year of his age. By decree of the Senate divine worship was accorded to him and temples were erected in his honor. At first blush this worship of the dead Cæsar seems to us strange and impious. But it will not seem so if we put ourselves at the point of view of the old Roman. It was the natural and logical outcome of ancestor worship, which, as we have learned, was a favorite cult among the Romans (sec. 288). The sentiment and belief which prompted the offerings of gifts and prayers to the guardian spirits of the family would naturally lead to similar offerings to the spirit of the departed Cæsar, father of the Roman state.

Selections from the Sources. — *Translations and Reprints* (University of Pennsylvania), vol. v, No. 7, "Monumentum Ancyranum." This forms one of the most important of the original sources for the reign of Augustus. It is a long bilingual inscription (Latin and Greek) discovered in 1595 on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra (whence the name), in Asia Minor. MUNRO, *A Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 143–148, 221, and 222.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. In theory the government of the early Empire was a diarchy, — that is, a joint rule of the Emperor and the Senate. How real was the participation of the Senate in the government? 2. Administration of the provinces under the early Empire. 3. The defeat of Varus. 4. Life at Rome under Augustus. 5. The cult of the Emperor.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ROMAN CITIZENS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE

These figures embody what is perhaps the most important matter in Roman history, namely, the gradual admission of unprivileged commoners and of aliens to the full rights of the city until every freeman in the civilized world had become a citizen of Rome. This movement we have endeavored to trace in the text. Consult particularly secs. 301, 303, 307, 317, 319, 367, 368, 387, 402, and 416.

	Citizens of Military Age
Under the later kings (Mommsen's estimate)	20,000
338 B.C.	165,000[2]
293 "	262,322
251 "	279,797
220 "	270,213
204 "	214,000[3]
164 "	327,022
115 "	394,336
70 "	900,000 (?)
27 "	4,063,000[4]
8 "	4,233,000
13 A.D.	4,937,000
47 " (under Claudius)	6,944,000

[2] These figures do not include the inhabitants of the Latin colonies nor of the allied states.

[3] The falling off from the number of the preceding census of 220 B.C. was a result of the Hannibalic War.

[4] These figures and those of the enumerations for 8 B.C. and 13 A.D. are from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The increased number given by the census of 70 B.C. over that of 115 B.C. registers the result of the admission to the city of the Italians at the end of the Social War (sec. 367).

CHAPTER XXXII

FROM TIBERIUS TO THE ACCESSION OF DIOCLETIAN

(A.D. 14–284)

400. Reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37). — Tiberius, the adopted stepson of Augustus, became his successor. During the first years of his reign he used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation, being seemingly desirous of promoting the best interests of all classes in his vast empire; and even to the last his government of the provinces was just and beneficent.

But unfortunately Tiberius was of a morose, suspicious, and jealous nature, and the opposition which he experienced in the capital caused him, in his contest with his political and personal enemies, soon to institute there a most high-handed tyranny. He enforced oppressively an old law, known as the *Law of Majestas*, which made it a capital offense for any one to speak a careless word, or even to entertain an unfriendly thought, respecting the Emperor. Rewards were offered to informers, and hence sprang up a class of persons called *delators*, who acted as spies upon society. Often false charges were made to gratify personal enmity; and many, especially of the wealthy class, were accused and put to death that their property might be confiscated.

Tiberius appointed as his chief minister and as commander of the prætorian guard [1] one Sejanus, a person of the lowest and most corrupt life. Then he retired to Capreæ, an islet in the Bay of Naples, and left to this man the management of affairs at the capital. For a time Sejanus ruled at Rome very much according to his own will. No man's life was safe. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the Emperor himself. His

[1] This was a corps of select soldiers which had been created by Augustus, and which was designed as a bodyguard to the Emperor. It numbered about 10,000 men, and was given a permanent camp near one of the city gates. It soon became a formidable power in the state and made and unmade emperors at will.

designs, however, became known to Tiberius, and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death. After the execution of his minister Tiberius ruled more despotically than before. Many sought refuge from his tyranny in suicide.

It was in the midst of the reign of Tiberius that, in a remote province of the Roman Empire, the Saviour was crucified. Animated by an unparalleled missionary spirit, his followers traversed the length and breadth of the Empire, preaching everywhere the "glad tidings." Men's loss of faith in the gods of the old mythologies, the softening and liberalizing influence of Greek culture, the unification of the whole civilized world under a single government, the widespread suffering and the inexpressible weariness of the oppressed and servile classes, — all these things had prepared the soil for the seed of the new doctrines. In less than three centuries the pagan Empire had become Christian not only in name but also very largely in fact.

401. Reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41). — Tiberius was followed by Gaius Cæsar, better known as Caligula. After a few months spent in arduous application to the affairs of the Empire, the mind of the young Emperor became unsettled. He soon gave himself up to a life of dissipation. The cruel sports of the amphitheater possessed for him a strange fascination. He even entered the lists himself and fought as a gladiator upon the arena. After four years his insane career was brought to a close by some of the officers of the prætorian guard whom he had wantonly insulted.

402. Reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54). — Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, made his reign a landmark in the constitutional history of Rome by the admission of the Gallic nobles to the Roman Senate and the magistracies of the city. Tacitus has given us a paraphrase of a speech which the Emperor made before the Senate in answer to the objections which were urged against such a course. The Emperor touched first upon the fact that his own most ancient ancestor, although of Sabine origin, had been received into the city and made a member of the patrician order. This liberal policy of the fathers ought, he thought, to be followed by himself in his conduct of public affairs.

Men of special talent, wherever found, should be transferred to Rome. "Nor am I unmindful of the fact," he continued, "that . . . from Etruria and Lucania and all Italy persons have been received into the Roman Senate. Finally, the city was extended to the Alps, so that not single individuals but entire provinces and tribes were given the Roman name. Is it a matter of regret to us that the Balbi came to us from Spain? that men not less distinguished migrated to Rome from Gallia Narbonensis? The descendants of these immigrants remain among us, nor do they yield to us in their devotion to the fatherland. What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this, — that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?" [2] The generous policy here advocated by Claudius was acted upon, at least as to a part of the Gallic nobility, who were given admission to the Roman Senate.

In the field of military enterprise the reign of Claudius was signalized by the conquest of Britain. Nearly a century had passed since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar. The southern part of the island was now subjugated and made into a province under the name of *Britannia* (A.D. 43). Many towns soon sprang up here, which in time became important centers of Roman trade and culture, and some of which were the beginnings of great English towns of to-day.

Throughout his life Claudius was ruled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. For his fourth wife he married the "wicked Agrippina," who secured his death by means of a dish of poisoned mushrooms, in order to make place for the succession of her son Nero, then only sixteen years of age.

403. Reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68). — Nero was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca (sec. 457); but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the prætorians, ruled with moderation and equity; then he gradually broke away from

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 23. Compare these sentiments of Claudius with those of Titus Manlius (sec. 319).

the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity.

It was in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 64) that the so-called "Great Fire" laid more than half of Rome in ashes. For six days and nights the flames surged like a sea through the valleys and about the base of the hills covered by the city. It was rumored that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted in order to clear the ground so that he could rebuild the city on a more magnificent plan, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle and amused himself by singing a poem of his own composition entitled the *Sack of Troy*. To turn attention from himself, Nero accused the Christians of having conspired to burn the city in order to help out their prophecies. The doctrine which was taught by some of the new sect respecting the second coming of Christ and the destruction of the world by fire lent color to the charge. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this persecution.

The Emperor was extravagant, and consequently always in need of money, which he secured through murders and confiscations. Among his victims was his old preceptor Seneca, who was immensely rich. On the charge of treason, he condemned him to death and confiscated his estate.

At last the Senate, Nero being absent from Rome in the East, declared him a public enemy and condemned him to death by scourging, to avoid which, aided by a servant, he took his own life.

Nero was the sixth and last of the Julian line. The family of the great Cæsar was now extinct; but the name remained, and was adopted by all the succeeding emperors.

404. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (A.D. 68–69). — These three names are usually grouped together, as their reigns were all short and uneventful. The succession, upon the death of Nero and the extinction in him of the Julian line, was in dispute, and the

legions in different quarters supported the claims of their favorite leaders. One after another the three aspirants named were killed in bloody struggles for the imperial purple. The last, Vitellius, was hurled from the throne by the soldiers of Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine, which were at this time engaged in war with the Jews.

405. **Reign of Vespasian** (A.D. 69–79). — The accession of Flavius Vespasian marks the beginning of a period, embracing three reigns, known as the Flavian Age (A.D. 69–96). One of

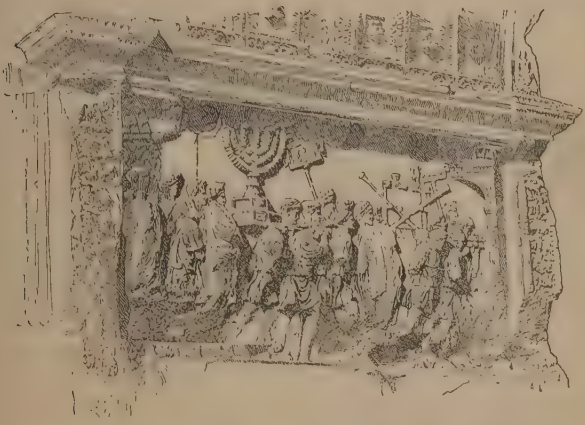


FIG. 89. — TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS
(From a photograph)

Showing the seven-branched candlestick and other trophies from the temple at Jerusalem

the most memorable events of Vespasian's reign was the capture and destruction of Jerusalem. After one of the most harassing sieges recorded in history, the city was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. The temple was destroyed, and more than a million Jews who had crowded into the city are believed to have perished. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the temple of its sacred utensils and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears his name may be seen at the

present day the sculptured representation of the seven-branched golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

After a most prosperous reign of ten years Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first Emperor after Augustus who had not met with a violent death.

406. Reign of Titus (A.D. 79–81). — In a short reign of two years Titus won the title of "the Friend and the Delight of Mankind." He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors.

The reign of Titus was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The cities were buried beneath showers of cinders, ashes, and streams of volcanic mud. Pliny the Elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life.[8]

407. Reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). — Titus was followed by his brother Domitian, whose rule, after the first few years, was one succession of murders and confiscations. This cruel severity was the outgrowth of the contest between the Emperor and the Senate, which in this reign was renewed with extreme bitterness.

Under this Emperor took place what is known in Church history as "the second persecution of the Christians." The name of Domitian's niece Domitilla has been preserved as one of the victims of this persecution. This is significant, since it shows that the new faith was thus early finding adherents among the higher classes, even in the royal household itself.

Domitian perished in his own palace and by the hands of members of his own household. The Senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments.

[8] In the year 1713, sixteen centuries after the destruction of the cities, the ruins were discovered by some persons engaged in digging a well, and since then extensive excavations have been made, which have uncovered a large part of Pompeii and revealed to us the streets, homes, theaters, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city, — all of which presents to us a very vivid picture of Roman life during the imperial period eighteen hundred years ago.

408. **The Five Good Emperors; Reign of Nerva** (A.D. 96–98). — The five emperors — Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines — who succeeded Domitian were elected by the Senate, which during this period assumed something of its former weight and influence in the affairs of the Empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers secured for them the enviable distinction of being called "the five good emperors."

Nerva, who was an aged senator and an ex-consul, ruled paternally. He died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the scepter

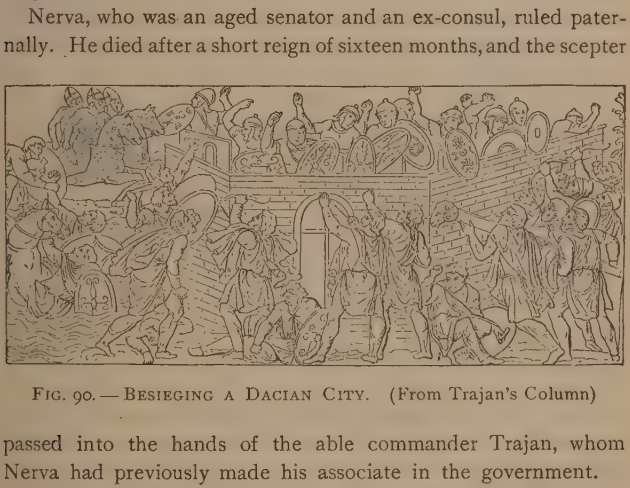


FIG. 90. — BESIEGING A DACIAN CITY. (From Trajan's Column)

passed into the hands of the able commander Trajan, whom Nerva had previously made his associate in the government.

409. **Reign of Trajan** (A.D. 98–117). — Trajan was a native of Spain and a soldier by profession and talent. He was the first provincial to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. From this time forward provincials were to play a part of ever-increasing importance in the affairs of the Empire.

It was the policy of Augustus — a policy adopted by most of his successors — to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman Empire in those respective quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers. In the early part of his reign he was busied in wars against the Dacians, a people living

north of the Lower Danube. These troublesome enemies were subjugated, and Dacia was made into a province. The modern name Rumania is a monument of this Roman conquest and colonization beyond the Danube. The Rumanians to-day speak a language that in its main elements is largely of Latin origin.[4]

In the latter years of his reign Trajan led his legions to the East, crossed the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from the Parthians most of the lands which once formed the heart of the Assyrian monarchy. Out of the territories he had conquered Trajan made three new provinces, which bore the ancient names of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

To Trajan belongs the distinction of having extended the boundaries of the Empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were ever able to push them.

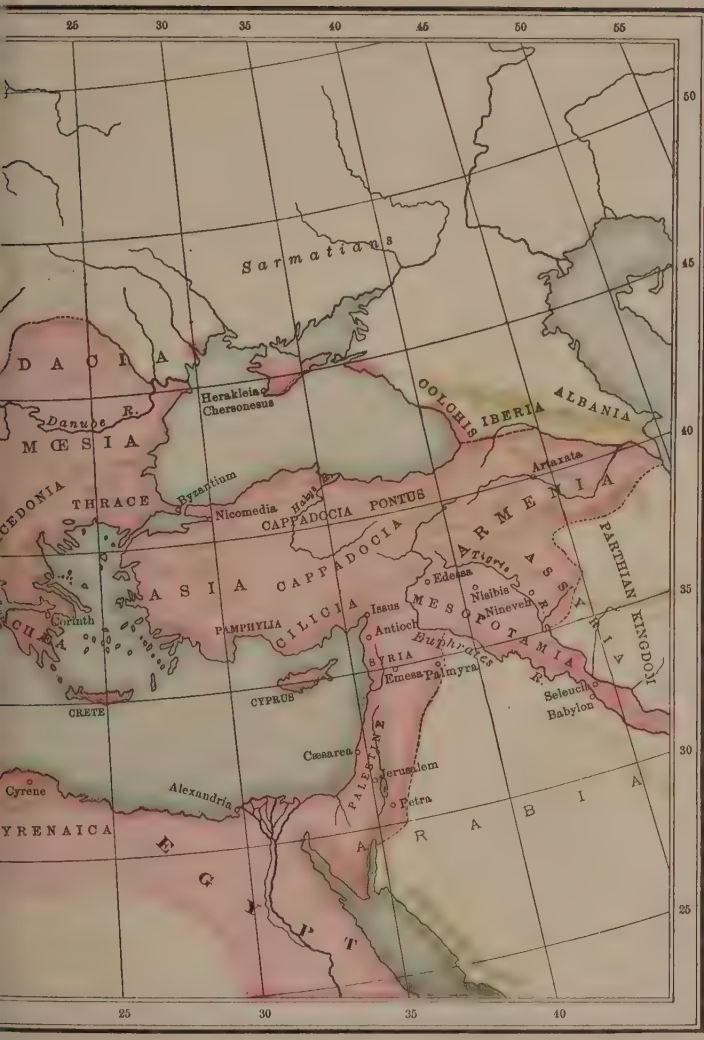
Respecting the rapid spread of Christianity at this time, the character of the early professors of the new faith, and the light in which they were viewed by the rulers of the Roman world, we have very important evidence in a certain letter written by Pliny the Younger to the Emperor in regard to the Christians of Pontus, in Asia Minor, of which remote province Pliny was governor. Pliny speaks of the new creed as a "contagious superstition that had seized not cities only but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Yet he could find no fault in the converts to the new doctrines. Nevertheless, because the Christians steadily refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, he ordered many to be put to death for their "inflexible obstinacy."

Trajan died A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, one of the most prosperous and fortunate that had yet befallen the lot of the Roman people.

410. Reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). — Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He prudently abandoned the territory that had been acquired by Trajan beyond the Euphrates, and made that stream once more the eastern boundary of the Empire.

[4] The Romanic-speaking peoples of Rumania and the neighboring regions number about ten millions.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT
(Under Trajan, A. D. 98-117)



Sarmatians
DACIA
Herakleia
Chersonesus
Danube R.
MŒSIA
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Halys R.
CAPPADOCIA
PONTUS
THRACE
CEDONIA
CAPPADOCIA
ASIA
Tigris R.
ASSYRIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Edessa
Nisibis
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
Issus
Antioch
CILICIA
PAMPHYLIA
Corinth
CHEA
Euphrates R.
SYRIA
Emesa
Palmyra
Seleucia
Babylon
CYPRUS
CRETE
Cæsarea
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Petra
Cyrene
Alexandria
YRENAICA
ARABIA
EGYPT
25
30
35
40
45
50
55

More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the Empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there against the Picts and Scots by erecting a continuous rampart, known as Hadrian's Wall, across the island from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. This wall, in places well preserved, can still be traced over the low hills of the English moorlands almost from sea to sea. There exists nowhere in the lands that once formed the provinces of the empire of Rome any more impressive memorial of her world-wide dominion than these

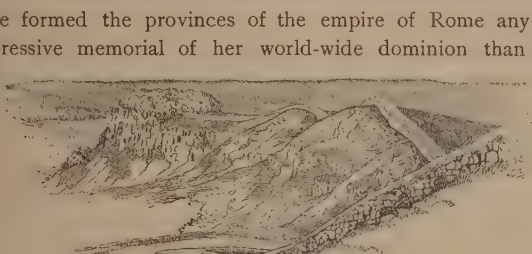


FIG. 91. — THE HADRIAN WALL. (From a photograph)

ramparts, along which for three hundred years and more her sentinels kept watch and ward for civilization against the barbarian marauders of Caledonia.

In the year 132 the Jews in Palestine, who had in a measure recovered from the blow Titus had given their nation, broke out in desperate revolt, because of the planting of a Roman colony upon the almost desolate site of Jerusalem, and the placing of the statue of Jupiter in the holy temple. More than half a million of Jews are said to have perished in the hopeless struggle, and the most of the survivors were driven into exile, — the last dispersion of the race (A.D. 135).

411. **The Antonines** (A.D. 138–180). — Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian, and his successor, gave

the Roman Empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years the Empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which fact, as many have not failed to observe, illustrates admirably the oft-repeated epigram, "Happy is that people whose annals are brief."

Antoninus, early in his reign, had united with himself in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. The studious habits of Aurelius won for him the title of Philosopher. He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His *Meditations* make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of pagan antiquity.

Aurelius would have chosen a life passed in quiet and study at the capital; but hostile movements of the Parthians, and especially invasions of the barbarians along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers, called him from his books and forced him to spend most of the latter years of his reign in the camp. The Parthians, who had violated their treaty with Rome, were chastised by the lieutenants of the Emperor, and a part of Mesopotamia again fell under Roman authority (A.D. 165).

This war drew after it a series of terrible calamities. The returning soldiers brought with them the Asiatic plague, which swept off vast numbers, especially in Italy, where entire cities and districts were depopulated. In the general distress and panic the people were led to believe that it was the new sect of Christians that had called down upon the nation the anger of the gods. Aurelius permitted a fearful persecution to be instituted against them, during which the celebrated Christian fathers, Justin Martyr at Rome and the aged Polycarp at Smyrna, suffered death.

It should be noted that the persecution of the Christians under the pagan emperors sprang from political rather than religious motives, and that is why we find the names of the best emperors, as well as those of the worst, in the list of persecutors. It was believed that the welfare of the state was bound up with

the careful performance of the rites of the national worship; and hence, while the Roman rulers were usually very tolerant, allowing all forms of worship among their subjects, still they required that men of every faith should at least recognize the Roman gods and burn incense before their statues. This the Christians steadily refused to do. The neglect of the temple services it was believed angered the gods and endangered the safety of the state, bringing upon it drought, pestilence, and every disaster. This was a main reason of their persecution by the pagan emperors.

But pestilence and persecution were both forgotten amidst the imperative calls for immediate help that now came from the North. The barbarians were pushing in the Roman outposts and pouring over the frontiers. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions and hurried beyond the Alps. He checked the inroads of the barbarians, but could not subdue them. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna) in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 180).

Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after ages."

412. **The State of the Provinces.** — The close of the auspicious era of the Antonines invites us to cast a glance over the Empire, in order that we may note the condition of the population at large. As we have already observed, the great revolution which brought in the Empire was a revolution which redounded to the interests of the provincials. Even under the worst emperors the administration of affairs in the provinces was as a rule prudent, humane, and just. It is probably true that, embracing in a single view all the countries included in the Roman Empire, the second century of the Christian era marks the happiest period in their history. Without question there is no basis for a comparison, but only for a contrast, between the condition of the countries of the East and of North Africa under the earlier Roman emperors

and the condition of the same lands to-day under their Mohammedan rulers.

The cities of the Eastern countries, as well as hundreds of similar communities in Spain, in Gaul, in Britain, and in other lands of the West, were enjoying, under the admirable municipal system developed by the Romans, a measure of local self-government probably equal to that enjoyed to-day by the municipalities of the most advanced of the countries of modern Europe. This wise system had preserved or developed the sentiment of local

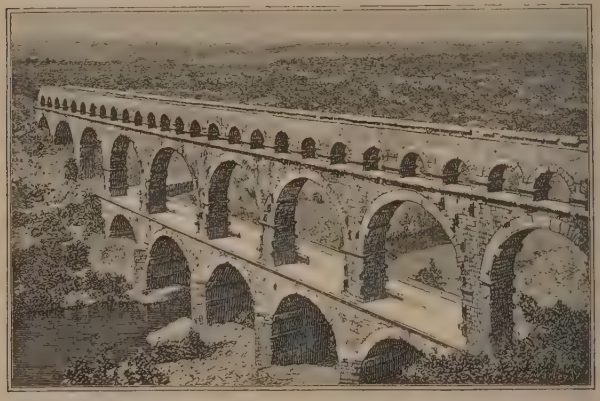


FIG. 92. — ROMAN AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE
(Present condition)

This aqueduct was built by the Emperor Antoninus Pius

patriotism and civic pride. The cities vied with one another in the erection of theaters, amphitheaters, baths, temples, and triumphal arches, and in the construction of aqueducts, bridges, and other works of a utilitarian nature. In these undertakings they were aided not only by liberal contributions made by the emperors from the imperial treasury but by the generous gifts and bequests of individual citizens. Private munificence of this character was as remarkable a feature of this age as is the liberality of individuals at the present day in the endowment of

educational and charitable institutions. As the representative of this form of ancient liberality, we have Herodes Atticus (about A.D. 104–180), a native of Athens. He was the Andrew Carnegie of his time. With a truly royal munificence he built at his own expense at Athens a splendid marble stadium large enough to hold the entire population of the city. To the city of Troas in Asia Minor he made a gift equivalent to over a half million dollars to aid the inhabitants in the construction of an aqueduct.

Scores of majestic ruins scattered throughout the lands once forming the provinces of the ancient Empire of Rome bear impressive testimony not only as to the populousness, culture, and enterprise of the urban communities of the Roman dominions but also as to the generally wise, fostering, and beneficent character of the earlier imperial rule.

413. Reign of Commodus (A.D. 180–192). — Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, was a most unworthy successor of his illustrious father. For three years, however, surrounded by the able generals and wise counselors that the prudent administration of the preceding emperors had drawn to the head of affairs, Commodus ruled with fairness and lenity, when an unsuccessful conspiracy against his life seemed suddenly to kindle all the slumbering passions of a Nero. He secured the favor of the rabble with the shows of the amphitheater and purchased the support of the prætorians with bribes and flatteries. Thus he was enabled for ten years to retain the throne, while perpetrating all manner of cruelties and staining the imperial purple with the most detestable crimes.

Commodus had a passion for gladiatorial combats. Attired in a lion's skin and armed with the club of Hercules, he valiantly set upon and slew antagonists arrayed to represent mythological monsters and armed with great sponges for rocks. The servile Senate conferred upon him the title of the Roman Hercules. The Empire was finally relieved of the insane tyrant by some members of the royal household, who anticipated his designs against themselves and put him to death.

414. "The Barrack Emperors." — For nearly a century after the death of Commodus (from A.D. 192 to 284) the emperors

were elected by the army, and hence the rulers for this period have been called "the Barrack Emperors." The character of the period is revealed by the fact that of the twenty-five emperors who mounted the throne during this time all except four came to death by violence. To internal disorders was added the terror of barbarian invasions. On every side savage hordes were breaking into the Empire to rob, to murder, and to burn.

415. The Public Sale of the Empire (A.D. 193). — The beginning of these troublous times was marked by a shameful proceeding on the part of the prætorians. These soldiers, having slain the successor of Commodus, gave out notice that they would sell the Empire to the highest bidder. It was accordingly set up for sale at their camp and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who promised twenty-five thousand sesterces to each of the twelve thousand soldiers at this time composing the guard. So the price of the Empire was three hundred million sesterces ($12,000,000).

As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose in indignant revolt. Each army proclaimed its favorite commander Emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The prætorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their Emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days. As a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state the unworthy prætorians were disbanded and banished from the capital, and a new bodyguard of fifty thousand legionaries was organized to take their place.

416. Reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211–217). — Severus, after a prosperous reign, died in Britain, leaving the Empire to his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Caracalla murdered his brother and then ordered Papinian, the celebrated jurist, to make a public argument in vindication of the fratricide. When that great lawyer

refused, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he put him to death. Driven by remorse and fear, he fled from the capital and wandered about the provinces. At Alexandria, on account of some uncomplimentary remarks made by the citizens upon his personal appearance, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Finally, after a reign of six years, the monster was slain in Syria.

FIG. 93. — CARACALLA. (Museum at Naples)

Caracalla's sole political act of real importance was the bestowal of citizenship upon all the free inhabitants of the Empire; and this he did, not to give them a just privilege, but that he might collect from them certain special taxes which only Roman citizens had to pay. Before the reign of Caracalla it was only particular classes of the provincials, or the inhabitants of some particular city or province, that, as a mark of special favor, had from time to time been admitted to the rights of citizenship. But by this wholesale act of Caracalla the entire free population of the Empire outside of Italy that did not already possess the rights of the city was made Roman, at least in name and nominal privilege. That vast work of making the whole world Roman, the beginnings of which we saw in the dawn of Roman history (sec. 301), was now completed.[5]

[5] It must not be supposed, however, that the edict of Caracalla did much more than register an already accomplished fact. It seems probable that by this time the greater part of the freemen of the Empire were already enjoying the Roman franchise.

417. The Age of the Thirty Tyrants (A.D. 251–268). — For about a generation after Caracalla the imperial scepter passed rapidly from the hands of one emperor to those of another. Then came the so-called Age of the Thirty Tyrants. The throne being held by weak emperors, there sprang up in every part of the Empire competitors for it, — several rivals frequently appearing in the field at the same time. The barbarians pressed upon all the frontiers and thrust themselves into all the provinces. The Empire seemed on the point of falling to pieces. But a fortunate succession of five good emperors — Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus (A.D. 268–284) — restored for a time the ancient boundaries and again forced together into some sort of union the fragments of the shattered state.

The most noted of the usurpers of authority in the provinces during this period of anarchy was Zenobia, the ruler of the celebrated city of Palmyra in the Syrian desert. Boldly assuming the title of "Queen of the East," she bade defiance to Rome. The Emperor Aurelian led in person an army against her. After a long siege Palmyra was taken and, in punishment for a second uprising, given to the flames. The ruins of the city are among the most interesting remains of Græco-Roman civilization in the East.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Persecution of the Christians under Nero. 2. Pompeii and what we learn of Roman life from its remains. 3. Marcus Aurelius; his *Meditations*. 4. Zenobia, Queen of the East.

CHAPTER XXXIII

DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

I. The Reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305)

418. General Statement. — The accession of Diocletian marks an important era in the history of the Roman Empire. The two matters of chief importance connected with his reign are the changes he effected in the government and his persecution of the Christians.

Diocletian's governmental reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.

419. The Empire becomes an Undisguised Oriental Monarchy. — Up to the time we have now reached the really monarchical character of the government had been more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old Republic. Realizing that republican government among the Romans had passed away forever, and that its forms were now absolutely meaningless, Diocletian cast aside all the masks with which Augustus had concealed his practically unlimited power and which fear or policy had led his successors, with greater or less consistency, to retain, and let the government stand forth naked in its true character as an absolute Asiatic monarchy. In contrasting the policy of Augustus with that of Diocletian, Gibbon truly says, "It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded powers which the emperors possessed over the Roman world."

The change was marked by Diocletian's assumption of the titles of Asiatic royalty and his adoption of the court ceremonials and etiquette of the East. All who approached him were required to prostrate themselves to the ground, a form of Oriental and

servile adoration which the free races of the West had hitherto, with manly disdain, refused to render to their magistrates and rulers.

420. Changes in the Administrative System. — The century of anarchy which preceded the accession of Diocletian, and the death by assassination during this period of ten of the twenty-five wearers of the imperial purple,[1] had made manifest the need of a system which would discourage assassination and provide a regular mode of succession to the throne. Diocletian devised a system the aim of which was to compass both these ends. First, he chose as a colleague a companion ruler, Maximian, who, like himself, bore the title of Augustus. Then each of the co-emperors associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar and was considered the son and heir of the Emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars. Milan, in Italy, became the capital and residence of Maximian, while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the younger and more active Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, were assigned the government of the more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the Empire was thus secured.

A most serious drawback to this system was the heavy expense involved in the maintenance of four courts with their endless retinues of officers and dependents. It was complained that the number of those who received the revenues of the state was greater than that of those who contributed to them. The burden of taxation grew unendurable. The magistrates of the cities and towns were made responsible for the payment of the taxes due the government from their respective communities, and hence officeholding became not an honor to be coveted but a burden to be evaded. It was this vicious system of taxation which more than any other one cause, after slavery, contributed to the depopulation, impoverishment, and final downfall of the Empire.

[1] This enumeration does not include the so-called Thirty Tyrants, of whom many met death by violence.

421. Persecution of the Christians. — Towards the end of his reign Diocletian inaugurated against the Christians a persecution which continued long after his abdication, and which was the severest, as it was the last, waged against the Church by the pagan emperors. The Christians were cast into dungeons, thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheater, burned over a slow fire, and put to death by every other mode of torture that ingenious cruelty could devise. But nothing could shake their constancy. They courted the death that secured them, as they firmly believed, immediate entrance upon an existence of unending happiness. The exhibition of devotion and steadfastness shown by the martyrs won multitudes to the persecuted faith.

It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sometimes sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subterranean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome. Here they buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their hope and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.

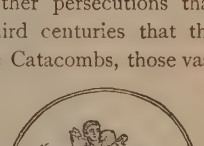

FIG. 94. — CHRIST AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD
(From the Catacombs)

422. The Abdication of Diocletian (A.D. 304). — After a prosperous reign of twenty years, becoming weary of the cares of state, Diocletian abdicated the throne and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars.

Diocletian retired to his country seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor with him to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied, "Were you but to come to Salona and see the cabbages which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire."

II. Reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337)

423. The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (A.D. 312); **"In this Sign conquer."** — Galerius and Constantius, who became Augusti on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, had reigned together only one year when the latter died at York, in Britain. His soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine Emperor Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought before he gained the supremacy.

Fig. 95. — The Labarum

One of the most important of the battles that took place between the contending rivals for the imperial purple was the battle of the Milvian Bridge, about two miles from Rome. Constantine's standard on this celebrated battlefield was the Christian cross. He had been led to adopt this emblem through the appearance, as once he prayed to the sun-god, of a cross over the setting sun, with this inscription above it: "In this sign conquer."[2] Obedient unto the celestial vision, Constantine had at once made the cross his banner,[3] and it was beneath this new emblem that his soldiers marched to victory at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

This act of Constantine constitutes a turning point in the history of the Roman Empire, and especially in that of the Christian Church. Christianity had come into the world as a religion of peace and good will. The Master had commanded his disciples to put up the sword, and had forbidden its use by them either in the spread or in the defense of the new faith. For three centuries now his followers had obeyed literally this injunction of the Founder of the Church, so that a Quaker, non-military spirit had up to this time characterized the new sect. By many of the early Christians the profession of arms had been declared to be incompatible with the Christian life.

[2] *In hoc signo vinces;* in Greek, *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.*

[3] The new standard was called the *Labarum* (from the Celtic *lavar*, command).

Now in a moment all this was changed. The most sacred emblem of the new faith was made a battle standard, and into the new religion was infused the military spirit of the imperial government that had made that emblem the ensign of the state. From the day of the battle at the Milvian Bridge a martial spirit has animated the religion of the Prince of Peace. Since then Christian warriors have often made the cross their battle standard. This infusion into the Church of the military spirit of Rome

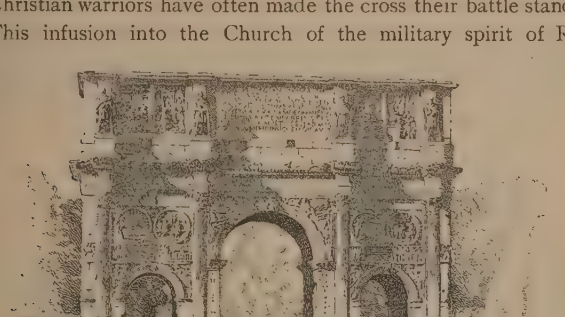

FIG. 96. — ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME, AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

Erected by the Roman Senate in commemoration of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge

was one of the most important consequences of the espousal of the Christian cause by the Emperor Constantine.

424. Constantine makes Christianity the Religion of the Court. — By a decree issued at Milan A.D. 313, the year after the battle at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine placed Christianity on an equal footing with the other religions of the Empire. The language of this famous edict of toleration, the Magna Carta, as it has been called, of the Church, was as follows: "We grant to Christians and to all others full liberty of following that religion which each may choose."

But by subsequent edicts Constantine made Christianity in effect the state religion and extended to it a patronage which he withheld from the old pagan worship. By the year A.D. 321 he had granted the Christian societies the right to receive gifts and legacies, and he himself enriched the Church with donations of money and grants of land. This marks the beginning of the great possessions of the Church, and with these the entrance into it of a worldly spirit. From this moment can be traced the decay of its primitive simplicity and a decline from its early high moral standard. It is these deplorable results of the imperial patronage that Dante laments in his well-known lines:

> Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother,
> Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
> Which the first wealthy Father took from thee![4]

Another of Constantine's acts touching the new religion is of special historical interest and importance. He recognized the Christian Sunday, "the day of the sun," as a day of rest, forbidding ordinary work on that day, and ordering that Christian soldiers be then permitted to attend the services of their Church. This recognition by the civil authority of the Christian Sabbath meant much for the slave. Now, for the first time in the history of the Aryan peoples, the slave had one day of rest in each week. It was a good augury of the happier time coming when all the days should be his own.

425. **The Church Council of Nicæa** (A.D. 325). — With a view to settling the controversy between the Arians and the Athanasians[5] respecting the nature of Christ, — the former denied his equality with God the Father, — Constantine called the first Œcumenical or General Council of the Church at Nicæa, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

[4] *Inferno*, xix, 115–117.

[5] The Arians were the followers of Arius, a presbyter of Alexander in Egypt; the Athanasians, of Athanasius, archdeacon and later bishop of the same city, and the champion of the orthodox or Catholic view of the Trinity.

426. Constantine founds Constantinople, the New Rome, on the Bosporus (A.D. 330). — After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosporus, as the new capital of the Empire. One reason which led the Emperor to select a new seat for his court and government was the ungracious conduct towards him of the inhabitants of Rome, because he had abandoned the worship of the old national deities. But there were also military reasons, the most dangerous enemies of the Empire being now in the East, and also social and political reasons, since through the Eastern conquests of Rome the center of population, wealth, and culture of the Empire had shifted eastward.

The imperial invitation and the attractions of the court induced multitudes to crowd into the new capital, so that almost in a day the old Byzantium grew into a great city. In honor of the Emperor the name was changed to Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." The old Rome on the Tiber, emptied of its leading inhabitants, soon sank to the obscure position of a provincial town.

427. The Reorganization of the Government. — Another of Constantine's important acts was the reorganization of the government. In this great reform he seems to have followed, in the main, the broad lines drawn by Diocletian, so that his work may be regarded as a continuation of that of his predecessor.

To aid in the administration of the government, Constantine laid out the Empire into four great divisions called prefectures, which were subdivided into thirteen dioceses, and these again into one hundred and sixteen provinces. The purpose that Constantine had in view in laying out the Empire in so many and such small provinces was to diminish the power of the provincial governors, and thus make it impossible for them to raise successfully the standard of revolt.

428. The Pagan Restoration under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361–363). — A troubled period of nearly a quarter of a century followed the death of Constantine the Great, and then the imperial scepter came into the hands of Julian, called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the

pagan worship. In his efforts to restore paganism, however, Julian did not resort to the old means of persuasion, — "the sword, the fire, the lions." One reason why he did not was because under the softening influences of the very faith he sought to extirpate, the Roman world had already become imbued with a gentleness and humanity that rendered morally impossible the renewal of the Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian's chief weapon was the pen, for he was a writer and satirist of no mean talent.

It was in vain that the apostate Emperor labored to uproot the new faith; for the purity of its teachings, the universal and eternal character of its moral precepts, had given it a name to live. Equally in vain were his efforts to restore the worship of the old Greek and Roman divinities. Polytheism was a form of religious belief which the world had now outgrown; Great Pan was dead.

The disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians were removed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363–364). In the army the old pagan standards were replaced by the Labarum, and Christianity was again made the religion of the imperial court.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The two types of government, — the free popular government of the classical peoples and the absolute monarchy of the Asiatics. 2. The Christian Sabbath. 3. The Council of Nicæa. 4. The founding of Constantinople. 5. Julian and the pagan restoration.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

(A.D. 376–476)

429. Introductory: the Germans and Christianity. — The two most vital elements in the Græco-Roman world of the fifth century were the German barbarians and Christianity. They had, centuries before this, as we have seen, come into certain relations to the Roman government and to Roman life; but during the period lying immediately before us they assumed an altogether new historical interest and importance.

The two main matters, then, which will claim our attention during the century yet remaining for our study, will be (1) the struggle between the dying Empire and the young German races of the North; and (2) the final triumph of Christianity, through the aid of the temporal power, over expiring paganism.

430. The Goths cross the Danube (A.D. 376). — The year 376 of the Christian era marks an event of the greatest importance in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube appeared as suppliants in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Emperor Valens[1] to cross the river and settle in Thrace, and promised, should this request be granted, ever to remain the grateful and firm allies of the Roman state. Their petition was granted on condition that they surrender their arms and give up their children as hostages.

The enemy that had so terrified the Visigoths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen from the vast steppes

[1] Valens (A.D. 364–378) was Emperor of the East. Valentinian (A.D. 364–375), Emperor of the West, had just died, and been succeeded by Gratian (A.D. 375–383).

of Asia. Scarcely had the fugitives been received within the limits of the Empire before a large company of their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible enemy, crowded to the banks of the Danube and pleaded that they also might be allowed to place the river between themselves and their dreaded foe. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request, whereupon they crossed the river with arms in their hands.

Once within the Empire they, joined by their Visigothic kinsmen, soon began to overrun and ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens dispatched swift messengers to Gratian, Emperor in the West, asking for assistance; but without awaiting the arrival of the Western legions, he imprudently risked a battle with the barbarians near Adrianople. The Roman army was almost annihilated and Valens himself was killed (A.D. 378).

Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague Valens when news of his death was brought to him. He at once appointed as his associate Theodosius (A.D. 379–395), known afterwards as the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the East. Theodosius quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Great multitudes of them were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while more than forty thousand of these warlike barbarians, the destined subverters of the Empire, were enlisted in the imperial legions.

431. **The Prohibition of the Pagan Cults.** — Both Gratian and Theodosius were zealous champions of the orthodox Church, and a large portion of the edicts issued during their joint reign had for aim the uprooting of heresy or the suppression of the pagan worship. Speaking generally, from the accession of Constantine down to the time which we have now reached, the pagans had been allowed full liberty of worship. At first the pagans were merely placed under certain disabilities, but finally it was made a crime for any one to practice any pagan cult, or even to enter a temple. In the year A.D. 392 even the private worship of the Lares and Penates was prohibited. The struggle between Christianity and heathenism was now virtually ended — and the

"Galilean" had conquered. Pagan rites, however, were practiced secretly long after this. Especially did the old home cult of the Lares and Penates linger on in the country districts, from which circumstance the term *pagan* (from *paganus*, the dweller in a *pagus*, or village) came to indicate a follower of the ancient idolatry.

432. **Final Division of the Empire** (A.D. 395). — The Roman world was united practically for the last time under Theodosius the Great. From A.D. 392 to 395 he ruled as sole Emperor. Just before his death he divided the Empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, assigning the former, who was only eighteen years of age, the government of the East, and giving the latter, a mere child of eleven, the sovereignty of the West. This division was not to affect the unity of the Empire. There was to be but one Empire, although there were to be two emperors. But as a matter of fact so different was the course of events in the two halves of the old Empire that from this on we shall find it convenient to trace the history of each division separately.

433. **The Empire in the East.** — The story of the fortunes of the Empire in the East need not detain us long here. The line of Eastern emperors lasted over a thousand years, — until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the overthrow of the Empire in the West the emperors of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of different barbarian tribes.

434. **First Invasion of Italy by Alaric** (A.D. 402–403). — Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all parts of the Empire. First, from Thrace and Mœsia came the Visigoths, led by the great Alaric. They poured through the Pass of Thermopylæ and devastated almost the entire peninsula of Greece; but being driven from that country by Stilicho, the renowned Vandal general of Honorius, they crossed the Julian

Alps and spread terror throughout Italy. Stilicho followed the barbarians cautiously, and, attacking them at a favorable moment, inflicted a terrible and double defeat upon them at Pollentia and Verona (A.D. 402–403). The captured camp was found filled with the spoils of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta. Gathering the remnants of his shattered army, Alaric forced his way with difficulty through the defiles of the Alps and escaped.

435. **Last Triumph at Rome** (A.D. 404). — A terrible danger had been averted. All Italy burst forth in expressions of gratitude and joy. The days of the Cimbri and Teutons were recalled, and the name of Stilicho was coupled with that of Marius (sec. 366). A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the victory. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. Three hundred times — such is asserted to be the number — the Imperial City had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

436. **Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheater.** — The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome signalizes also the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheater. It is to Christianity that the credit of the suppression of these inhuman exhibitions is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. Thus Pliny commends a friend for giving a gladiatorial entertainment at the funeral of his wife. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldiers to the sights of the battlefield. Hence gladiatorial games were sometimes actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns.

But the Christian Fathers denounced the combats as immoral, and labored in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. At length, in A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. From this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until their final abolition was brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk, named Telemachus, descending into the arena, rushed

between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of missiles thrown by the people, who were angered by his interruption of their sport. The people, however, soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheater."

437. The Ransom of Rome (A.D. 409). — Shortly after the victory of Stilicho over the German barbarians, he came under the suspicion of the weak and jealous Honorius, and was executed. Thus fell the great general whose sword and counsel had twice saved Rome from the barbarians,[2] and who might again have averted similar dangers that were now at hand. Listening to the rash counsel of his unworthy advisers, Honorius provoked to revolt the thirty thousand Gothic mercenaries in the Roman legions by a massacre of their wives and children, who were held as hostages in the different cities of Italy. The Goths beyond the Alps joined with their kinsmen to avenge the perfidious act. Alaric again crossed the mountains, and led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the time of the dread Hannibal (sec. 344) — more than six hundred years before this — had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls.

Famine soon forced the Romans to sue for terms of surrender. The ambassadors of the Senate, when they came before Alaric, began, in lofty language, to warn him not to render the Romans desperate by hard or dishonorable terms: their fury when driven to despair, they represented, was terrible, and their number enormous. "The thicker the grass, the easier to mow it," was Alaric's derisive reply. The barbarian chieftain at length named the ransom that he would accept and spare the city. Small as it comparatively was, the Romans were able to raise it only by the

[2] Shortly after the Gothic invasion of the year 403, Italy was again invaded by a mixed German host led by a chieftain named Radagaisus. At Florence the barbarians were surrounded by the Roman army under Stilicho and forced to surrender.

most extraordinary measures. The images of the gods were first stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, and finally the statues themselves were melted down.

438. Sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410). — Upon retiring from Rome, Alaric established his camp in Etruria. The chieftain now demanded for his followers lands of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe behind the marshes of Ravenna; but the Emperor treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence.

Rome paid the penalty. Alaric turned upon the city, resolved upon its sack and plunder. The barbarians broke into the capital by night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Precisely eight hundred years had passed since its sack by the Gauls (sec. 316). During that time the Imperial City had carried its victorious standards over three continents, and had gathered within the temples of its gods and the palaces of its nobles the plunder of the world. Now it was given over for a spoil to the fierce tribes from beyond the Danube.

Alaric commanded his soldiers to respect the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian churches; but the wealth of the citizens he permitted them to make their own. For six days and nights the rough barbarians trooped through the streets of the city on their mission of pillage. Their wagons were heaped with the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the silken garments stripped from the palace of the Cæsars and the residences of the wealthy patricians. Amidst the license of the sack, the barbarian instincts of the robbers broke loose from all restraint, and the streets of the city were wet with blood, while the nights were lighted by burning buildings.

439. Effects of the Disaster upon Paganism. — The overwhelming disaster that had befallen the Imperial City produced a profound impression upon both pagans and Christians throughout the Roman world. The pagans asserted that these unutterable calamities had overtaken the Roman people because of their abandonment of the worship of the gods of their forefathers, under whose protection and favor Rome had become the mistress of the world.

The Christians, on the other hand, saw in the fall of the city the fulfillment of the prophecies of their Scriptures against the Babylon of the Apocalypse. It was this interpretation of the appalling calamity that gained credit amidst the panic and despair of the times. "Henceforth," says the historian Merivale, "the power of paganism was entirely broken, and the indications which occasionally meet us of its continued existence are rare and trifling. Christianity stepped into its deserted inheritance."

440. The Death of Alaric (A.D. 410). — After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other districts of Southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars, and drank from jeweled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric's designs of conquest in Africa were frustrated by his death, which occurred A.D. 410. With religious care his followers secured the body of their hero against molestation. The little river Busentinus, in Northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

441. The Disintegration of the Empire and the Beginnings of the Barbarian Kingdoms (A.D. 410–451).[8] — We must now turn our eyes from Rome and Italy in order to watch the movement of events in the western provinces of the Empire. During the forty years following the sack of Rome by Alaric, the German tribes seized the greater part of these provinces and established in them what are known as the "Barbarian Kingdoms."

The Goths who had pillaged Rome and Italy, after the death of their great chieftain Alaric, under the lead of his successors,

[8] We choose these dates for the reason that they set off the interval between two great events, — the sack of Rome by Alaric and the battle of Châlons (sec. 442).

recrossed the Alps, and establishing their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, set up finally in those regions what is known as the Kingdom of the Visigoths or West Goths (sec. 475).

While the Goths were making these migrations and settlements, a kindred but less civilized tribe, the Vandals, moving from their seat in Pannonia, traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and there occupied for a time a large tract of country, which in its present name of *Andalusia* preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. Then they crossed the straits of Gibraltar, overthrew the Roman authority in all North Africa, and made Carthage the seat of a dreaded corsair empire (sec. 477).

About this same time the Burgundians established themselves in Southeastern Gaul. A portion of the region occupied by these settlers still retains from them the name of *Burgundy*.

Meanwhile the Franks, who about a century before the sack of Rome by Alaric had made their first settlement in Roman territory west of the Rhine, were increasing in numbers and in authority, and were laying the basis of what after the fall of Rome was to become known as the Kingdom of the Franks, — the beginning of the French nation of to-day (sec. 478).

442. Invasion of the Huns; Battle of Châlons (A.D. 451). — The barbarians who were thus overrunning and parceling out the inheritance of the dying Empire were now in turn pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than they themselves were in the eyes of the Roman provincials. These were the non-Aryan Huns, of whom we have already caught a glimpse as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube (sec. 430). At this time their leader was Attila, whom the affrighted inhabitants of Europe called the "Scourge of God." It was Attila's boast that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of his horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern Emperor and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. Finally he turned westward, and, at the head of a host numbering, it is asserted, seven hundred thousand warriors, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, purposing first to ravage that province and then to traverse Italy

with fire and sword, in order to destroy the last vestige of the Roman power. The Romans and their German conquerors united to make common cause against the common enemy. The Visigoths rallied about their king, Theodoric; the Italians, the Franks, the Burgundians flocked to the standard of the Roman general Aëtius.[4] Attila drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of Châlons, in the north of Gaul, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The conflict was long and terrible, but at last fortune turned against the barbarians, whose losses were enormous. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine.

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history; for it decided that the Christian German folk, and not the pagan Scythic Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring Roman Empire and control the destinies of Europe.

443. **Attila threatens Rome; his Death** (A.D. 453?). — The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila crossed the Alps and burned or plundered all the important cities of Northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings there grew up in time the city of Venice, "the eldest daughter of the Roman Empire," the "Carthage of the Middle Ages."

The barbarians threatened Rome; but Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila how death had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the Imperial City as a spoil to his warriors, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of Heaven. Attila was induced to spare the city and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube he died suddenly in his camp, and like Alaric was buried secretly.

444. **Sack of Rome by the Vandals** (A.D. 455). — Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new

[4] Aëtius has been called "the last of the Romans." For twenty years previous to this time he had been the upholder of the imperial authority in Gaul.

destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sent out another enemy whose greed for plunder proved more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal. The kings of the Vandal empire in North Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the Western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed all the shore lands. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet led by the dread Geiseric sailed up the Tiber.

Panic seized the people, for the name Vandal was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of Attila, went forth to intercede in the name of Christ for the Imperial City. Geiseric granted to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the movable property of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them, with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories.[5] From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred things that Titus had stolen from the temple at Jerusalem (sec. 405).

The greed of the barbarians was sated at last, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet sailed for Carthage, bearing, besides the plunder of the city,[6] more than thirty thousand of the inhabitants as slaves. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Scipio had fallen true (sec. 359). The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged city that the Vandals left behind them.

[5] It would seem that, in some instances at least, after the closing of the temples to the pagan worship, many of the sacred things, such as war trophies, were left undisturbed in the edifices where they had been placed during pagan times.

[6] "The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost." — MERIVALE.

445. End of the Roman Empire in the West (A.D. 476). — Only the shadow of the Empire in the West now remained. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Africa were in the hands of the Franks, the Vandals, the Goths, and various other intruding tribes. Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the barbarians. The story of the twenty years following the sack of the capital by Geiseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating. During these years several puppet emperors were set up by army leaders. The last was a child of only six years. By what has been called a freak of fortune this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman Emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and the establisher of the Empire. He became known as Augustulus, — "the little Augustus." He reigned only one year, when Odoacer, the leader of the Heruli, a small but formidable German tribe, dethroned the child-emperor.

The Roman Senate now sent to Constantinople an embassy with the royal vestments and the insignia of the imperial office to represent to the Eastern Emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of "patrician," might rule Italy as his viceroy. This was granted; and Italy now became in effect a province of the Empire in the East (A.D. 476).

446. The Import of the Break-up of the Roman Empire in the West. — The destruction of the Roman Empire in the West by the German barbarians is one of the most momentous events in history. It marks a turning point in the fortunes of mankind.

The revolution brought it about that for a long time the lamp of culture burned with lessened light. It brought in the so-called "Dark Ages." During this period the new race was slowly lifting itself to the level of culture that the Greeks and Romans had attained.

But the revolution meant much besides disaster and loss. It meant the enrichment of civilization through the incoming of a new and splendidly endowed race. Within the Empire during

several centuries three of the most vital elements of civilization, the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, had been gradually blending. Now was added a fourth factor, the Germanic. It is this element which has had very much to do in making modern civilization richer and more progressive than any preceding one.

The downfall of the Roman imperial government in the West was, further, an event of immense significance in the political world for the reason that it rendered possible the growth in Western Europe of several nations or states in place of the single Empire.

Another consequence of the fall of the Roman power in the West was the development of the Papacy. In the absence of an emperor in the West the popes rapidly gained influence and power, and soon built up an ecclesiastical empire that in some respects took the place of the old Empire and carried on its civilizing work.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Manners and customs of the Germans. 2. Theodosius the Great and Bishop Ambrose. 3. Alaric the Goth. 4. Attila the Hun. 5. Causes of the downfall of the Empire in the West.

CHAPTER XXXV

ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, LAW, AND SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ROMANS

I. Architecture

447. Greek Origin of Roman Architecture: the Arch. — The architecture of the Romans was, in the main, an imitation of Greek models. But the Romans were not mere servile imitators. They not only modified the architectural forms they borrowed, but they gave their structures a distinct character by the prominent use of the arch, which the Greek and Oriental builders seldom employed, though they were acquainted with its principle. By means of it the Roman builders vaulted the roofs of the largest buildings, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood to the present day.

448. Sacred Edifices. — The temples of the Romans were in general so like those of the Greeks that we need not here take space to enter into a particular description of them. Mention, however, should be made of their circular vaulted temples, as this was a style of building almost exclusively Italian. The best representative of this style of sacred edifices is the Pantheon at Rome, which has come down to our own times in a state of wonderful preservation. This structure is about one hundred and forty feet in diameter. The immense concrete dome which vaults the building is one of the boldest pieces of masonry executed by the master builders of the world.

449. Circuses, Theaters, and Amphitheaters. — The circuses of the Romans were what we should call race courses. There were several at Rome, the most celebrated being the Circus Maximus, which was first laid out in the time of the Tarquins and afterwards enlarged as the population of the capital increased until it was capable of holding two or three hundred thousand spectators.

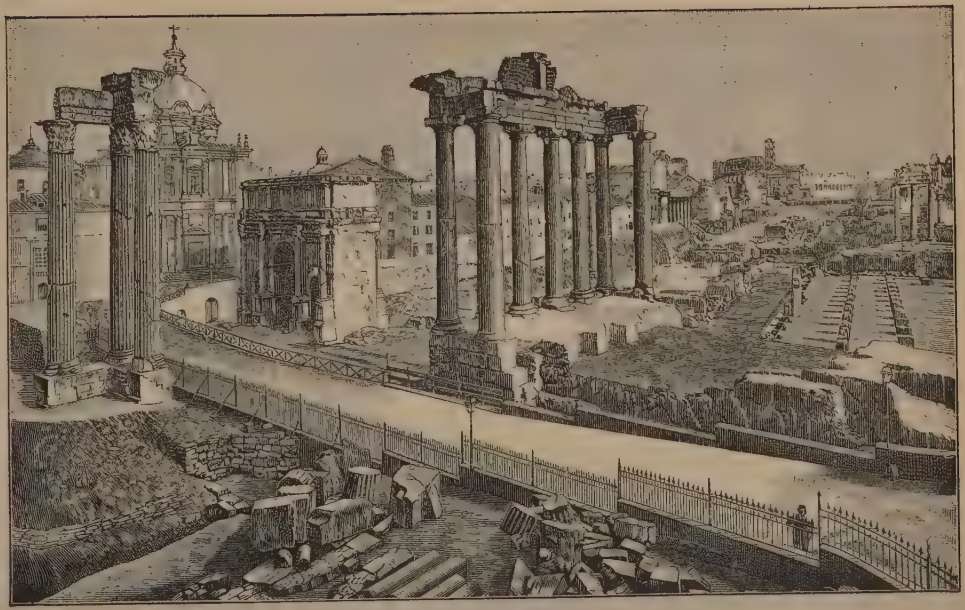


FIG. 97. — THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1885

The Romans borrowed the plan of their theaters from the Greeks; their amphitheaters, however, were original with them. The Flavian amphitheater, known as the Colosseum, was five hundred and seventy-four feet in its greatest diameter, and was capable of seating over forty thousand spectators.[1] The ruins of

FIG. 98. — THE COLOSSEUM. (From a photograph)

this immense structure stand to-day as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the Roman Empire."

450. Aqueducts. — The aqueducts of ancient Rome were among the most important of the utilitarian works of the Romans. The water system of the capital was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.). During the Republic four aqueducts in all were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to fourteen.[2] The longest of these was about fifty-five miles in length. The aqueducts usually ran beneath the surface, but when a depression was to be crossed they were lifted on arches, which sometimes were over one hundred feet high.[3] These lofty arches

[1] The old estimate of 80,000 is now regarded as an exaggeration.

[2] Several of these are still in use.

[3] The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they could not make large pipes strong enough to resist the very great pressure to which they would be subjected.

running in long, broken lines over the plains beyond the walls of Rome are to-day the most striking feature of the Campagna.

451. **Thermæ, or Baths.** — Among the ancient Romans bathing became in time a luxurious art. Under the Republic bathing houses were erected in considerable numbers. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures to which the name *Thermæ* properly attaches, were erected. These edifices were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial

FIG. 99. — THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT. (From a photograph)

works. They contained chambers for cold, hot, and swimming baths; dressing rooms and gymnasia; museums and libraries; covered colonnades for lounging and conversation; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation.[4] Being intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, they were thrown open to the public free of charge.

II. LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LAW

452. **Relation of Roman to Greek Literature: the Poets of the Republican Era.** — Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, being a reproduction of Greek models; nevertheless it

[4] Lanciani calls these imperial Thermæ "gigantic clubhouses, whither the voluptuary and the elegant youth repaired for pastime and enjoyment."

performed a most important service for civilization: it was the medium for the dissemination throughout the world of the rich literary treasures of Greece.

It was the dramatic productions of the Greeks which were first studied and copied at Rome. Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, and Terence, all of whom wrote under the Republic, are the most noted of the Roman dramatists. Most of their plays were simply adaptations or translations of Greek pieces.

During the later republican era there appeared two poets of distinguished merit, Lucretius and Catullus. Lucretius (95–51 B.C.) was an evolutionist, and in his great poem *On the Nature of Things* we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists.

453. Poets of the Augustan Age. — Three poets contributed to cast an unfading luster over the period covered by the reign of Augustus, — Vergil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), and Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 18). So distinguished have these writers rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature marked by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to this Roman era, an *Augustan Age* (sec. 397).

454. Satire and Satirists. —Satire thrives best in the reeking soil and tainted atmosphere of an age of selfishness, immorality, and vice. Such an age was that which followed the Augustan at Rome. Hence arose a succession of writers whose mastery of sharp and stinging satire has caused their productions to become the models of all subsequent attempts in the same species of literature. Two names stand out in special prominence, — Persius (A.D. 34–62) and Juvenal (about A.D. 40–120). After the death of Juvenal the Roman world produced not a single poet of preëminent merit.

455. Oratory among the Romans. — "Public oratory," as has been truly said, "is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it." We have seen this illustrated in the history of republican Athens (sec. 260). Equally well is the same truth exemplified by the records of the Roman state. All the great orators

of Rome arose under the Republic. Among these Hortensius (114–50 B.C.), a learned jurist, and Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) stand preëminent. Of these two Cicero is easily first, — "the most eloquent of all the sons of Romulus." [5]

456. Latin Historians. — Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame, — Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Of Cæsar and his *Commentaries on the Gallic War* we have learned in a previous chapter. His *Commentaries* will always be cited along with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon as a model of the narrative style of writing. Sallust (86–34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. The two works upon which his fame rests are the *Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War.*

Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is oftenest compared. His greatest work is his *Annals*, a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, only thirty-five of the one hundred and forty-two books [6] of this admirable production have been preserved. Many have been the laments over "the lost books of Livy." As a chronicle of actual events, Livy's history, particularly in its earlier parts, is very unreliable; however, it is invaluable as an account of what the Romans themselves believed respecting the founding of their city and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

The most highly prized work of Tacitus is his *Germania*, a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans. In this work Tacitus sets in strong contrast the virtues of the untutored Germans and the vices of the cultured Romans.

[5] Even more highly prized than his orations are his letters, for Cicero was a most delightful letter writer. His letters to his friend Atticus are among the most charming specimens of that species of composition.

[6] It should be borne in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Cæsar's *Gallic Wars*, which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books.

457. Science, Ethics, and Philosophy. — Under this head may be grouped the names of Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus.

Seneca (about A.D. 1–65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero (sec. 403). He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from those of Socrates.

FIG. 100. — SENECA
From the double bust of Seneca and Socrates in the Berlin Museum

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as an investigator of the phenomena of nature. The only work of his that has been spared to us is his *Natural History*, a sort of Roman encyclopedia.

Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first place among the ethical teachers of Rome. They were the last eminent representatives and expositors of the philosophy of Zeno (sec. 272). Christianity, giving a larger place to the affections than did Stoicism, was already fast winning the hearts of men.

458. Writers of the Early Latin Church. — The Christian authors of the first three centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. As the Latin tongue, however, gradually came into more general use throughout the West, the Christian authors naturally began to use it in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the Fathers of the Church produced in the western half of the Empire during the later imperial period were composed in Latin. Among the many names that adorn the Church literature of this period must be mentioned St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342?–420) is held in memory especially through his translation of the Scriptures into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*, and is the one which, with slight changes, is still

used in the Catholic Church. "It was for Europe of the Middle Ages," asserts Mackail, "more than Homer was to Greece."

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354–430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. His *City of God*, a truly wonderful work, possesses a special interest for the historian. The book was written just when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the pagans that Christianity, turning the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state.

459. Roman Law and Law Literature. — Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so far reviewed did much valuable work, yet the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal and political science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

In the year A.D. 527 Justinian became Emperor of the Roman Empire in the East. He almost immediately appointed a commission, headed by the great lawyer Tribonian, to collect and arrange in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists. The undertaking was like that of the decemvirs in connection with the Twelve Tables, only far greater. The result of the work of the commission was what is known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or "Body of the Civil Law." This consisted of three parts, — the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*. The Code[7] was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian; the Pandects (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. The Institutes were a condensed edition of the Pandects, and were intended to form an elementary text-book for the use of students.

[7] A later work called the *Novels* comprised the laws of Justinian subsequent to the completion of the *Code*

The body of the Roman law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization.[8] It has exerted a profound influence upon the law systems of almost all the European peoples. Thus does the once little Palatine city of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

III. Social Life

460. Education. — Under the Republic there were no public schools in Rome; education was a private affair. Under the early Empire a mixed system prevailed, there being both public and private schools. Later, education came more completely under the supervision of the state. The salaries of the teachers and lecturers were usually paid by the municipalities, but sometimes from the imperial chest.

The education of the Roman boy differed from that of the Greek youth in being more practical. The laws of the Twelve Tables were committed to memory; and rhetoric and oratory were given special attention, as a mastery of the art of public speaking was an almost indispensable acquirement for the Roman citizen who aspired to take a prominent part in the affairs of state.

After their conquest of Magna Græcia and of Greece the Romans were brought into closer relations with Greek culture than had hitherto existed. The Roman youth were taught the language of Athens, often to the neglect, it appears, of their native tongue.

[8] Although the Romans developed a wonderfully complex unwritten constitution, still, aside from their municipal and administrative systems, they made no permanent contribution to the science of constitutional law. It was left for the English people, practically unaided by Roman precedents, to work out the constitution of the modern free state. The primary assemblies of the Romans could afford no instructive precedents in the department of legislation. The practical working of the device of the dual executive of the Republic was not calculated to commend it to later statesmen. The single admirable feature in the composition of the later republican Senate of Rome, namely, the giving of seats in that body to ex-magistrates, has not been imitated by modern constitution-makers, though James Bryce, in his commentary on the American Commonwealth, suggests that they might have done so to advantage in the making up of the upper chambers of their legislatures.

Young men belonging to families of means not unusually went to Greece, just as the graduates of our schools go to Europe, to finish their education. Many of the most prominent statesmen of Rome, as, for instance, Cicero and Julius Cæsar, received the advantages of this higher training in the schools of Greece.

Somewhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen the boy exchanged his purple-hemmed toga, or gown, for one of white wool, which was in all places and at all times the significant badge of Roman citizenship and Roman equality.

461. Social Position of Woman. — Until after her marriage the daughter of the family was kept in almost Oriental seclusion. Marriage gave her a certain freedom. She might now be present at the races of the circus and the shows of the theater and amphitheater, — a privilege rarely accorded to her before marriage.

In the early virtuous period of the Roman state the wife and mother held a dignified and assured position in the household, and divorces were unusual, there being no instance of one, it is said, until the year 231 B.C.; but in later times her position became less honored and divorce grew to be very common. The husband had the right to divorce his wife for the slightest cause or for no cause at all. In this disregard of the sanctity of the family relation may doubtless be found one cause of the degeneracy and failure of the Roman stock.

462. Public Amusements; the Theater and the Circus. — The entertainments of the theater, the games of the circus, and the combats of the amphitheater were the three principal public amusements of the Romans. These entertainments, in general, increased in popularity as liberty declined, the great festive gatherings at the various places of amusement taking the place of the political assemblies of the Republic. The public exhibitions under the Empire were, in a certain sense, the compensation which the emperors offered the people for their surrender of the right of participation in public affairs; and the people were content to accept the exchange.

Tragedy was never held in high esteem at Rome; the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheater

to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage. The entertainments of the theaters usually took the form of comedies, farces, and pantomimes. The last were particularly popular, both because the vast size of the theaters made it quite impossible for the actor to make his voice heard throughout the structure and for the reason that the language of signs was the only language that could be readily understood by an audience made up of so many different nationalities as composed a Roman assemblage. Almost from the beginning the Roman stage was gross and immoral. It was one of the main agencies to which must be attributed the undermining of the originally sound moral life of Roman society.

More important and more popular than the entertainments of the theater were the various games of the circus, especially the chariot races.

463. **Animal Baitings.** — But far surpassing in their terrible fascination all other public amusements were the animal baitings and the gladiatorial combats of the amphitheater. The beasts — bears, wolves, lions, crocodiles, elephants, and tigers — required for the baitings were secured in different parts of the world and transported to Rome and the other cities of the Empire at enormous expense. The creatures were pitted against one another in every conceivable way. Often a promiscuous multitude would be turned loose in the arena at once. But even the terrific scene that then ensued became at last too tame to stir the blood of the Roman populace. Hence a new species of entertainment was introduced and grew rapidly into favor with the spectators of the amphitheater. This was the gladiatorial combat.

464. **The Gladiatorial Combats.** — Gladiatorial shows seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners upon the warrior's grave, it being thought that the manes of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In later times the prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than their cold-blooded slaughter.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by two sons at the funeral of their father in the year 264 B.C. From this

time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had become a perfect infatuation. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living that the spectacles were intended to appease. At first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and even women descended voluntarily into the arena. Training schools were established at Rome and in other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in the art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

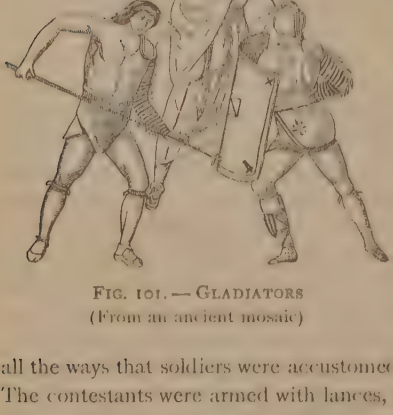


FIG. 101. — GLADIATORS
(From an ancient mosaic)

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again, great companies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot, — in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The contestants were armed with lances, swords, daggers, tridents, and every manner of weapon. Some were provided with nets and lassos with which they entangled their adversaries and then slew them. The life of a wounded gladiator was, in ordinary cases, in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the forefinger, the spectators waved their handkerchiefs or reached out their hands with thumbs extended, that indicated that his prayer had been heard; but if they extended their hands with thumbs turned in, that was the signal for the victor to give him the death stroke. Sometimes

the dying were aroused and forced to resume the fight by being burned with a hot iron. The dead bodies were dragged from the arena with hooks, like the carcasses of animals, and the pools of blood soaked up with dry sand.

These shows increased to such an extent that they entirely overshadowed the entertainments of the circus and the theater. Ambitious officials and commanders arranged such spectacles in order to curry favor with the masses; magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the heads of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position"; wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the Republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which ten thousand gladiators fought upon the arena.[9]

465. Luxury. — By luxury, as we shall use the word, we mean extravagant and self-indulgent living. This vice seems to have been almost unknown in early Rome. The primitive Romans were men of frugal habits, who found contentment in poverty and disdained riches. A great change, however, as we have seen, passed over Roman society after the conquest of the East and the development of the corrupt provincial system of the later Republic. The colossal fortunes quickly and dishonestly amassed by the ruling class marked the incoming at Rome of such a reign of luxury as perhaps no other capital of the world ever witnessed. This luxury was at its height in the last century of the Republic and the first of the Empire. Never perhaps has great wealth been more grossly misused than during this period at Rome.

[9] For the suppression of the gladiatorial games, see sec. 436.

466. State Distribution of Corn. — The free distribution of corn at Rome has been characterized as the "leading fact of Roman life." It will be recalled that this pernicious practice had its beginnings in the legislation of Gaius Gracchus (sec. 364). Just before the establishment of the Empire over three hundred thousand Roman citizens were recipients of this state bounty. In the time of the Antonines the number is asserted to have been even larger. The corn for this enormous distribution was derived, in large part, from a grain tribute exacted of the African and other corn-producing provinces. In the third century, to the largesses of corn were added doles of oil, wine, and pork.

The evils that resulted from this misdirected state charity can hardly be overstated. Idleness and all its accompanying vices were fostered to such a degree that we probably shall not be wrong in enumerating the practice as one of the chief causes of the demoralization of society at Rome under the emperors.

467. Slavery. — The number of slaves under the later Republic and the earlier Empire was very great, some estimates making it equal to the number of freemen. Some large proprietors owned as many as twenty thousand. The love of ostentation led to the multiplication of offices in the households of the wealthy and the employment of a special slave for every different kind of work. Thus in some families there was kept a slave whose sole duty it was to care for his master's sandals. The price of slaves varied from a few dollars to ten or twenty thousand dollars, — these last figures being of course exceptional. Greek slaves were the most valuable, as their lively intelligence rendered them serviceable in positions calling for special talent.

The slave class was chiefly recruited, as in Greece, by war and by the practice of kidnapping. Some of the outlying provinces in Asia and Africa were almost depopulated by the slave hunters. Delinquent taxpayers were often sold as slaves, and frequently poor persons sold themselves into servitude.

The feeling entertained towards this unfortunate class in the later republican period is illustrated by Varro's classification of slaves as "vocal agricultural implements," and again by Cato the

Censor's recommendation to masters to sell their old and decrepit slaves in order to save the expense of caring for them. In many cases, as a measure of precaution, the slaves were forced to work in chains and to sleep in subterranean prisons. Their bitter hatred towards their masters, engendered by harsh treatment, is witnessed by the well-known proverb, "As many enemies as slaves," and by the servile revolts of the republican period.

Slaves were treated better under the Empire than under the later Republic, — a change to be attributed doubtless to the influence of Stoicism and of Christianity. From the first century of the Empire forward there is observable a growing sentiment of humanity towards the bondsman. Imperial edicts take away from the master the right to kill his slave or to sell him to the trader in gladiators, or even to treat him with undue severity. This marks the beginning of a slow reform which in the course of ten or twelve centuries resulted in the complete, or almost complete, abolition of slavery in Christian Europe.

Selections from the Sources. — CATO, *On Agriculture*, chap. ii; the duties of a Roman proprietor. TACITUS, *Dialogue Concerning Oratory*, chaps. xxviii and xxix; the old and the new education. MUNRO, *A Source Book of Roman History*, pp. 179–216.

Secondary Works. — LANCIANI, R., *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* and *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome.* SELLAR, W. Y., *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age.* MACKAIL, J. W., *Latin Literature.* HADLEY, J., *Introduction to Roman Law*, Lect. iii, "The Roman Law before Justinian." GIBBON, chap. xliv, for Roman jurisprudence This chapter is one of the most noted of Gibbon's great work. INGE, W. R., *Social Life in Rome under the Cæsars.* GUHL, E., and KONER, W., *The Life of the Greeks and Romans;* consult Index. LECKY, W. E. H., *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne;* a work of first importance. The student is recommended to read vol. i, chap. ii. DILL, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire;* read bk. v, pp. 321–376, on "Characteristics of Roman Education and Culture in the Fifth Century." PRESTON, H. W., and DODGE, L., *The Private Life of the Romans.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Roman architecture. 2. Roman villas. 3. The Roman roads. 4. Seneca. 5. Pliny the Elder. 6. Society at Rome under the later Empire. See *Dill.* 7. The gladiatorial combats. 8. Marriage ceremonies. 9. Funeral customs. 10. The Roman triumph.

Part II

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

CHAPTER XXXVI

INTRODUCTION

468. Preliminary Survey. — As has already been noted, the fourteen centuries since the fall of the Roman Empire in the West are usually conceived as forming two periods, — the *Middle Ages*, or the period lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and the *Modern Age*, which extends from the latter event to the present time. The Middle Ages again naturally subdivide into two periods, — the *Dark Ages* and the *Age of Revival;* while the Modern Age, as we shall view it, also falls into two divisions, — the *Era of the Protestant Reformation* and the *Era of the Political Revolution*.

469. Chief Characteristics of the Four Periods. — The *Dark Ages*, which embrace the years between the fall of Rome and the opening of the eleventh century, are so called for the reason that the inrush of the barbarians and the almost total eclipse of the light of classical culture caused them to contrast unfavorably, in enlightenment and social order, as well with the age which preceded as with that which followed them. The period was one of origins, — of the beginnings of peoples, and languages, and institutions.

The *Age of Revival* begins with the opening of the eleventh century and ends with the discovery of the New World. During all this time civilization was making slow but sure advances; social order was gradually triumphing over feudal anarchy, and governments were becoming more regular. The last part of the period especially was marked by a great intellectual revival,

— a movement known as the *Renaissance*, or "New Birth,"— by improvements, inventions, and discoveries which greatly stirred men's minds and awakened them as from a sleep. The Crusades, or Holy Wars, were the most remarkable undertakings of the age.

The *Era of the Reformation* embraces the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. The period is characterized by the great religious movement known as the Reformation, and the tremendous struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Almost all the wars of the period were religious wars. The last great combat was the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which was closed by the celebrated Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. After this date the disputes and wars between parties and nations were dynastic or political rather than religious in character.

The *Era of the Political Revolution* extends from the Peace of Westphalia to the present time. The age is especially characterized by the great conflict between despotic and liberal principles of government, resulting in the triumph of democratic ideas. This is one of the most important revolutions that history records. The central event of the epoch was the terrible upheaval of the French Revolution.

Having now made a general survey of the region we are to traverse, we must turn back to our starting point, the fall of Rome.

470. Relation to World History of the Fall of Rome.—The calamity which in the fifth century befell the Roman Empire in the West is sometimes spoken of as an event marking the extinction of ancient civilization. The treasures of the Old World are represented as having been destroyed, and mankind as obliged to take a fresh start, — to lay the foundations of civilization anew. It was not so. All or almost all that was really valuable in the accumulations of antiquity escaped harm, and became sooner or later the possession of the succeeding ages. The catastrophe simply prepared the way for the shifting in the West of the scene of civilization from the south to the north of Europe, simply transferred at once political power, and gradually social and intellectual preëminence, from one race to another, — from the Roman to the Teuton.

The event was not an unrelieved calamity, because fortunately the floods that seemed to be sweeping so much away were not the mountain torrent, which covers fruitful fields with worthless drift, but the overflowing Nile with its rich deposits. Over all the regions covered by the barbarian inundation a new stratum of population was thrown down, a new soil formed that was capable of nourishing a better civilization than any the world had yet seen.

471. The Three Chief Elements of European Civilization. — We must now notice what survived the catastrophe of the fifth century, what it was that Rome transmitted to the new Teutonic race. This renders necessary an analysis of the elements of civilization.

European civilization is mainly the result of the blending of three historic elements, — the *Classical*, the *Hebrew*, and the *Teutonic*.

By the classical element in civilization is meant that whole body of arts, sciences, literatures, laws, manners, ideas, social arrangements, and models of imperial and municipal government, — everything, in a word, save Christianity, — that Greece and Rome gave to mediæval and modern Europe. Taken together, these things constituted a valuable gift to the new northern race that was henceforth to represent civilization.

By the Hebrew element in history is meant Christianity. This has been a most potent factor in modern civilization. It has so colored the life and so molded the institutions of the European peoples that their history is very largely a story of this religion, which, first going forth from Judea, was given to the younger world by the missionaries of Rome. Among the doctrines taught by the new religion were the unity of God, the brotherhood of man, and immortality, — doctrines which have greatly helped to make the modern so different from the ancient world.

By the Teutonic element in history is meant the Germanic race. The Teutons, though of course they had the social institutions and customs of a primitive people, were poor in those things in which the Romans were rich. They had neither arts, nor sciences, nor philosophies, nor literatures. But they had something better than all these things; they had personal worth. It was because of this, because of their free independent spirit,

of their unbounded capacity for growth, for culture, for accomplishment, that the future time became theirs.

472. Celts, Slavs, and Other Peoples. — Having noticed the Romans and the Teutons, the two most important of the peoples that present themselves to us at the time of the fall of Rome, if we now name the Celts, the Slavs, the Arabians, and the Mongols and Turks, we shall have under view the chief actors in the drama of mediæval and of a large part of modern history.

At the commencement of the mediæval era the Celts were in front of the Teutons, clinging to the western edge of the European continent, and engaged in a bitter contest with these latter peoples, which, in the antagonism of England and Ireland, was destined to extend itself to our own day.

The Slavs were in the rear of the Teutonic tribes, pressing them on even as the Celts in front were struggling to resist their advance. These peoples, backward in civilization, will play only an obscure part in the transactions of the mediæval era, but in the course of the modern period will assume a most commanding position among the European nations.

The Arabians were hidden in their deserts; but in the seventh century we shall see them, animated by a wonderful religious enthusiasm, issue from their peninsula and begin a contest with the Christian nations which, in its varying phases, was destined to fill a large part of the mediæval period.

The Mongols and Turks were buried in Central Asia. They will appear late in the eleventh century, proselytes for the most part of Mohammedanism; and, as the religious ardor of the Semitic Arabians grows cool, we shall see the Islam standard carried forward by these zealous converts of another race, and finally, in the fifteenth century, we shall see the Crescent, the adopted emblem of the new religion, placed by the Ottoman Turks upon the dome of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

As the Middle Ages draw to a close, the remote nations of Eastern Asia will gradually come within our circle of vision; and, as the Modern Age dawns, we shall catch a glimpse of new continents and strange races of men beyond the Atlantic.

Division I — The Middle Ages

FIRST PERIOD — THE DARK AGES

(From the Fall of Rome to the Eleventh Century)

CHAPTER XXXVII

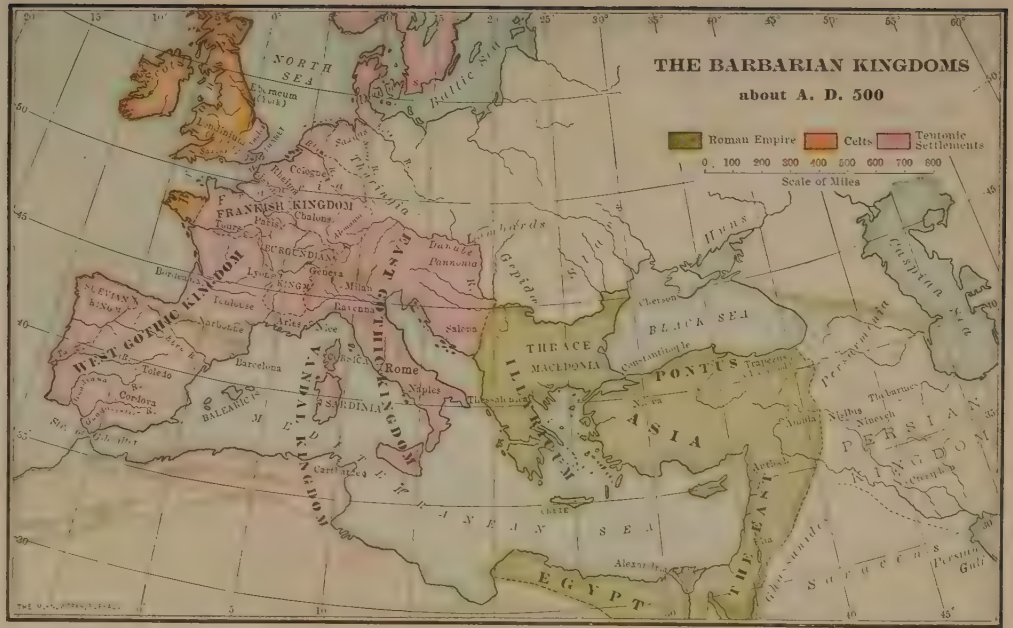
THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

473. Introductory. — In connection with the history of the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West we have already given some account of the migrations and settlements of the German tribes. In the present chapter we shall indicate briefly the political fortunes, for the two centuries and more following the fall of Rome, of the principal kingdoms set up by the German chieftains in the different parts of the old Empire.

474. Kingdom of the Ostrogoths (A.D. 493–554). — Odoacer will be recalled as the barbarian chief who dethroned the last of the Western Roman emperors (sec. 445). His feeble government in Italy lasted only seventeen years, when it was brought to an end by the invasion of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) under Theodoric, the greatest of their chiefs, who set up in Italy a new dominion known as the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

The reign of Theodoric covered thirty-three years (A.D. 493–527), — years of such quiet and prosperity as Italy had not known since the happy era of the Antonines. The king made good his promise that his reign should be such that "the only regret of the people should be that the Goths had not come at an earlier period."

The kingdom established by the rare abilities of Theodoric lasted only twenty-seven years after his death. Justinian, Emperor of the East (sec. 508), taking advantage of that event, sent his generals, first Belisarius and afterwards Narses, to deliver Italy


THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS
about A. D. 500
Roman Empire
Celts
Teutonic Settlements
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800
Scale of Miles
NORTH SEA
Baltic Sea
Eboracum (York)
Londinium
Saxons
Cologne
Rhine
Thuringia
FRANKISH KINGDOM
Chalons
Paris
Tours
BURGUNDIANS
Geneva
Lyons
KINGM
Milan
Ravenna
Bordeaux
SUEVIAN KINGDOM
Toulouse
Narbonne
Arles
Nice
Barcelona
Toledo
Cordova
BALEARICS
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
EAST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
CORSICA
VANDAL KINGDOM
Carthage
Salona
Danube
Pannonia
Lombards
Gepidae
Slavs
Huns
Cherson
BLACK SEA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Constantinople
PONTUS
Trapezus
ILLYRICUM
Thessalonica
ASIA
Nicea
Amida
Nisibis
Nineveh
Thebarmes
PERSIAN KINGDOM
Persarmenia
Caspian Sea
Antioch
Ctesiphon
THE EAST
Ghassanides
Saracens
Persian Gulf
CRETE
Alexandria
EGYPT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Strait of Gibraltar

from the rule of the barbarians. The last of the Ostrogothic kings fell in battle, and Italy, with her fields ravaged and her cities in ruins, was reunited to the Empire (A.D. 554).

475. Kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 415–711). — The Visigoths (Western Goths) were already in possession of Southern Gaul and the greater part of Spain when the Roman Empire in the West was brought to an end by the act of Odoacer and his companions. Being driven south of the Pyrenees by the kings of the Franks, the Visigoths held their possessions in Spain until the beginning of the eighth century, when their rule was ended by the Saracens (sec. 522). The Visigothic kingdom when thus overturned had lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time the conquerors had mingled with the old Romanized inhabitants of Spain, so that in the veins of the Spaniard of to-day is blended the blood of Iberian, Celt, Roman, and Teuton, together with that of the last intruder, the African Moor.

476. Kingdom of the Burgundians (A.D. 443–534). — The Burgundians we have already noticed as the founders of a principality in Southeastern Gaul (sec. 441). They were hardly well established in these parts before they came in collision with the Franks on the north, and were reduced by them to a state of dependence.

477. Kingdom of the Vandals (A.D. 429–533). — We have also previously spoken of the establishment in North Africa of the Kingdom of the Vandals, and told how, under the lead of their king Geiseric, they bore in triumph down the Tiber the heavy spoils of Rome (sec. 444).

Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, the Byzantine emperor Justinian sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful, and Carthage and the fruitful fields of Africa were restored to the Empire after having suffered the insolence of the barbarian conquerors for the space of above a hundred years. The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected in the

physical appearance, the language, or the customs of the inhabitants of the African coast. The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained.

478. **The Franks under the Merovingians** (A.D. 486–752). — Even long before the fall of Rome the Franks, as we have seen (sec. 441), were on the soil of Gaul, laying there the foundations of the French nation and monarchy. Among their several chieftains at this time was Clovis. Upon the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, Clovis conceived the ambition of erecting a kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman power. He attacked Syagrius, the Roman governor of Gaul, and at Soissons gained a decisive victory over his forces (A.D. 486). Thus was destroyed forever in Gaul that Roman authority established among its barbarian tribes more than five centuries before by the conquests of Julius Cæsar.

Clovis in a short time extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, reducing to the condition of tributaries the various Teutonic tribes that had taken possession of different portions of the country. Upon his death (A.D. 511) his extensive dominions, in accordance with the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, were divided among his four sons. About a century and a half of discord followed, by the end of which time the Merovingians[1] had become so feeble and inefficient that they were contemptuously called *rois fainéants*, or "do-nothing kings," and an ambitious officer of the crown, known as Mayor of the Palace, in a way that will be explained a little later, pushed aside the weak Merovingian king and gave to the Frankish monarchy a new royal line, — the Carolingian.

479. **Kingdom of the Lombards** (A.D. 568–774). — Barely a decade had passed after the recovery of Italy from the Ostrogoths by the Eastern emperor Justinian (sec. 474), before a large part of the peninsula was again lost to the Empire through its conquest by another barbarian tribe known as the Lombards. When they entered Italy the Lombards were Christians of the Arian sect; but in time they became converts to the orthodox faith, and Pope

[1] So called from Merowig, an early chieftain of the race.

Gregory I bestowed upon their king a diadem which came to be known as the "Iron Crown," for the reason that there was wrought into it what was believed to be one of the nails of the cross upon which Christ had suffered.

The Kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed by Charles the Great, the most noted of the Frankish rulers, in the year 774; but the blood of the invaders had by this time become intermingled with that of the former subjects of the Empire, so that throughout all that part of the peninsula which is still called Lombardy after them, one will to-day occasionally see the fair hair and light complexion which reveal the strain of German blood in the veins of the present inhabitants.

480. **The Anglo-Saxon Conquest of Britain.** — In the fifth century of our era, being then engaged in her death struggle with the barbarians, Rome withdrew her legions from Britain in order to protect Italy. Thus that province was left exposed to the depredations of the Anglo-Saxon corsairs from the Continent. No other province of the Roman Empire made such determined and heroic resistance against the barbarians. It is to this period of desperate struggle that the famous King Arthur belongs. The legends that have gathered about the name of this national hero are mostly mythical; yet it is possible that he had a real existence and that the name represents one or more of the most valiant of the Celtic chiefs who battled so long and heroically against the pagan invaders.

The conquerors of Britain belonged to three Teutonic tribes, — the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, — but among the Celts they all passed under the name of Saxons, and among themselves, after they began to draw together into a single nation, under that of Angles, whence the name England (Angle-land).

By the close of the sixth century the invading bands had set up in the conquered parts of the island eight or nine, or perhaps more, kingdoms, — frequently designated, though somewhat inaccurately, as the *Heptarchy*. For the space of two hundred years there was an almost perpetual strife for supremacy among the leading states. Finally, Egbert, king of Wessex (A.D. 802–839),

brought all the other kingdoms to a subject or tributary condition, and became in reality, though he seems never, save on one occasion, to have actually assumed the title, the first king of England.

481. Teutonic Tribes outside the Empire.—We have now spoken of the most important of the Teutonic tribes which forced themselves within the limits of the Roman Empire in the West, and that there, upon the ruins of the civilization they had overthrown, laid or helped to lay the foundations of the modern nations of Italy, Spain, France, and England. Beyond the boundaries of the old Empire were still other tribes and clans of this same mighty family of nations, — tribes and clans that were destined to play great parts in European history.

On the east, beyond the Rhine, were the ancestors of the modern Germans. Notwithstanding the immense hosts that the forests and morasses of Germany had poured into the Roman provinces, the Fatherland, in the sixth century of our era, seemed still as crowded as before the great migration began. These tribes were yet barbarians in manners, and, for the most part, pagans in religion. In the northwest of Europe were the Scandinavians, the ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. They were as yet untouched either by the civilization or the religion of Rome.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (trans. by Thomas Hodgkin). Read bk. i, letters 24 and 35; bk. ii, letters 32 and 34; bk. iii, letters 17, 19, 29, 31, and 43; bk. xi, letters 12 and 13; bk. xii, letter 20. These letters are invaluable in showing what was the condition of things in the transition period between ancient and mediæval times.

Secondary Works. — Hodgkin, T., *Italy and her Invaders* and *Theodoric the Goth*; Hodgkin is recognized as the best authority on the period of the migration. Gummere, F. B., *Germanic Origins*; an authoritative and interesting work on the early culture of the Germans. Gibbon, chaps. xxxviii and xxxix. Church, R. W., *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, chaps. i–v. Emerton, E., *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chaps. vi and vii.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

I. The Conversion of the Barbarians

482. Introductory.—The most important event in the history of the tribes that took possession of the Roman Empire in the West was their conversion to Christianity. Many of the barbarians were converted before or soon after their entrance into the Empire; to this circumstance the Roman provinces owed their immunity from the excessive cruelties which pagan barbarians seldom fail to inflict upon a subjected enemy. Alaric left untouched the treasures of the churches of the Roman Christians because his own faith was also Christian. For like reason the Vandal king Geiseric yielded to the prayers of Pope Leo the Great and promised to leave to the inhabitants of the Imperial City their lives.

483. Conversion of the Goths, Vandals, and Other Tribes. — The first converts to Christianity among the barbarians beyond the limits of the Empire were won from among the Goths. Foremost of the apostles that arose among them was Ulfilas, who translated the Scriptures into the Gothic language, omitting from his version, however, the Books of the Kings, as he feared that the stirring recital of wars and battles in that portion of the Word might kindle into too fierce a flame the martial ardor of his new converts.

What happened in the case of the Goths happened also in the case of most of the barbarian tribes that participated in the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. By the time of the fall of Rome the Goths, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians had become proselytes to Christianity. They, however, professed the Arian creed, which had been condemned by the great council of the Church held at Nicæa during the reign of Constantine the Great. Hence they were regarded as heretics by the Catholic Church, and all had to be reconverted to the orthodox creed, which good work was gradually accomplished.

The remaining Teutonic tribes of whose conversion we shall speak — the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the chief tribes of Germany — embraced at the outset the Catholic faith.

484. **Conversion of the Franks; Importance of this Event.** — The Franks when they entered the Empire, like the Angles and Saxons when they landed in Britain, were still pagans. Christianity gained way very slowly among them until a supposed interposition by the Christian God in their behalf led the king and nation to adopt the new religion in place of their old faith. The circumstances, as reported by tradition, were these. In a terrible battle between the Alemanni and the Franks under their king Clovis, the situation of the Franks had become desperate. Then Clovis, falling upon his knees, called upon the God of the Christians, and vowed that if he would give him the victory he would become his follower. The battle turned in favor of the Franks, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, was baptized, and with him three thousand of his warriors.

This story of the conversion of Clovis and his Franks illustrates how the belief of the barbarians in omens and divine interpositions, and particularly their feeling that if their gods did not do for them all they wanted done they had a right to set them aside and choose others in their stead, contributed to their conversion, and how the reception of the new faith was often a tribal or national affair rather than a matter of personal conviction.

"The conversion of the Franks," says the historian Milman, "was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history." It was of such moment for the reason that the Franks embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, while almost all the other German invaders of the Empire had embraced the heretical Arian creed. This secured them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the basis of the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings.

485. **Augustine's Mission to England.** — In the year A.D. 596 Pope Gregory I sent the monk Augustine with a band of forty companions to teach the Christian faith in Britain, in whose

people he had become interested through seeing in the slave market at Rome some fair-faced captives from that remote region.

The monks were favorably received by the English, who listened attentively to the story the strangers had come to tell them; and being persuaded that the tidings were true, they burned the temples of Woden and Thor, and were in large numbers baptized in the Christian faith.[1]

One of the most important consequences of the conversion of Britain was the reëstablishment of that connection of the island with Roman civilization which had been severed by the calamities of the fifth century. As Green says, — he is speaking of the embassy of St. Augustine, — "The march of the monks as they chanted their solemn litany was in one sense a return of the Roman legions who withdrew at the trumpet call of Alaric. . . . Practically Augustine's landing renewed that union with the western world which the landing of Hengist had destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquerors, returned with the Christian faith."

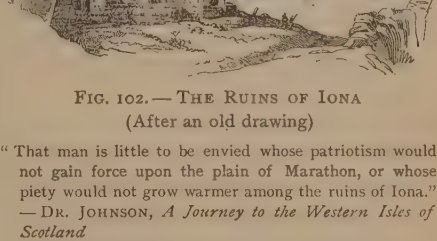


FIG. 102. — THE RUINS OF IONA
(After an old drawing)

"That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." — DR. JOHNSON, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*

486. The Conversion of Ireland; Iona. — The spiritual conquest of Ireland was effected largely by a zealous priest named Patricius (d. about A.D. 469), better known as St. Patrick, the patron saint

[1] Read the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, 13 (Bohn). Bede the Venerable (about A.D. 673–735) was a pious and learned Northumbrian monk, who wrote, among other works, an invaluable one entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ("The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation").

of Ireland. With such success were his labors attended that by the time of his death a great part of the island had embraced the Christian faith.

Never did any race receive the Gospel with more ardent enthusiasm. The Irish or Celtic Church sent out its devoted missionaries into the Pictish highlands, into the forests of Germany, and among the wilds of Alps and Apennines. Among the numerous religious houses founded by the Celtic missionaries was the famous monastery established A.D. 563 by the Irish monk St. Columba, on the little isle of Iona, just off the Pictish coast. Iona became a most renowned center of Christian learning and missionary zeal, and for almost two centuries was the point from which radiated light through the darkness of the surrounding heathenism.

487. **The Conversion of Germany.** — The great apostle of Germany was the Saxon Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface. During a long and intensely active life he founded schools and monasteries, organized churches, preached and baptized, and at last died a martyr's death (A.D. 753). Through him, as says Milman, the Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the Continent.

The Christianizing of the tribes of Germany relieved the Teutonic folk of Western Europe from the constant peril of massacre by their heathen kinsmen, and erected a strong barrier in Central Europe against the advance of the waves of Turanian paganism and Mohammedanism which for centuries beat so threateningly against the eastern frontiers of Germany.

488. **Christianity in the North.** — The progress of Christianity in the North was slow; but gradually, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the missionaries of the Church won over all the Scandinavian peoples. One important effect of their conversion was the checking of those piratical expeditions which during all the centuries of their pagan history had been constantly putting out from the fiords of the Northern peninsulas and vexing every shore to the south.

By about the year 1000 all Europe was claimed by Christianity, save the regions of the Northwest about the Baltic, which were

inhabited chiefly by the still pagan Finns and Lapps, parts of what is now Russia,[2] and the larger portion of the Iberian peninsula, which was in the hands of the Mohammedan Moors.

II. The Rise of Monasticism

489. **Monasticism defined; the System fostered by Scripture Teachings.** — It was during the period between the third and the sixth century that there grew up in the Church the institution known as Monasticism. This term, in its widest application, denotes a life of austere self-denial and of seclusion from the world, with the object of promoting the interests of the soul. As thus defined, the system embraced two prominent classes of ascetics: (1) hermits, or anchorites, — persons who, retiring from the world, lived solitary lives in desolate places; (2) cenobites, or monks, who formed communities and lived usually under a common roof.

Christian asceticism was fostered by teachings drawn from various texts of the Bible. Thus Christ himself had declared, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple";[3] and, again, he had said to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor."[4] These passages, and others like them, taken literally, tended greatly to confirm the belief of the ascetic that his life of isolation and poverty and abstinence was the most perfect life and the surest way to win salvation.

St. Antony, an Egyptian ascetic (b. about A.D. 251), who by his example and influence gave a tremendous impulse to the movement, is called the Father of the Hermits. But the most renowned of all the anchorites of the East was St. Simeon Stylites, the Saint of the Pillar (d. A.D. 459), who spent thirty-six years on

[2] The real beginning of the conversion of Russia dates from about the close of the tenth century. Its evangelization was effected by the missionaries of Constantinople, that is, of the Greek or Eastern Church.

[3] Luke xiv. 26.

[4] Matthew xix. 21.

a column only three feet in diameter at the top, which he had gradually raised to a height of over fifty feet.[5]

490. Monasticism in the West. — During the fourth century the anchorite type of asceticism, which was favored by the mild climate of the Eastern lands, and especially by that of Egypt, assumed in some degree the monastic form; that is to say, the fame of this or that anchorite or hermit drew about him a number of disciples, whose rude huts or cells formed what was known as a *laura*, the nucleus of a monastery.

Soon after the cenobite system had been established in the East it was introduced into Europe, and in an astonishingly short space of time spread throughout all the Western countries where Christianity had gained a foothold. Here it prevailed to the almost total exclusion of the hermit mode of life. Monasteries arose on every side. The number that fled to these retreats was vastly augmented by the disorder and terror attending the invasion of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Empire in the West.

491. The Rule of St. Benedict. — With the view of introducing some sort of regularity in regard to the practices and austerities of the monks, rules for their observance were early prescribed. The three essential requirements or vows were poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The greatest legislator of the monks was St. Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 480–543), the founder of the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, situated midway between Rome and Naples, in Italy. His code was to the religious world what the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian (sec. 459) was to the lay society of Europe. Many of his rules were most wise and practical, as, for instance, one that made manual work a pious duty, and another that required the monk to spend an allotted time each day in sacred reading.

The monks who subjected themselves to the rule of St. Benedict were known as Benedictines. The order became immensely popular. At one time it embraced about forty thousand abbeys.

492. Services of the Monks to Civilization. — The early establishment of the monastic system in the Church resulted in great

[5] Read Tennyson's poem, "St. Simeon Stylites."

advantages to the new world that was shaping itself out of the ruins of the old. The monks, especially the Benedictines, became agriculturists, and by patient labor converted the wild and marshy lands which they received as gifts from princes and others into fruitful fields, thus redeeming from barrenness some of the most desolate districts of Europe.

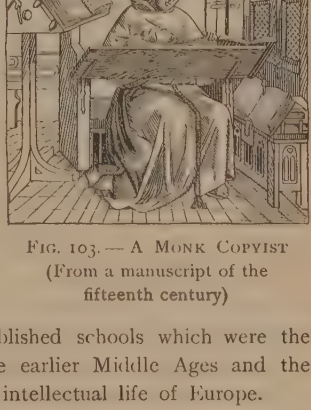


Fig. 103. — A Monk Copyist (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century)

The monks also became missionaries, and it was largely to their zeal and devotion that the Church owed her speedy and signal victory over the barbarians.

The quiet air of the monasteries nourished learning as well as piety. The monks became teachers, and under the shelter of the monasteries established schools which were the nurseries of learning during the earlier Middle Ages and the homes for centuries of the best intellectual life of Europe.

The monks also busied themselves as copyists, and with great painstaking and industry gathered and multiplied ancient manuscripts, and thus preserved and transmitted to the modern world much classical learning and literature that would otherwise have been lost. They became also the chroniclers of the events of their own times, so that it is to them we are indebted for a great part of our knowledge of the early mediæval centuries. Thus the scriptorium, or writing-room of the monastery, held the place in mediæval society that the great publishing house holds in the modern world.

The monks became further the almoners of the pious and the wealthy, and distributed alms to the poor and needy. Everywhere the monasteries opened their hospitable doors to the weary, the sick, and the discouraged. In a word, these retreats were the inns, the asylums, and the hospitals of the mediæval ages.

III. The Rise of the Papacy

493. The Empire within the Empire. — Long before the fall of Rome there had begun to grow up within the Roman Empire an ecclesiastical state, which was shaping itself upon the imperial model. This spiritual empire, like the secular empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, of which deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops were the most important. The bishops collectively formed what is known as the episcopate. There were four grades of bishops, namely, country bishops, city bishops, metropolitans or archbishops, and patriarchs. At the end of the fourth century there were five patriarchates, that is, regions ruled by patriarchs. These centered in the great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Among the patriarchs, the patriarchs of Rome were accorded almost universally a precedence in honor and dignity. They claimed further a precedence in authority and jurisdiction. Besides the influence of great men, such as Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Nicholas I, who held the seat of St. Peter, there were various historical circumstances that contributed to the realization by the Roman bishops of their claim to supremacy and aided them vastly in establishing the almost universal authority of the see of Rome. In the following paragraphs we shall enumerate several of these favoring circumstances. These matters constitute the great landmarks in the rise and early growth of the Papacy.

494. The Belief in the Primacy of St. Peter and in the Founding by him of the Church at Rome. — It came to be believed that the apostle Peter had been given by the Master a sort of primacy among his fellow-apostles. This belief was fostered by the fact that Christ had intrusted that disciple with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and had invested him with authority as a teacher and interpreter of the Word by the commission, "Feed my lambs; . . . feed my sheep," thus giving into his charge the entire flock of the Church. It also came to be believed that Peter himself had founded the church at Rome. Without doubt he preached there and suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Nero.

These beliefs and interpretations of history, which make the Roman bishops the successors of the first of the apostles and the holders of his seat, contributed greatly, of course, to enhance their reputation and to justify their claim to a primacy of authority over all the dignitaries of the Church.

495. Advantage of their Position at the Political Center of the World. — The claims of the Roman bishops were in the early centuries greatly favored by the spell in which the world was held by the name and prestige of imperial Rome. Thence it had been accustomed to receive commands in all temporal matters; how very natural, then, that thither it should turn for command and guidance in spiritual affairs. The Roman bishops in thus occupying the geographical and political center of the world enjoyed a great advantage over all other bishops and patriarchs. The halo that during many centuries of wonderful history had gathered about the Eternal City came naturally to invest with a kind of aureole the head of the Christian bishop.

496. The Pastor as Protector of Rome. — Then, when the barbarians came, there came a propitious occasion for the Roman bishops to widen their influence and enhance their authority. Rome's extremity was their opportunity. Thus it will be recalled how mainly through the intercession of the pious Pope Leo the Great the fierce Attila was persuaded to turn back and spare the Imperial City; and how the same bishop, in the year A.D. 455, also appeased in a measure the wrath of the Vandal Geiseric and shielded the inhabitants from the worst passions of a barbarian soldiery (secs. 443 and 444).

Thus when the emperors, the natural defenders of the capital, were unable to protect it, the unarmed Pastor was able, through the awe and reverence inspired by his holy office, to render services that could not but result in bringing increased honor and dignity to the Roman see.

497. Effects upon the Papacy of the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the West. — But if the misfortunes of the Empire in the West tended to the enhancement of the reputation and influence of the Roman bishops, much more did its final downfall tend to

the same end. Upon the surrender of the sovereignty of the West into the hands of the Emperor of the East, the bishops of Rome became the most important personages in Western Europe, and, being so far removed from the court at Constantinople, gradually assumed almost imperial powers. They became the arbiters between the barbarian chiefs and the Italians; and to them were referred for decision the disputes arising between cities, states, and kings. Especially did the bishops and archbishops throughout the West in their contests with the Arian barbarian rulers look to Rome for advice and help. It is easy to see how greatly these things tended to strengthen the authority and increase the influence of the Roman bishops.

498. **The Missions of Rome.** — Again, the early missionary zeal of the church at Rome made her the mother of many churches, all of whom looked up to her with affectionate and grateful loyalty. Thus the Angles and Saxons, won to the faith by the missionaries of Rome, conceived a deep veneration for the holy see and became its most devoted children. To Rome it was that the Christian Britons made their most frequent pilgrimages, and thither they sent their offering of St. Peter's pence. And when the Saxons became missionaries to their pagan kinsmen of the Continent they transplanted into the heart of Germany these same feelings of filial attachment and love.

499. **Result of the Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria before the Saracens.** — In the seventh century all the great cities of the East fell into the hands of the Mohammedans. This was a matter of tremendous consequence for the church at Rome, since in every one of these great capitals there was, or might have been, a rival of the Roman bishop. The virtual erasure of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria from the map of Christendom left only one city, Constantinople, that could possibly nourish a rival of the Roman church. Thus did the very misfortunes of Christendom give an added security to the ever-increasing authority of the Roman prelate.

500. **The Iconoclastic Controversy; the Popes become Temporal Sovereigns.** — A dispute about the use of images in worship, known

in Church history as the "War of the Iconoclasts," [6] which broke out in the eighth century between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West, drew after it far-reaching consequences as respects the growing power of the Roman pontiffs.

Leo the Isaurian, who came to the throne of Constantinople in 717, was a zealous Iconoclast. The Greek churches of the East having been cleared of images, the Emperor resolved to clear also the Latin churches of the West of these symbols. To this end he issued a decree that they should not be used. The bishop of Rome not only opposed the execution of the edict, but by the ban of excommunication cut off the Emperor and the iconoclastic churches of the East from communion with the true Catholic Church. Though images — paintings and mosaics only — were permanently restored in the Eastern churches in 842, still by this time other causes of alienation had arisen, and the breach between the two sections of Christendom could not now be closed. The final outcome was the permanent separation, in the last half of the eleventh century, of the Church of the East from that of the West. The former became known as the Greek, Byzantine, or Eastern Church; the latter, as the Latin, Roman, or Catholic Church.

The East was thus eventually lost to the Roman see, but the loss was more than made good by fresh accessions of power in the West. In this quarrel with the Eastern emperors the Roman bishops formed an alliance with the Frankish princes. We shall a little later tell briefly the story of this alliance (Chapter XLII). Never did allies render themselves more serviceable to each other. The popes consecrated the Frankish chieftains as kings and emperors; the grateful Frankish kings defended the popes against all their enemies, imperial and barbarian, and dowered them with cities and provinces, laid the basis of their temporal power.[7]

[6] Iconoclast means "image breaker."

[7] The cause of the Roman pontiffs, from about the eighth or ninth century forward, was greatly furthered by two remarkable forged documents, known as the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. The probable object of the former was to justify the donation of Pippin (sec. 530) by providing evidence of a similar and earlier donation by the first imperial patron of the Church. It "tells how

Such in broad outline was the way in which grew up the Papacy, an institution which, far beyond all others, was destined to mold the fortunes and direct the activities of Western Christendom throughout the mediæval time.

Selections from the Sources. — BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*. Read bk. i, chaps. xxiii–xxv; bk. ii, chaps. i and xiii; bk. iii, chaps. iii and xxv. *Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 7, "Life of St. Columban." HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 274–314, "The Rule of Saint Benedict." See also ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. v.

Secondary Works. — KINGSLEY, C., *The Hermits*. MONTALEMBERT. COUNT DE, *The Monks of the West*, 6 vols.; an ardent eulogy of monasticism. WISHART, A. W., *A Short History of Monks and Monasteries;* the best short account in English. JESSOPP, A., *The Coming of the Friars* chap. iii, "Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery." EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*, chap. ix, "The Rise of the Christian Church," and chap. xi, "The Monks of the West." ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. vi, "The Formation of the Papacy." CARDINAL GIBBONS, *The Faith of our Fathers*, chap. ix, "The Primacy of Peter," and chap. x, "The Supremacy of the Popes"; an authoritative statement of the Catholic view of these matters. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 60–86 and 114–158.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Conversion of the Angles and Saxons. 2. The Life of St. Antony. 3. St. Columba and Iona. 4. Whitby. 5. St. Benedict and Monte Cassino. 6. The scriptorium of the monastery.

Constantine the Great, cured of his leprosy by the prayers of Sylvester, resolved . . . to forsake the ancient seat for a new capital on the Bosporus, lest the continuance of the secular government should cramp the freedom of the spiritual, and how he bestowed therewith upon the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy and the countries of the West."— BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 100.

The so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which appeared about the middle of the ninth century, tended to a similar end as did the Donation of Constantine, although they were originally put out in the interest of the bishops and not of the Pope. They formed part of a collection of Church documents, and included many alleged letters and edicts of the early popes. Granting their genuineness, they went to prove that the bishops of Rome in the second and third centuries exercised all that authority and extensive jurisdiction which were now being claimed by the popes of the ninth century.

In that uncritical age the documents were received by everybody as authentic. The papal party effectively quoted them in support of their largest claims for the Roman see. They are now acknowledged by all scholars, Catholic as well as Protestant, to have been forged. Laurentius Valla (1406–1457), one of the greatest of the humanists (sec. 671), was the first to demonstrate the real character of the Donation of Constantine.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE FUSION OF LATIN AND TEUTON

501. **Introductory.** — The conversion of the barbarians and the development in Western Christendom of the central authority of the Papacy prepared the way for the introduction among the northern races of the arts and the culture of Rome, and contributed greatly to hasten in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the fusion into a single people of the Latins and the Teutons, of which important matter we shall treat in the present chapter. We shall tell how these two races, upon the soil of the old Empire in the West, intermingled their blood, their languages, their laws, their usages and customs, to form new peoples, new tongues, and new institutions.

502. **The Romance Nations.** — In some districts the barbarian invaders and the Roman provincials were kept apart for a long time by the bitter antagonism of race, and by a sense of injury on the one hand and a feeling of disdainful superiority on the other. But for the most part the Teutonic intruders and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and France very soon began freely to mingle their blood by family alliances.

It is quite impossible to say what proportion the Teutons bore to the Romans. Of course the proportion varied in the different countries. In none of the countries named, however, was it large enough to absorb the Latinized population; on the contrary, the barbarians were themselves absorbed, yet not without changing very essentially the body into which they were incorporated. Thus about the end of the fourth century everything in Italy, Spain, and France — dwellings, cities, dress, customs, language, laws, soldiers — reminds us of Rome. A little later and a great change has taken place. The barbarians have come in. For a time we see everywhere, jostling each other in the streets and markets, crowding each other in the theaters and courts, kneeling together in the churches, the former Romanized subjects of

the Empire and their uncouth Teutonic conquerors. But by the close of the ninth century, to speak in very general terms, the two elements have become quite intimately blended, and a century or two later Roman and Teuton have alike disappeared, and we are introduced to Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen. These we call Romance nations, because at base they are Roman.

503. **The Formation of the Romance Languages.** — During the five centuries of their subjection to Rome, the natives of Spain and Gaul forgot their barbarous dialects and came to speak a corrupt Latin. Now, in exactly the same way that the dialects of the Celtic tribes of Gaul and of the Celtiberians of Spain had given way to the more refined speech of the Romans did the rude languages of the Teutons yield to the more cultured speech of the Roman provincials. In the course of two or three centuries after their entrance into the Empire, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, and Franks had, in a large measure, dropped their own tongue and were speaking that of the people they had subjected.

But of course this provincial Latin underwent a great change upon the lips of the mixed descendants of the Romans and Teutons. Owing to the absence of a common popular literature, the changes that took place in one country did not exactly correspond to those going on in another. Hence, in the course of time, we find different dialects springing up, and by about the ninth century the Latin has virtually disappeared as a spoken language, and its place has been usurped by what will be known as the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, all more or less resembling the ancient Latin, and all called Romance tongues, because children of the old Roman speech.

504. **The Personal Character of the Teutonic Laws.** — The laws of the barbarians were generally personal instead of territorial, as with us; that is, instead of all the inhabitants of a given country being subject to the same laws, there were different ones for the different classes of society. The Latins, for instance, were subject in private law only to the old Roman code, while the Teutons lived under the tribal rules and regulations which they had brought with them from beyond the Rhine and the Danube.

Even among themselves the Teutons knew nothing of the modern legal maxim that all should stand equal before the law. The penalty inflicted upon the evil doer depended not upon the nature of his crime but upon his rank or that of the party injured. Thus slaves and serfs were beaten and put to death for minor offenses, while a freeman might atone for any crime, even for murder, by the payment of a fine, the amount of the penalty being determined by the rank of the victim.

505. **Ordeals.** — The agencies relied upon by the Germans to ascertain the guilt or innocence of accused persons show in how rude a state the administration of justice among them was. One very common method of proof was by what were called ordeals, in which the question was submitted to the judgment of God. Of these the chief were the *ordeal by fire*, the *ordeal by water*, and the *wager of battle*.[1]

The *ordeal by fire* consisted in taking in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, or in walking blindfolded with bare feet over a row of hot plowshares laid lengthwise at irregular distances. If the person escaped unharmed, his innocence was held to be established. Another way of performing the fire ordeal was by running through the flames of two fires built close together, or by walking over live brands; hence the phrase "to haul over the coals."

The *ordeal by water* was of two kinds, by hot water and by cold. In the hot-water ordeal the accused person thrust his arm into boiling water, and if no hurt was visible upon the arm three days after the operation, the party was considered guiltless. When we speak of one's being "in hot water," we use an expression which had its origin in this ordeal.

In the cold-water trial the suspected person was thrown into a stream or pond: if he floated, he was held guilty; if he sank, innocent. The water, it was believed, would reject the guilty, but receive the innocent into its bosom. The practice common in Europe until a very recent date of trying supposed witches by

[1] The wager of battle is by some writers treated as a distinct form of trial; but being an appeal to the decision of Heaven, it rested on the same principle as the trials by fire and water, and consequently is properly given a place among the ordeals.

throwing them into a pond of water to see whether they would sink or float, grew out of this superstition.

The *trial by combat*, or *wager of battle*, was a solemn judicial duel. It was resorted to in the belief that God would give victory to the right. Naturally it was a favorite mode of trial among a people who found their chief delight in fighting. Even the judge in some cases resorted to it to maintain the authority and dignity of his court. To a person who had disregarded a summons the judge would send a challenge in this form: "I sent for thee, and thou didst not think it worth thy while to come; I demand therefore satisfaction for this thy contempt."

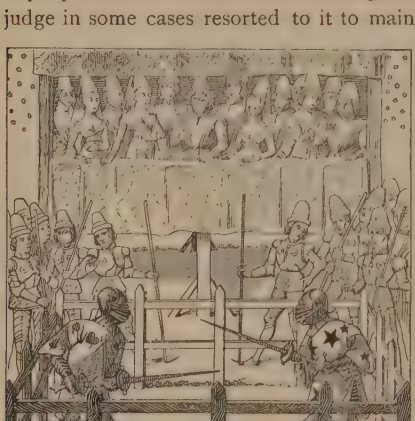


FIG. 104. — TRIAL BY COMBAT. (From a manuscript of the fifteenth century; after *Lacroix*)

The ordeal was frequently performed by deputy, that is, one person for hire or for the sake of friendship would undertake it for another; hence the expression "to go through fire and water to serve one." Especially was such substitution common in the judicial duel, as women and ecclesiastics were generally forbidden to appear personally in the lists.

The champions, as the deputies were called, became in time a regular class in society, like the gladiators in ancient Rome. Religious houses and chartered towns hired champions at a regular salary to defend all the cases to which they might become a party.

506. The Revival of the Roman Law. — Now the barbarian law system, if such it can be called, the character of which we have merely suggested by the preceding illustrations, gradually displaced the Roman law in all those countries where the two systems at first existed alongside each other, save in Italy and Southern France, where the provincials greatly outnumbered the invaders. But the admirable jurisprudence of Rome was bound to assert its superiority. About the close of the eleventh century there was a great revival in the study of the Roman law as embodied in the Justinian code, and in the course of a century or two this became either the groundwork or a strong modifying element in the law systems of almost all the peoples of Europe.

What took place may be illustrated by reference to the fate of the Teutonic languages in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. As the barbarian tongues, after maintaining a place in those countries for two or three centuries, at length gave place to the superior Latin, which became the basis of the new Romance languages, so now in the domain of law the barbarian maxims and customs, though holding their place more persistently, likewise finally give way, almost everywhere and in a greater or less degree, to the more excellent law system of the Empire. Rome must fulfill her destiny and give laws to the nations.

Selections from the Sources. — HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 176–189, "The Salic Law," and pp. 314–319, "*Formulæ Liturgicæ* in Use at Ordeals." LEE, *Source-Book*, chap. v, "Anglo-Saxon Laws." *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 4, "Ordeals," etc.

Secondary Works. — EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chap. viii, "Germanic Ideas of Law." LEA, H. C., *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture*; invaluable to the student of primitive culture. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 310–325.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The formation of the Romance languages. 2. Weregild. 3. Ordeals. 4. The influence of the Roman law upon the law systems of Europe.

CHAPTER XL

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

507. The Era of Justinian (A.D. 527–565). — During the fifty years immediately following the fall of Rome, the Eastern emperors struggled hard and sometimes doubtfully to withstand the waves of the barbarian inundation which constantly threatened to overwhelm Constantinople with the same awful calamities that had befallen the Imperial City of the West. Had the New Rome — the destined refuge for a thousand years of Græco-Roman learning and culture — also gone down at this time before the storm, the loss to the cause of civilization would have been incalculable.

Fortunately, in the year 527, there ascended the Eastern throne a prince of unusual ability, to whom fortune gave a general of such rare genius that his name has been allotted a place in the short list of the great commanders of the world. Justinian was the name of the prince, and Belisarius that of the soldier. The sovereign has given name to the period, which is called after him the "Era of Justinian."

508. Justinian as the Restorer of the Empire and "The Lawgiver of Civilization"; Calamities of his Reign. — One of the most important matters in the reign of Justinian is what is termed the "Imperial Restoration," by which is meant the recovery from the barbarians of several of the provinces of the West upon which they had seized. Africa, as we have seen (sec. 477), was first wrested from the Vandals. Italy was next recovered from the Goths and again made a part of the Roman Empire (A.D. 553). It was governed from Ravenna by an imperial officer who bore the title of Exarch. Besides recovering Africa and Italy from the barbarians, Justinian also reconquered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain.

But that which gives Justinian's reign a greater distinction than any conferred upon it by the achievements of his generals was

the collection and publication by him of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of the Roman Law." This work embodied all the law knowledge of the ancient Romans, and was the most precious legacy of Rome to the world.[1] In causing its publication Justinian earned the title of "The Lawgiver of Civilization."

Although the reign of Justinian was in many respects auspicious and brilliant, still it was for the Empire a time of almost unparalleled woes and sufferings. Among the calamitous events of the period a prominent place must be given the seditions at Constantinople and the attendant destruction of property and loss of life.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

The parties or factions indulging in these disorders rose out of the chariot races of the circus. These games possessed a strange and fatal fascination for the populace of the capital, such as the gladiatorial spectacles had had for the debased multitudes of Old Rome. The people became divided into two leading factions, known as the Blues and the Greens. These factions carried their rivalries into all the relations of life, political and religious. Often they indulged in unseemly disturbances in the circus, even in the presence of the Emperor himself. In the year 532 there broke out what is known as the "Nika" riot, during which a large part of the city was reduced to ashes. The mob was finally enticed

[1] See sec. 459.

within the Hippodrome, where it was set upon by the soldiers of Belisarius and thirty-five thousand of the rioters were slain.

In the year 542 an awful pestilence, bred probably in Egypt, fell upon the Empire and did not wholly cease its ravages until about fifty years later. This plague was the most terrible scourge of which history has any knowledge, save perhaps the so-called Black Death, which afflicted Europe in the fourteenth century (sec. 626). It is believed to have carried off one third of the population of the Empire.

509. **The Reign of Heraclius** (A.D. 610–641). — For half a century after the death of Justinian the annals of the Eastern Roman Empire are unimportant. Then we reach the reign of Heraclius, a prince about whose worthy name gather matters of significance in world history.

About this time Chosroes II, king of Persia, wrested from the hands of the Eastern emperors the fortified cities that guarded the Euphratean frontier and overran all Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. For many years Heraclius battled heroically for the integrity of the Empire. The struggle between the two rivals was at last decided by a terrible combat known as the battle of Nineveh (A.D. 627). The Persian army was almost annihilated. Grief or violence ended the life of Chosroes. With his successor, Heraclius negotiated a treaty which restored the earlier boundaries of the Roman dominions.

A few years after this the Arabs, of whom we shall tell in the following chapter, entered upon their surprising career of conquest, which in a short time completely changed the face of the entire East. Heraclius himself lived to see — so cruel are the vicissitudes of fortune — the very provinces which he had recovered from the fire worshipers in the possession of the followers of the Arabian Prophet.

The conquests of the Arabs cut off from the Empire those provinces that had the smallest Greek element, and thus rendered the population subject to the Emperor more homogeneous, more thoroughly Greek. The Roman element disappeared, and though the government still retained the imperial character impressed

upon it by the conquerors of the world, the court of Constantinople became Greek in tone, spirit, and manners. Hence, instead of longer applying to the Empire the designation *Roman*, many historians from this on call it the *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire.

510. Services rendered European Civilization by the Roman Empire in the East.[2] — The later Roman Empire rendered such eminent services to the European world that it justly deserves an important place in universal history. First, as a military outpost it held the Eastern frontier of European civilization for a thousand years against Asiatic barbarism.

Second, it was the keeper for centuries of the treasures of ancient civilization and the instructor of the new Western nations in law, in government and administration, in literature, in painting, in architecture, and in the industrial arts.

Third, it kept alive the imperial idea and principle, and gave this fruitful idea and this molding principle back to the West in the time of Charlemagne. Without the later Roman Empire of the East there would never have been a Romano-German Empire of the West (sec. 532).

Fourth, it was the teacher of religion and civilization to the Slavic races of Eastern Europe. Russia forms part of the civilized world to-day largely by virtue of what she received from New Rome.

Secondary Works. — GIBBON, chaps. xl–xliv; on the reign of Justinian. Chap. xliv deals with Roman jurisprudence. OMAN, C., *The Story of the Byzantine Empire*, chaps. iv–xi. HODGKIN, T., *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iv, "The Imperial Restoration." RAWLINSON, G., *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, chap. xxiv. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article on Justinian by James Bryce. BURY, J. B., *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols.; a work of superior scholarship. BÉMONT, C., and MONOD, G., *Mediæval Europe*, chap. viii. HARRISON, F., *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages;* a brilliant lecture, which summarizes the results of the latest studies in the field indicated. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 87–113 and 212–223.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The recovery of Italy. 2. Belisarius. 3. Introduction into Europe of the silk industry. 4. Justinian as a builder. 5. The Code of Justinian. 6. The closing by Justinian of the schools of Athens.

[2] Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii, chap. xiv.

CHAPTER XLI

THE RISE OF ISLAM

511. The Attack from the South upon Ancient Civilization. — We have seen the German barbarians of the North descend upon and wrest from the Roman Empire all its provinces in the West. We are now to watch a similar attack made upon the Empire by the Arabs of the South, and to see wrested from the emperors of the East a large part of the lands still remaining under their rule.[1]

512. The Arabs. — The Arabs, or Saracens, who are now about to play their surprising part in history, are, after the Hebrews and the Phœnicians, the most important people of the Semitic race. They are divided into two distinct classes, — dwellers in towns and dwellers in tents. It is to the latter class alone that the term *Bedouins* is properly applied.

Secure in their inaccessible deserts, the Arabs have never as a nation bowed their necks to a foreign conqueror, although portions of the Arabian peninsula have been repeatedly subjugated by different invaders.

513. The Religious Condition of Arabia before Mohammed. — Before the reforms of Mohammed the Arabs were idolaters. Their holy city was Mecca. Here was the ancient and most revered shrine of the Kaaba,[2] where was preserved a sacred black stone that was believed to have been given by an angel to Abraham. To this Meccan shrine pilgrimages were made from the most remote parts of Arabia.

But though polytheism was the prevailing religion of Arabia, still there were in the land many followers of other faiths. The Jews especially were to be found in some parts of the peninsula in great numbers, having been driven from Palestine by the Roman persecutions. From them the Arab teachers had been

[1] The student should make a careful study of the maps after pp. 336 and 366.

[2] So named from its having the shape of a cube.

made acquainted with the doctrine of one sole God. From the numerous Christian converts dwelling among them they had learned something of the doctrines of Christianity. It was from the Jews and Christians, doubtless, that Mohammed learned many of the doctrines that he taught.

514. **Mohammed.**—Mohammed, the great Prophet of the Arabs, was born in the holy city of Mecca, probably in the year A.D. 570. He sprang from the distinguished tribe of the Koreish, the custodians of the sacred shrine of the Kaaba. In his early years he

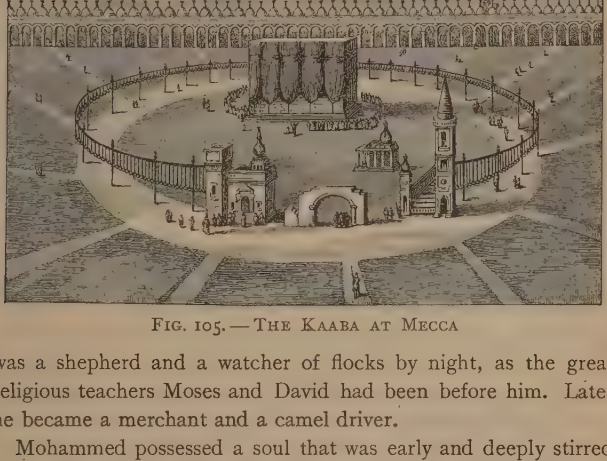


FIG. 105.—THE KAABA AT MECCA

was a shepherd and a watcher of flocks by night, as the great religious teachers Moses and David had been before him. Later he became a merchant and a camel driver.

Mohammed possessed a soul that was early and deeply stirred by the contemplation of those themes that ever attract the religious mind. He declared that he had visions in which the angel Gabriel appeared to him and made to him revelations which he was commanded to make known to his fellow-men. The starting point of the new faith which he was to teach was this: There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.

For a long time Mohammed endeavored to gain adherents merely by persuasion; but such was the incredulity which he

everywhere met that at the end of three years of apostolic labors his disciples numbered only forty persons.

515. **The Hegira** (A.D. 622). — The teachings of Mohammed at last aroused the anger of a powerful party among the Koreish, and they began to persecute him and his followers. To escape these persecutions Mohammed fled to the neighboring city of Medina. This *Hegira*, or Flight, as the word signifies, occurred A.D. 622, and was considered by the Moslems as such an important event in the history of their religion that they adopted it as the beginning of a new era, and from it still continue to reckon historical dates.

516. **Mohammed at Medina; Beginning of the Holy Wars of Islam.** — At this time Medina was merely a cluster of clan villages on an oasis of the desert. Bitter feuds divided the clans, and the community was in a state of genuine Arab anarchy. Mohammed at once assumed the functions of an arbiter and lawgiver. He framed for the community a remarkable charter or constitution, which united the warring clans into a little commonwealth, — the nucleus of the great Arabian Empire. His government was a theocracy, like that of ancient Israel. Mohammed was not now, as while at Mecca, simply a prophet, but a legislator, judge, and king.

As chief or king, Mohammed, like his prototype David, planned and led border raids and military campaigns. The year after the Hegira he sent out an expedition to intercept a caravan of the Koreish and to make it a prize. This was in strict accord with Arab rule and custom, for the Koreish in expelling Mohammed from Mecca and in attempting to kill him had established a state of war between him and themselves. This marauding soon led to a pitched battle (the so-called battle of Bedr, A.D. 624) between the Meccans and the followers of Mohammed, which resulted in a signal victory for the Moslems. This was the beginning of the holy wars of Islam.[8]

[8] Mohammed about this time gave his followers the following revelation, which had great influence in securing for early Islam its remarkable military successes: "And those who are slain in God's cause, their works shall not go wrong; He . . . will make them enter into Paradise which He has told them of." — THE KORAN, sura xlvii, 5 (Palmer's trans.).

517. Capture of Mecca; Arabia acknowledges Mohammed as a True Prophet. — In the tenth year of the Hegira, the Meccans having violated a truce which they had entered into with the new state at Medina, Mohammed at the head of an army of ten thousand Bedouins marched against Mecca and captured the city almost without a blow. The Arabian tribes now almost unanimously turned to Mohammed as a true prophet, and he who had been once rejected now became the spiritual and military head of the innumerable Arab clans, whom the intense ardor of religious enthusiasm had welded into a mighty brotherhood and nation.

The same year that marks the capture of Mecca by Mohammed marks also his death. He was buried at Medina, and his tomb there is to-day a most sacred place of pilgrimage for the Moslem world.

518. The Origin of the Koran. — Before going on to trace the conquests of the successors of Mohammed, we must try to form some idea of the religion of the great Prophet.

The doctrines of Mohammedanism, or Islam, which means "submission to God," are contained in the Koran, which is believed by the orthodox to have been written from all eternity on tablets in heaven. From time to time the apostle recited [4] to his disciples portions of the "heavenly book" as its contents were revealed to him in his dreams and visions. These communications were held in the "breasts of men," or were written down upon bones, pieces of pottery, and the ribs of palm leaves. Soon after the death of the Prophet these scraps of writing were religiously collected, supplemented by tradition, and then arranged chiefly according to length. Thus came into existence the sacred book of Islam.

519. The Teachings of the Koran. — The fundamental doctrine of Islam is the unity of God: "There is no God save Allah" echoes through the Koran. To this is added the equally binding declaration that "Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah."

The Koran inculcates four cardinal virtues. The first of these is prayer: five times every day must the believer turn his face

[4] Palmer in the introduction to his translation of the Koran says that it is "probable Mohammed could neither read nor write."

towards Mecca and pray. The second is almsgiving. The third is keeping the fast of Ramadan, which lasts a whole month. The fourth duty is making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Every person who can possibly do so is required to make this journey.

To the faithful the Koran promises a heaven filled with every sensual delight, with flowers and fruits and bright-eyed maidens (houris) of ravishing beauty, and threatens unbelievers and the doers of evil with the torments of a hell filled with every horror of flame and demon.[5]

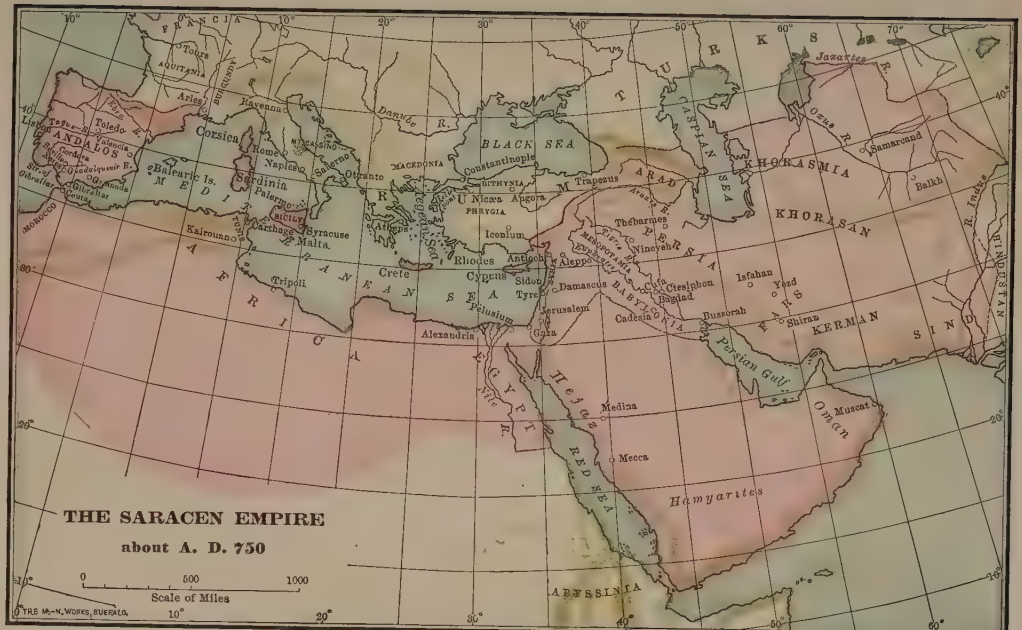
520. The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. — For exactly one century after the death of Mohammed the caliphs or successors of the Prophet[6] were engaged in an almost unbroken series of conquests. Persia was subjugated and the authority of the Koran was established throughout the land of the Zend-Avesta. Syria was wrested from the Eastern Roman Empire and Asia Minor was overrun. Egypt and North Africa, the latter just recently delivered from the Vandals, were also snatched from the hands of the Byzantine emperors.

By the conquest of Persia Zoroastrianism, a religion with a great past, was, as a force in history, destroyed.[7] By the conquest of Syria the birthplace of Christianity was lost to the Christian world. By the conquest of North Africa lands whose history for a thousand years had been intertwined with that of the opposite shores of Europe, and which at one time seemed destined to share in the career of freedom and progress opening to the peoples of that continent, were drawn back into the fatalism and the

[5] Islam is not based upon the Koran alone. It rests in part upon what is known as the *Sunna*, that is, a great body of traditions of the Prophet's sayings, — those not forming a part of the sacred book, — his actions, practices, and decisions handed down from his immediate companions.

[6] Abu-Bekr (A.D. 632–634), Mohammed's father-in-law, was the first caliph. He was followed by Omar (A.D. 634–644), Othman (A.D. 644–655), and Ali (A.D. 655–661), all of whom fell by the hands of assassins, for from the very first dissensions were rife among the followers of the Prophet.

[7] The number of Guebers, or fire worshipers, in Persia at the present time is about 100,000, found for the most part at Yezd and in the province of Kerman. A larger number may be counted in Western India, — the descendants of the Guebers who fled from Persia at the time of the Arabian invasion. They are there called Parsees, from the land whence they came.


THE SARACEN EMPIRE
about A. D. 750
0
500
1000
Scale of Miles
TRS Mc-N. WORKS, BUFFALO.
FRANCIA
Tours
AQUITANIA
AUSTRIA
Arles
Ravenna
Danube R.
Lisbon
Toledo
Valencia
ANDALUS
Cordova
Sevilla
Guadalquivir R.
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tagus R.
Ebro R.
Corsica
Rome
Naples
MYCASSINO
Salerno
Otranto
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
Palermo
SICILY
Carthage
Syracuse
Malta
Kairouan
Tripoli
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
MOROCCO
Athens
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Pelusium
Alexandria
EGYPT
Nile R.
Hejaz
RED SEA
Medina
Mecca
Hamyarites
ABYSSINIA
Gaza
Jerusalem
Tyre
Sidon
Damascus
Antioch
Aleppo
Iconium
PHRYGIA
Nicæa
Angora
BITHYNIA
Constantinople
MACEDONIA
BLACK SEA
Trapezus
ARAD
Arazes R.
Thebarmes
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris R.
Ctesiphon
Bagdad
Cadesia
BABYLONIA
Bussorah
Persian Gulf
Oman
Muscat
Shiraz
FARS
Yezd
Isfahan
KERMAN
SIND
HINDUSTAN
R. Indus
KHORASAN
KHORASMIA
Balkh
Samarcand
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
TURKS
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA

stagnation of the East. From being an extension of Europe they became once more an extension of Asia.

521. **Attacks upon Constantinople.** — Thus in only a little more than fifty years from the death of Mohammed his standard had been carried by the lieutenants of his successors through Asia to the Hellespont on the one side and across Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar on the other. We may expect to see the Saracens at one or both of these points attempt the invasion of Europe.

The first attempts were made in the East, where the Arabs repeatedly endeavored, but without success, to wrest Constantinople from the hands of the Eastern emperors. The check that the Saracens received before Constantinople was doubtless next in importance for European civilization to the check given their conquering hordes a little later in France at the great battle of Tours.

522. **The Conquest of Spain** (A.D. 711). — While the Moslems were thus being repulsed from Europe at its eastern extremity, the gates of the continent were opened to them — legend says by treachery — at the western, and they gained a foothold in Spain. At the great battle of Xeres (A.D. 711) the last of the Visigothic kings was hopelessly defeated, and all the peninsula save some mountainous regions in the northwest quickly submitted to the invaders. By this conquest some of the fairest provinces of Spain were lost to Christendom for a period of eight hundred years.

No sooner had the subjugation of the country been effected than multitudes of colonists from Arabia, Syria, and North Africa crowded into the peninsula, until in a short time the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Toledo, and Granada became predominantly Arabic in dress, manners, language, and religion.

523. **Invasion of France; Battle of Tours** (A.D. 732). — Four or five years after the conquest of Spain the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and established themselves upon the plains of Gaul. This advance of the Moslem host beyond the northern wall of Spain was viewed with the greatest alarm by all Christendom. It looked as though the followers of Mohammed would soon possess all the continent. As Draper pictures it, the Crescent, lying in a

vast semicircle upon the northern shore of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosporus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe.

In the year 732, just one hundred years after the death of the Prophet, the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel, and their allies met the Moslems upon the plains of Tours in the center of Gaul and committed to the issue of a single battle the fate of Christendom and the future course of history. The Arabs suffered an overwhelming defeat and soon withdrew behind the Pyrenees.

The young Christian civilization of Western Europe was thus delivered from an appalling danger such as had not threatened it since the fearful days of Attila and the Huns.

524. **Golden Age of the Caliphate at Bagdad.** — For about thirty years after the death of Mohammed, Medina continued to be the capital of the Arabian Empire; then Damascus was the seat of the government for nearly a century,[8] after which, a new dynasty arising, a new capital, Bagdad, was founded on the Lower Tigris, in ancient Babylonia.

The golden age of the caliphate of Bagdad covered the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century of our era, and was illustrated by the reigns of such princes as Al-Mansur (A.D. 754–775) and the renowned Harun-al-Rashid (A.D. 786–809). During this period science and philosophy and literature were most assiduously cultivated by the Arabian scholars, and the court of the caliphs presented in culture and luxury a striking contrast to the rude and barbarous courts of the kings and princes of Western Christendom.

525. **The Dismemberment of the Caliphate.** — "At the close of the first century of the Hegira," writes Gibbon, "the caliphs

[8] The caliphs who ruled from Damascus are known as the Ommeiades. In securing their power they had caused the murder of the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hosain. These youths were ever regarded as martyrs by the friends of the house of Ali, and the schism caused by their cruel death has never been healed. The Mohammedans of Persia, who are known as Shiahs, are the leaders of the party of Ali, while the Turks and Arabs, known as Sunnites, are the chief adherents of the opposite party.

were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." But in a short time their extended empire, through the quarrels of sectaries and the ambitions of rival aspirants for the honors of the caliphate, was broken in fragments, and from three capitals — from Bagdad upon the Tigris, from Cairo upon the Nile, and from Cordova upon the Guadalquivir — were issued the commands of three rival caliphs, each of whom was regarded by his adherents as the sole rightful spiritual and civil successor of Mohammed. All, however, held the great Prophet in the same reverence, all maintained with equal zeal the sacred character of the Koran, and all prayed with their faces turned toward the holy city of Mecca.

526. **The Civilization of Arabian Islam.** — The Saracens were coheirs of antiquity with the Germans. They made especially their own the scientific[9] accumulations of the ancient civilizations and bequeathed them to Christian Europe. These elements of civilization they added to and enriched, and in several of the countries of which they took possession, especially in Babylonia and in Spain, there developed a civilization which in some respects far surpassed any that the world had yet seen.

The Moslem law system, the basis of which is found in the Koran, is one of the most influential and widely obeyed systems of laws and regulations that any race or civilization has developed. Since the system embraces religious as well as civil matters, it is in some respects like the Mosaic code, from which it freely borrowed.

In the lighter forms of literature — romance and poetry — the Arabs produced much that possesses a high degree of excellence. The inimitable tales of the *Arabian Nights*, besides being a valuable commentary on Arabian life and manners at the time of the culmination of Oriental culture at the court of Bagdad, forms also an addition to the imperishable portion of the literature of the world.

The physical sciences were also pursued by the Arabian scholars with great eagerness and with considerable success. From the

[9] Gibbon affirms that no Greek poet, orator, or historian was ever translated into Arabic. See *Decline and Fall*, chap. lii.

Greeks and the Hindus they received the germs of astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, algebra, medicine, botany, and other sciences. Almost all of the sciences that thus came into their hands were improved and enriched by them, and then transmitted to European scholars.[10] They made medicine for the first time a true science. They devised and gave to Europe what is known from them as the Arabic or decimal system of notation.[11]

All this literary and scientific activity naturally found expression in the establishment of schools, universities, and libraries. In all the great cities of the Arabian Empire, as at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, centuries before Europe could boast anything beyond cathedral or monastic schools, great universities were drawing together vast crowds of eager young Moslems and creating an atmosphere of learning and refinement. The famous university at Cairo, which has at the present day an attendance of several thousand students, is a survival from the great days of Arabian Islam.

In the erection of mosques and other public edifices the Arab architects developed a new and striking style of architecture, — some of the most beautiful specimens of which are preserved to us at Cordova and Granada, in Spain, — a style which has given to modern builders some of their finest models.

527. The Evil and the Good in Islam. — In some of its teachings and institutions Islam is a system unfavorable to social progress. In opposition to Christianity, it tolerates polygamy [12] and places no restraint upon divorce, thus destroying the sacredness of family life. In authorizing the faithful to make slaves of their captives in holy wars, it legalizes slavery; Mohammedan countries are the

[10] What Europe received in science from Arabian sources is shown by such words as *alchemy*, *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *azimuth*, *chemistry*, *elixir*, *zenith*, and *nadir*. To how great an extent the chief Arabian cities became the manufacturing centers of the mediæval world is indicated by the names which these places have given to various textile fabrics and other articles. Thus *muslin* comes from Mosul, on the Tigris, *damask* from Damascus, and *gauze* from Gaza. Damascus and Toledo blades tell of the proficiency of the Arab workmen in metallurgy.

[11] The figures or numerals, with the exception of the zero symbol, employed in their system they seem to have borrowed from India.

[12] The Koran (sura iv, 3) allows the believer to take "two, or three, or four wives, and not more." By a special dispensation (sura xxxiii, 49) Mohammed was allowed to take a larger number. At one time the Prophet had ten wives.

main strongholds of slavery at the present time. It also fosters religious intolerance; the Moslem is forbidden by his religion to grant equality to unbelievers.

Islam, however, inculcates many inspiring truths and recommends some great virtues. Like Christianity, it teaches the unity of God, immortality, and rewards and punishments after death. These doctrines render it immeasurably superior to fetichism or to polytheism, and have made it a great force for the uplift of multitudes of idolatrous tribes in Asia and Africa.

Among the leading virtues inculcated by Islam is that of temperance. The Koran forbids positively to the believer the use of wine and inferentially of all strong drinks. To this prohibition is attributable the fact that drunkenness is less common and open in Mohammedan than in Christian lands.

Finally, in forming our estimate of Islam we should carefully bear in mind that the religion as held and practiced by many Mohammedan peoples to-day is a very degenerate form of the Islamic faith when compared with that held and practiced by the Arabs among whom it first arose.

Selections from the Sources. — The Koran is our chief source for a knowledge of Islam as a religion. The translation by Palmer, in *Sacred Books of the East*, is the best. *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammed* (trans. by Stanley Lane-Poole).

Secondary Works. — MUIR, W., *The Corân*, *The Life of Mohammed*, and *The Rise and Decline of Islam*. SMITH, R. B., *Mohammed and Mohammedanism;* has a short bibliography. IRVING, W., *Mahomet and his Successors*. GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall*, chaps. l–lii. CARLYLE, T., *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Lect. ii, "The Hero as Prophet." FREEMAN, E. A., *History and Conquests of the Saracens;* a rapid sketch by a master. GILMAN, A., *The Saracens from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Bagdad*. SYED AMEER ALI, *The Spirit of Islam: or the Life and Teachings of Mohammed;* by a Mohammedan barrister at law. Also the same author's *Short History of the Saracens*. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 224–239.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The conquest of Egypt. 2. The caliph Harun-al-Rashid. 3. The *Arabian Nights*. 4. The Moors in Spain.

CHAPTER XLII

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST

528. Introductory. — We return now to the West. The Franks, who with the aid of their confederates withstood the Saracens on the field of Tours and saved Europe from subjection to the Koran, are the people that first attract our attention. Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, their king, is the imposing figure that moves amidst all the events of the times, — indeed, is the one who makes the events and renders the period an epoch in universal history.

The story of this era affords the key to very much of the subsequent history of Western Europe. The mere enumeration of the events which are to claim our attention will illustrate the important character of the period. We shall tell how the mayors of the palace of the Merovingian princes became the actual kings of the Franks; how, through the liberality of the Frankish kings, the popes laid the foundations of their temporal sovereignty; and how Charlemagne restored the Roman Empire in the West, and throughout its extended limits, in the fusion of things Roman and things Germanic, laid the basis of modern civilization.

529. How Duke Pippin became King of the Franks (A.D. 751). — Charles Martel, who saved the Christian civilization of Western Europe on the field of Tours, although the real head of the Frankish nation, was nominally only an officer of the Merovingian court (sec. 478). He died without ever having borne the title of king, notwithstanding he had exercised all the authority of that office.

But Charles' son, Pippin III, aspired to the regal title and honors. He resolved to depose his titular master and to make himself king. Not deeming it wise, however, to do this without the sanction of the Pope, he sent an embassy to represent to him

the state of affairs and to solicit his advice. Mindful of recent favors that he had received at the hands of Pippin, the Pope gave his approval to the proposed change by replying that it seemed altogether reasonable that the one who was king in reality should be king also in name. This was sufficient. Childeric — such was the name of the Merovingian king — was straightway deposed, and Pippin, whose own deeds together with those of his illustrious father had done so much for the Frankish nation and for Christendom, was crowned king of the Franks, and thus became the first of the Carolingian line, the name of his illustrious son Charles (Charlemagne) giving name to the house.

530. **Pippin helps to establish the Temporal Power of the Popes** (A.D. 756). — In the year A.D. 754 Pope Stephen II, troubled by the king of the Lombards, besought Pippin's aid against the barbarian. Pippin, quick to return the favor which the head of the Church had rendered him in the securing of his crown, straightway interposed in behalf of the Pope. He descended into Italy with an army, expelled the Lombards from their recent conquests, and made a donation to the Pope of the regained lands[1] (A.D. 756). As a symbol of the gift he laid the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, and of many other cities on the tomb of St. Peter.

This endowment may be regarded as having practically laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the popes; for although Pope Stephen, as it seems, had already resolved to cast off allegiance to the Eastern Emperor and set up an independent Church state, still it is not probable that he could have carried out such an enterprise successfully had he not been aided in his project by the Frankish king.

531. **Accession of Charlemagne; his Wars.** — Pippin died in the year 768, and his kingdom passed into the hands of his two sons, Carloman and Charles, the latter being better known by the name he achieved of Charlemagne, or "Charles the Great." Three years after the accession of the brothers Carloman died, and Charles took possession of his dominions.

[1] The sovereignty of all these lands belonged nominally to the Emperor at Constantinople. His claims were ignored by Pippin.

During his long reign of nearly half a century Charlemagne so extended the boundaries of his dominions that they came to embrace the larger part of Western Europe. He made over fifty military campaigns, among which were those against the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Saxons.

Among the first undertakings of Charlemagne was a campaign against the Lombards, whose king, Desiderius, was troubling the Pope. Charlemagne wrested from Desiderius all his possessions, shut up the unfortunate king in a monastery, and placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown" of the Lombards (sec. 479).

In the year 778 Charlemagne gathered his warriors for a crusade against the Mohammedan Moors in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees and succeeded in winning from the Moslems all the northeastern corner of the peninsula. These lands thus regained for Christendom he made a part of his dominions, under the title of the Spanish March.[2]

But by far the greater number of the campaigns of Charlemagne were directed against the still pagan Saxons. These people were finally reduced to permanent submission and forced to accept Charlemagne as their sovereign and Christianity as their religion.

532. **Restoration of the Empire in the West** (A.D. 800). — An event of seemingly little moment, yet in its influence upon succeeding affairs of the very greatest importance, now claims our attention. Pope Leo III having called upon Charlemagne for aid against a hostile faction at Rome, the king soon appeared in person at the capital and punished the disturbers of the peace of the Church. The gratitude of Leo led him at this time to make a most signal return for the many services of the Frankish king. To understand his act a word of explanation is needed.

For a considerable time a variety of circumstances had been fostering a growing feeling of enmity between the Italians and

[2] As Charles was leading his victorious bands back across the Pyrenees, the rear of his army, while hemmed in by the walls of the Pass of Roncesvalles, was set upon by the wild mountaineers (the Gascons) and cut to pieces before he could give relief. Of the details of this event no authentic account has been preserved; but long afterwards, associated with the fabulous deeds of the hero Roland, it formed a favorite theme of the tales and songs of the Trouveurs of Northern France (sec. 645).

the emperors at Constantinople. Just at this time, by the crime of the Empress Irene, who had deposed her son, Constantine VI, and put out his eyes that she might have his place, the Byzantine throne was vacant, in the estimation of the Italians, who contended that the crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. In view of these circumstances Pope Leo and those about him conceived the purpose of taking away from the heretical and effeminate Greeks the imperial crown and bestowing it upon some strong and orthodox and worthy prince in the West.

Now among all the Teutonic chiefs of Western Christendom there was none who could dispute in claims to the honor with the king of the Franks, the representative of a most illustrious house and the strongest champion of the young Christianity of the West against her pagan foes. Accordingly, as Charlemagne was participating in the solemnities of Christmas Day in the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope approached the kneeling king, and placing a crown of gold upon his head proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus (A.D. 800).

The intention of Pope Leo was, by a sort of reversal of the act of Constantine the Great, to bring back from the East the seat of the imperial court; but what he really accomplished was a restoration of the line of emperors in the West, which three hundred and twenty-four years before had been ended by Odoacer (sec. 445).

We say this was what he actually effected; for the Greeks of the East, disregarding wholly what the Roman people and the Pope had done, maintained their line of emperors just as though nothing had occurred in Italy. So now from this time on for centuries there were, most of the time, two emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus.[3]

[3] From this time on it will be proper for us to use the terms *Western* Empire and *Eastern* Empire. These names should not, however, be employed before this time, for the two parts of the old Roman Empire were simply administrative divisions of a single empire; but we may properly enough speak of the Roman Empire *in* the West, and the Roman Empire *in* the East, or of the Western and Eastern emperors. What it is very essential to note is, that the restoration of the line of the Western emperors actually destroyed the unity of the old Empire, so that from this time on until the destruction of the Eastern Empire in 1453, there were, as we have said in

This revival of the Empire in the West was one of the most important matters in European history. It gave to the following centuries "a great political ideal," which was the counterpart of the religious ideal of a universal Church embodied in the Papacy, and which was to shape large sections of mediæval history.

533. **Charles the Great as a Ruler.** — Charlemagne must not be regarded as a warrior merely. His most noteworthy work was that which he effected as a legislator and administrator. He ruled his Empire with the constant solicitude of a father. The character of his government is revealed by his celebrated Capitularies. These were not laws proper, but collections of decrees, decisions, and instructions covering matters of every kind, civil and religious, public and domestic. They show what were Charlemagne's ideas of what his chiefs or his subjects needed in the way of advice, suggestion, or command.

Charlemagne, particularly after his coronation as Emperor, exercised as careful a superintendence over religious as over civil affairs. He called synods or councils of the clergy of his dominions, presided at these meetings, and addressed to abbots and bishops fatherly words of admonition, reproof, and exhortation.

Education was also a matter to which Charlemagne gave zealous attention. He was himself from first to last as diligent a student as his busy life permitted. He never ceased to be a learner. In his old age he tried to learn to write, but found that it was too late. Distressed by the dense ignorance all about him, he labored to instruct his subjects, lay and clerical, by the establishment of schools and the multiplication and dissemination of books through the agency of the copyists of the monasteries. He invited from England the celebrated Alcuin, one of the finest scholars of the age, and with his help organized what became known as the Palace School, in which his children and courtiers and he himself were pupils.

534. **The Death of Charlemagne (814); Results of his Reign.** — Charlemagne enjoyed the imperial dignity only fourteen years. He

the text, two rival emperors, each in theory having rightful suzerainty of the whole world, whereas the two emperors in Roman times were the co-rulers of a single and indivisible world empire. See Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire*

THE WESTERN EMPIRE
As Divided at Verdun
843
0 50 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLISH CHANNEL
DENMARK
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
London
SAXONY
KINGDOM OF LOUIS
Hamburg
Paderborn
Aachen
AUSTRASIA
Frankfort
BOHEMIA
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
Verdun
Paris
NEUSTRIA
Tours
Loire
BAVARIA
St. Gall
AQUITANIA
Lyons
Geneva
KINGDOM OF LOTHAIR
Venice
Ravenna
SERVIA
ADRIATIC SEA
GASCONY
Pass of Roncesvalles
SPANISH MARCH
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Corsica
Rome
BENEVENTUM

died in 814. By the almost universal verdict of students of the mediæval period, he has been pronounced the most imposing personage that appears between the fall of Rome and the fifteenth century. His greatness has erected an enduring monument for itself in his name, the one by which he is best known, — Charlemagne.

Among the results of the reign of Charlemagne we should note at least the two following. First, he did for Germany what Cæsar did for Gaul, — brought this barbarian land within the pale of civilization and made it a part of the new-forming Romano-German world.

Second, he kneaded into something like a homogeneous mass the various racial elements composing the mixed society of the wide regions over which he ruled. Throughout his long and vigorous reign that fusion of Roman and Teuton of which we spoke in an earlier chapter went on apace. He failed indeed to unite the various races of his extended dominions in a permanent political union, but he did much to create among them those religious, intellectual, and social bonds which were never afterwards severed. From his time on, as it has been concisely expressed, there was a Western Christendom.

535. **Division of the Empire; the Treaty of Verdun** (843). — Like the kingdom of Alexander and that of many another great conqueror, the mighty empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces soon after his death. "His scepter was the bow of Ulysses, which could not be drawn by any weaker hand."

Charlemagne was followed by his son Lewis, surnamed the Pious (814–840). Upon his death fierce contention broke out afresh among his surviving sons, Lewis, Charles, and Lothair, and myriads of lives were sacrificed in the unnatural strife. Finally, by the famous Treaty of Verdun (843), the Empire was divided as follows: to Lewis was given the part east of the Rhine, the nucleus of the later Germany; to Charles, the part west of the Rhone and the Meuse, one day to become France; and to Lothair, the narrow central strip between these, stretching across Europe from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and including

the rich lands of the lower Rhine, the valley of the Rhone, and the larger part of Italy. To Lothair also was given the imperial title.

This treaty is celebrated, not only because it was the first great treaty among the European states, but also on account of its marking the divergence from one another, and in some sense the origin, of two of the great nations of modern Europe, — Teutonic Germany and Romanic France. As shown by the celebrated bilingual oath of Strassburg,[4] there had by this time grown up in Gaul, through the mixture of the provincial Latin with German elements, a new speech, which was to grow into the French tongue, — the firstborn of the Romance languages.[5]

In the year 962 a strong king of Germany, Otto the Great, again revived the Empire, which now came to be called the *Holy Roman Empire*. Respecting the great part that the idea of the Empire played in subsequent history we shall speak in a later chapter (Chapter XLVI).

Selections from the Sources. — EGINHARD (Einhard), *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great.* Einhard was Charles' confidential friend and secretary. "Almost all our real, vivifying knowledge of Charles the Great," says Hodgkin, "is derived from Einhard, and . . . the *Vita Caroli* is one of the most precious bequests of the early Middle Ages." *Translations and Reprints*, vol. vi, No. 5, "Selections from the Laws of Charles the Great."

Secondary Works. — HODGKIN, T., *Charles the Great*, and MOMBERT, J. I., *A History of Charles the Great;* the first is the best short biography in English. BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. iv, v, and xxi; gives a clear view of the import of the restoration of the Empire. EMERTON, E., *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chaps. xii–xiv. WEST, A. F., *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, and MULLINGER, J. B., *The Schools of Charles the Great;* for the influence upon the intellectual life of the Middle Ages of the schools founded by Charlemagne. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. vii. DAVIS, H. W. C., *Charlemagne.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Charlemagne and the Saxons. 2. Romances connected with Charlemagne's expedition against the Moors in Spain. 3. Alcuin and the Palace School.

[4] This was an oath of friendship and mutual fidelity taken by Lewis and Charles just before the Treaty of Verdun (in 842). The text of the oath has been preserved both in the old German speech and in the new-forming Romance language. It is interesting as affording the oldest existing specimens of these languages.

[5] Compare secs. 503 and 644.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE NORTHMEN: THE COMING OF THE VIKINGS

536. **The Northern Folk.** — Northmen, Norsemen, Scandinavians are different names applied in a general way to the early inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. For the reason that those making settlements in England came for the most part from Denmark, the term Danes is often used with the same wide application by the English writers. These people formed the northern branch of the Teutonic family.

For the first eight centuries of our era the Norsemen are practically hidden from our view in their remote northern home; but towards the end of the eighth century their black piratical crafts are to be seen creeping along the coasts of

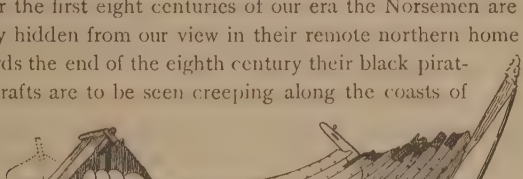


FIG. 106. — A VIKING SHIP

It was the custom of the Northmen to bury their dead sea king near the sea in his ship and over the spot to raise a great mound of earth. The boat shown in the cut was found in 1880 in a burial mound at Gokstadt, South Norway. Its length is 78 feet. From the mode of sepulture it is inferred that the mound was raised between A.D. 700 and 1000

Britain, Ireland, and Gaul, and even venturing far up the inlets and creeks. Soon all the shores of the countries visited were dotted with their stations and settlements. With a foothold once secured, fresh bands came, and the stations in time grew into permanent colonies. These marauding expeditions and colonizing enterprises did not cease till late in the eleventh century.

The most noteworthy characteristic of these Northmen is the readiness with which they laid aside their own manners, habits, ideas, and institutions, and adopted those of the country in which they established themselves. "In Russia they became Russians; in France, Frenchmen; in Italy, Italians; in England, Englishmen."

537. **Colonization of Iceland and Greenland; the Discovery of America.** — Iceland was settled by the Northmen in the ninth century,[1] and about a century later Greenland was discovered and colonized. In 1874 the Icelanders celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the settlement of their island, an event very like our Centennial of 1876.

America was reached by the Northmen as early as the opening of the eleventh century; the "Vinland" of their traditions was probably some part of the New England coast. Whether these first visitors to the continent ever made any settlements in the new land is a disputed question.

538. **The Norsemen in Russia.** — While the Norwegians were sailing boldly out into the Atlantic and taking possession of the isles and coasts of the western seas, the Swedes were pushing their crafts across the Baltic and troubling the Finns and Slavs on the eastern shore of that sea. Either by right of conquest or through the invitation of the contentious Slavonic clans, the renowned Scandinavian chieftain Rurik acquired, about the middle of the ninth century, kingly dignity, and became the founder of the first royal line of Russia.

539. **The Danish Conquest of England.** — The Danes began to make descents upon the English coast toward the close of the eighth century. They were not content with plunder, but, being pagans, took special delight in burning the churches and monasteries of the now Christian Anglo-Saxons, or English, as we shall

[1] Iceland became the literary center of the Scandinavian world. There grew up here a class of scalds, or bards, who, before the introduction of writing, preserved and transmitted orally the sagas, or legends, of the Northern races. About the middle of the thirteenth century these poems and legends were gathered into collections known as the *Elder* or *Poetic Edda* and the *Younger* or *Prose Edda*. These are among the most interesting and important of the literary memorials that we possess of the early Teutonic peoples. They reflect faithfully the beliefs and customs of the Norsemen, and the wild, adventurous spirit of their sea kings.

hereafter call them. In a short time fully one half of England was in their hands. Just when it began to look as though the hard-pushed English would be wholly enslaved or driven from the island by the heathen intruders, Alfred (871–901), later to be known as Alfred the Great,[2] came to the throne of Wessex. He finally gained some advantage over the Danes, but could not expel them from the island, and by the celebrated Treaty of Wedmore (878) gave up to them all the northeastern part of England.

For a full century following the death of Alfred his successors were engaged in a constant struggle to hold in restraint the Danes already settled in the land, or to protect their domains from fresh invasions. In the end the Danes got the mastery, and Canute, king of Denmark, became king of England (1016). For eighteen years he reigned in a wise and parental way. Altogether the Danes ruled in England about a quarter of a century, and then the old English line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (1042).

540. Settlement of the Northmen in Gaul. — The Northmen began to make piratical descents upon the coasts of Gaul before the end of the reign of Charlemagne. The great king had been dead only thirty years when these sea rovers ascended the Seine and sacked Paris (845). At last the Carolingian king, Charles the Simple, did something very like what Alfred the Great had done across the Channel only a short time before. He granted to Rollo, the leader of the Northmen who had settled at Rouen, a large section of country in the north of Gaul, upon condition of homage and conversion (912). In a short time the newcomers had adopted the language, the manners, and the religion of the

[2] Alfred is the only sovereign of England on whom the title of Great has been conferred. Perhaps his best claims to this distinction spring from his work as a lawgiver and a patron of learning. The code that he made formed the basis of early English jurisprudence. Alfred also fostered learning by himself becoming a translator. Here we have the beginnings of the prose literature of England. "The mighty roll of the prose books that fill her libraries," writes Green, "begins with the translations of Alfred, and above all with the Chronicle of his reign." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle here alluded to was a minute and chronological record of events, probably begun in *systematic form* in Alfred's reign and continued down to the year 1154. It was kept by the monks of different monasteries, and forms one of our most valuable sources for early English history.

French, and had caught much of their vivacity and impulsiveness, without, however, any loss of their own native virtues. This transformation in them we may conceive as being recorded in their transformed name, — Northmen becoming softened into Norman.

541. **Normandy in French History.** — The establishment of a Scandinavian settlement in Gaul proved a momentous matter, not only for the history of the French people, but for the history of European civilization as well. This Norse factor was destined to be one of the most important of all those various racial elements which on the soil of the old Gaul blended to create the richly dowered French nation. For many of the most romantic passages of her history France is indebted to the adventurous spirit of the descendants of these wild rovers of the sea. The knights of Normandy lent an added splendor to French knighthood, and helped greatly to make France the hearth of chivalry and the center of the crusading movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nor was the influence of the incoming of the Scandinavian race felt upon French history alone. Normandy became the point of departure of enterprises that had deep and lasting consequences for Europe at large. These undertakings had for their arena England and the Mediterranean lands. Their results were so important and far-reaching that we shall devote to the narration of them a subsequent chapter (Chapter XLV).

Selections from the Sources. — *The Story of Burnt Njal* (trans. by George W. Dasent). An Icelandic saga; a picture of times and manners. ASSER, *The Life of King Alfred* (ed. by W. H. Stevenson). KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chap. ii, "England and the Danes."

Secondary Works. — KEARY, C. F., *The Vikings in Western Christendom*. The author depicts the various Viking undertakings as "one phase . . . of the long struggle between Christianity and the heathenism of the North." PAULI, R., *The Life of Alfred the Great*; the best life of the great king. GREEN, J. R., *The Conquest of England*; all excepting chaps. x and xi. DU CHAILLU, P. B., *The Viking Age*, 2 vols.; reflects the life and ideals, customs and manners of the Norsemen. MACFADYEN, D., *Alfred, the West Saxon*, and BOYESEN, H. H., *The Story of Norway*; the opening chapters.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Manners and customs of the Northmen. 2. The Eddas. 3. Tales and legends of Alfred the Great.

SECOND PERIOD — THE AGE OF REVIVAL

(From the Opening of the Eleventh Century to the Discovery of America by Columbus in 1492)

CHAPTER XLIV

FEUDALISM AND CHIVALRY

I. Feudalism

542. **Feudalism defined.** — Feudalism is the name given to a special form of society and government, based upon a peculiar tenure of land, which prevailed in Europe during the latter part of the Middle Ages, attaining, however, its most perfect development in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

A feudal estate, which might embrace a few acres or an entire province, was called a *fief*, or *feud*, whence the term Feudalism. The person granting a fief was called the *suzerain*, *liege*, or *lord;* the one receiving it, his *vassal*, *liegeman*, or *retainer*.

543. **The Ideal System.** — The few definitions given above will render intelligible the following explanation of the theory of the feudal system. In theory all the kings of the earth were vassals of the Emperor, who according to good imperialists was God's vassal, and according to good churchmen, the Pope's. The kings received their dominions as fiefs to be held on conditions of loyalty to their suzerain and of fealty to right and justice. Should a king become disloyal, or rule unjustly or wickedly, through such misconduct he forfeited his fief, and it might be taken from him by his suzerain and given to another worthier liegeman.

In the same way as the king received his fief from the Emperor, so might he grant it out in parcels to his chief men, they, in return for it, promising, in general, to be faithful to him as their lord, and to serve and aid him. In like manner these immediate vassals of the king, or suzerain, might parcel out their domains in

smaller tracts to others, on conditions similar to those upon which they had themselves received theirs; and so on down through any number of stages.

We have thus far dealt only with the soil of a country. We must next notice what disposition was made of the people under this system. The king on receiving his fief was intrusted with sovereignty over all persons living upon it; he became their commander, their lawmaker, and their judge, — practically, their absolute, irresponsible ruler. Then, when he parceled out his fief among his great men, he invested them, within the limits of the fiefs granted, with all his own sovereign rights. Each vassal became a virtual sovereign in his own domain. And when these great vassals subdivided their fiefs and granted portions of them to others, they in turn invested their vassals with more or less of those powers of sovereignty with which they themselves had been clothed.[1]

To illustrate the workings of the system, we will suppose the king or suzerain to be in need of an army. He calls upon his own immediate vassals for aid; these in turn call upon their vassals; and so the order runs down through the various ranks of retainers. The retainers in the lowest rank rally around their respective lords, who, with their bands, gather about their lords, and so on up through the rising tiers of the system, until the immediate vassals of the suzerain, or chief lord, present themselves before him with their graduated trains of followers. The array constitutes a feudal army, — a splendidly organized body in theory, but in fact an extremely poor instrument for warfare.

Such was the ideal feudal state. It is needless to say that the ideal was never perfectly realized. The system simply made more or less distant approaches to it in the several European countries.

544. **The Ceremony of Homage.** — A fief was conferred by a very solemn and peculiar ceremony called *homage*. The person

[1] The holders of small fiefs were not allowed to exercise the more important functions of sovereignty. Thus, of the estimated number of 70,000 fief holders in France in the tenth century, only between 100 and 200 possessed the right "to coin money, levy taxes, make laws, and administer their own justice."

about to become a vassal, kneeling with uncovered head, placed his hands in those of his future lord and solemnly vowed to be henceforth his man[2] and to serve him faithfully even with his life. This part of the procedure, sealed with a kiss, was what properly constituted the ceremony of homage. It was accompanied by an oath of fealty, and the whole was concluded by the act of investiture, whereby the lord put his vassal in actual possession of the land or, by placing in his hand a clod of earth or a twig, symbolized the delivery to him of the estate for which he had just now done homage and sworn fealty.

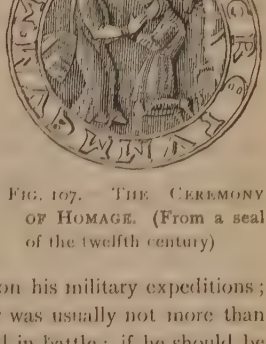


FIG. 107. THE CEREMONY OF HOMAGE. (From a seal of the twelfth century)

545. **The Relations of Lord and Vassal.** — In general terms the duty of the vassal was service; that of the lord, protection. The most honorable service required of the vassal, and the one most willingly rendered in a martial age, was military aid. The liegeman must always be ready to follow his lord upon his military expeditions; but the time of service for one year was usually not more than forty days. He must defend his lord in battle; if he should be unhorsed, must give him his own animal; and if he should be made a prisoner, must offer himself as a hostage for his release. He must also give entertainment to his lord and his retinue on their journeys. He was, moreover, under obligation, upon summons, to serve as juror or judge in the lord's court, and thus aid him in the settlement of disputes between his vassals.

Among other incidents attaching to a fief were what were known as *reliefs*, *escheats*, and *aids*.

A relief was the name given to the sum of money which an heir upon coming into possession of a fief must pay to the lord of the domain. This was often a large amount, being usually the entire revenue of the estate for one year.

[2] Latin *homo*, whence "homage."

By escheat was meant the falling back of the fief into the hands of the lord through failure of heirs. If the fief lapsed through disloyalty or other misdemeanor on the part of the vassal, this was known as *forfeiture*.

Aids were sums of money which the lord had a right to demand to enable him to meet unusual expenditures, especially for defraying the expense of knighting his eldest son, for providing a marriage dower for his eldest daughter, and for ransoming his own person from captivity in case he were made a prisoner of war. The chief return that the lord was bound to make to the vassal as a compensation for these various services and rights was justice and protection, — by no means a small return in an age of turmoil and insecurity.

546. Serfs and Serfdom. — The vassals, or fief holders of various grades, constituted only a small proportion, perhaps five per cent or less, of the population of the countries where feudalism came to prevail. The great bulk of the folk were agricultural serfs.[8] These were the men who actually tilled the soil. Just how this servile class arose is not positively known. In some countries at least they seem to have been the lineal descendants of the slaves of Roman times. Their status varied greatly from country to country and from period to period; that is to say, there came to be many grades of serfs filling the space between the actual slave and the full freeman. Consequently it is impossible to give any general account of the class which can be regarded as a true picture of their actual condition as a body at any given time. The following description must therefore be taken as reflecting their duties and disabilities only in the most general way.

The first and most characteristic feature of the condition of the serfs was that they were affixed to the soil. They could not of their own will leave the estate or manor to which they belonged;

[8] There were some free peasants and a larger number of free artisans and traders, inhabitants of the towns. The number of actual slaves was small. They had almost all disappeared before the end of the tenth century, either having been emancipated or having been lifted into the lowest order of serfs, which was an advance toward freedom. At the time of the great Domesday survey (sec. 562) there were, according to this record, only about 25,000 slaves in England.

nor, on the other hand, could their lord deprive them of their holdings and set them adrift. When the land changed masters they passed with it, just like a "rooted tree or stone earth-bound."

Each serf had allotted him by his lord a cottage and a number of acres of land, — thirty acres formed a normal holding, — consisting of numerous narrow strips scattered about the great open fields of the manor. For these he paid a rent, usually, during the earlier feudal times, in kind and in personal services. The personal services included a certain number of days' work, usually two or three days each week, on the demesne, that is, the land which the lord had kept in his own hands as a sort of home farm. He must furthermore grind his grain at his lord's mill, press his grapes at his wine press, bake his bread at his oven, often paying for these services an unreasonable toll.

After the serf had rendered to the lord all the rent in kind he owed for his cottage and bit of ground, the remainder of the produce from his fields was, in accordance with custom if not always with law, his own. Generally the share was only just sufficient to keep the wolf of hunger from his door.

In some countries, upon the death of the serf all that he had became in the eye of the law the property of his lord; in other lands, again, the lord could take only the best animal or the best implement of the deceased serf. This was called the *heriot*.

What we have now said will convey some idea of the nature of the relations that existed between the lord and his serf, and will indicate how servile and burdensome was the tenure by which the serf held his cottage and bit of ground. How the serf gradually freed himself from the heavy yoke of his servitude and became a freeman will appear as we advance in our narrative.

547. Development of the Feudal System. — The development of feudalism as a military system was hastened by the disturbed state of society everywhere during the greater part of the ninth and the tenth century; for after the death of Charlemagne and the partition of his empire, it appeared as though the world were again falling back into chaos. The bonds of society seemed entirely broken. Every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

To internal disorders were added the invasions of the outside barbarians; for, no longer held in restraint by the strong arm of the great Charles, they had now begun their raids anew. From the north came the Scandinavian pirates to harry the shores of Germany, Gaul, and Britain. The terror which these pagan sea rovers inspired is commemorated by the supplication of the litany of those days: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us." From the east came the terrible Hungarians, and by the way of the sea on the south came an equally dreaded foe, the Saracens, who had gained a foothold in Spain and Sicily.

It was this anarchical state of things which caused all classes to hasten to enter the feudal system in order to secure the protection which it alone could afford. Kings, princes, and wealthy persons who had large landed possessions which they had never parceled out as fiefs, were now led to do so, that their estates might be held by tenants bound to protect them by all the sacred obligations of homage and fealty. Thus sovereigns and princes became suzerains and feudal lords. Again, the smaller proprietors often voluntarily surrendered their little holdings into the hands of some neighboring lord, and then received them back again from him as fiefs, that they might claim protection as vassals. They deemed this better than being robbed of their property altogether.

Moreover, for like reasons and in like manner, churches, monasteries, and cities became members of the feudal system. They granted out their vast possessions as fiefs, and thus became suzerains and lords. Bishops and abbots became the heads of great bands of retainers, and often themselves led military expeditions like temporal chiefs. On the other hand, these same monasteries and towns frequently placed themselves under the protection of some powerful lord, and thus came in vassalage to him. Sometimes the bishops and the heads of religious houses, instead of paying military service, bound themselves to say a certain number of Masses for the lord or his family.

In this way were Church and State, all classes of society from the wealthiest suzerain to the humblest vassal, bound together by feudal ties. Everything was impressed with the stamp of feudalism.

548. **Castles of the Nobles.** — The lawless and violent character of the times during which feudalism prevailed is well shown by the nature of the residences which the great nobles built for themselves. These were strong stone fortresses, often perched upon some rocky eminence and defended by moats and towers. France, Germany, Italy, Northern Spain, England, and Scotland, in which countries the feudal system became most thoroughly

FIG. 108. — TYPICAL MEDIÆVAL CASTLE. (From an engraving)

developed, fairly bristled with these fortified residences of the nobility. Strong walls were the only protection against the universal violence of the age.

One of the most striking and picturesque features of the landscape of many regions in Europe to-day is the ivy-mantled towers and walls of these feudal castles now falling into ruins.

549. **Causes of the Decay of Feudalism.** — Chief among the various causes which undermined and at length overthrew feudalism were the hostility of the kings to the system, the Crusades, the growth of the cities, and the introduction of firearms in the art of war.

The kings opposed the system and sought to break it down, because it left them only the semblance of power. We shall see later how the kings came again to their own (Chapter LII). The

Crusades, or Holy Wars, that agitated all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did much to weaken the power of the nobles; for in order to raise money for their expeditions they frequently sold or mortgaged their estates, and in this way power and influence passed into the hands of the kings or the wealthy merchants of the cities. Many of the great nobles also perished in battle with the infidels, and their lands escheated to their suzerain, whose domains were thus augmented.

The growth of the towns also tended to the same end. As they increased in wealth and influence, they became able to resist the exactions and tyranny of the lord in whose fief they happened to be, and eventually were able to secede, as it were, from his authority, and to make of themselves little republics.

Again, improvements and changes in the mode of warfare, especially those resulting from the use of gunpowder, hastened the downfall of feudalism by rendering the yeoman foot soldier equal to the armor-clad knight. "It made all men of the same height," as Carlyle puts it.

But it is to be carefully noted that, though feudalism as a system of government disappeared, speaking broadly, with the Middle Ages, it still continued to exist as a social organization. The nobles lost their power and authority as petty sovereigns, but retained their titles, their privileges, their social distinction, and, in many cases, their vast landed estates.

550. Defects of the Feudal System. — Feudalism was perhaps the best form of social organization that it was possible to maintain in Europe during the mediæval period; yet it had many and serious defects. Among its chief faults may be pointed out the two following.

First, it rendered impossible the formation of strong national governments. Every country was divided and subdivided into a vast number of practically independent principalities. Thus in the tenth century France was partitioned among about a hundred and fifty overlords, all exercising equal and coördinate powers of sovereignty. The enormous estates of these great lords were again subdivided into about seventy thousand smaller fiefs.

In theory, as we have seen, the holders of these petty estates were bound to serve and obey their overlords, and these great nobles were in turn the sworn vassals of the French king. But many of these lords were richer and stronger than the king himself, and if they chose to cast off their allegiance to him, he found it impossible to reduce them to obedience. The king's time was chiefly occupied in ineffectual efforts to reduce his haughty and refractory nobles to proper submission, and in intervening feebly to compose their endless quarrels with one another. It is easy to conceive the disorder and wretchedness produced by this state of things.

A second evil of the institution was its exclusiveness. Under the workings of the system society became divided into classes separated by lines which, though not impassable, were yet very rigid, with a proud hereditary aristocracy at its head. It was only as the lower classes in the different countries gradually wrested from the feudal nobility their special and unfair privileges that a better, because more democratic, form of society arose, and civilization began to make more rapid progress.

551. **The Good Results of Feudalism.** — The most conspicuous service that feudalism rendered European civilization was the protection which it gave to society after the break-up of the empire of Charles the Great. "It was the mailed feudal horseman and the impregnable walls of the feudal castle that foiled the attacks of the Danes, the Saracens, and the Hungarians" (Oman).

Feudalism rendered another noteworthy service to society in fostering among its privileged members self-reliance and love of personal independence. Turbulent, violent, and refractory as was the feudal aristocracy of Europe, it performed the grand service of keeping alive during the later mediæval period the spirit of liberty. The feudal lords would not allow themselves to be dealt with arrogantly by their king; they stood on their rights as freemen. Hence royalty was prevented from becoming as despotic as would otherwise have been the case. Thus, in England, for instance, the feudal lords held such tyrannical rulers as King John in check (sec. 620), until such time as the yeoman and

the burgher were bold enough and strong enough alone to stand against and to baffle their despotically inclined sovereigns.

Another of the good effects of feudalism was the impulse it gave to certain forms of polite literature. Just as learning and philosophy were fostered by the seclusion of the cloister, so were poetry and romance fostered by the open and joyous hospitalities of the baronial hall. The castle door was always open to the wandering singer and story-teller, and it was amidst the scenes of festivity within that the ballads and romances of mediæval minstrelsy and literature had their birth.

Still another service which feudalism rendered to civilization was the development within the baronial castle of those ideas and sentiments — among others a nice sense of honor and an exalted consideration for woman — which found their noblest expression in chivalry, of which institution and its good effects upon the social life of Europe we shall now proceed to speak.

II. Chivalry

552. Chivalry defined; Origin of the Institution. — Chivalry has been aptly defined as the "Flower of Feudalism." It was a military institution or order, the members of which, called knights, were pledged to the protection of the Church and to the defense of the weak and the oppressed.

The germ out of which chivalry developed seems to have been the body of vassal horsemen which Charles Martel created to repel the raids of the Saracens into Aquitaine after the battle of Tours[4] (sec. 523). It was in these border wars that the Franks learned from the Arab Moors "to put their trust in horses." From South France this new military system, in which mounted armor-clad warriors largely superseded the earlier foot soldiers, spread over Europe. The development was closely connected with that of feudalism; indeed, it was the military side of that

[4] See Brunner, "Der Reiterdienst und die Anfänge des Lehnwesens" in his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen und französischen Rechtes* (Stuttgart, 1894). This important study is of the nature of a discovery respecting the beginnings, or rather the development, of the fief system and of chivalry.

development. It became the rule that all fief holders must render military service on horseback. Fighting on horseback gradually became the normal mode and for centuries remained so.

Gradually this feudal warrior caste underwent a transformation. It became in part independent of the feudal system, in so far as that had to do with the land, so that any person, if qualified by birth and properly initiated, might be a member of the order without being the holder of a fief. A great part of the later knights were portionless sons of the nobility. At the same time the religious spirit entered the order, and it became a Christian brotherhood, somewhat like the order of the priesthood.

553. **Training of the Knight.** — When chivalry had once become established, all the sons of the nobility, save such as were to enter the holy orders of the Church, were set apart and disciplined for its service. The sons of the poorer nobles were usually placed in the family of some lord of renown and wealth, whose castle became a sort of school, where they were trained in the duties and exercises of knighthood.

This education began at the early age of seven, the youth bearing the name of page or varlet until he attained the age of fourteen, when he acquired the title of squire, or esquire. The lord and his knights trained the boys in manly and martial duties, while the ladies of the castle instructed them in the duties of religion and in all knightly etiquette. The duties of the page were usually confined to the castle, though sometimes he accompanied his lord to the field. The esquire always attended in battle the knight to whom he was attached, carrying his arms and, if need be, engaging in the fight.

554. **The Ceremony of Knighting.** — At the age of twenty-one the squire became a knight, being then introduced to the order of knighthood by a peculiar and impressive service. After a long fast and vigil the candidate listened to a lengthy sermon on his duties as a knight. Then kneeling, as in the feudal ceremony of homage, before the lord conducting the services, he vowed to defend religion and the ladies, to succor the distressed, and ever to be faithful to his companion knights. His arms were now given

to him, and his sword was girded on, when the lord, striking him with the flat of his sword on the shoulders, said, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub thee knight; be brave, bold, and loyal."

555. **The Tournament.** — The tournament was the favorite amusement of the age of chivalry. It was a mimic battle between two companies of knights, armed usually with pointless swords or blunted lances. In the universal esteem in which the participants

FIG. 109. — A TILTING MATCH BETWEEN TWO KNIGHTS
(From an engraving)

were held, it reminds us of the sacred games of the Greeks; while in the fierce and sanguinary character it often assumed, it recalls the gladiatorial combats of the Roman amphitheater.

556. **Decline of Chivalry.** — The fifteenth century was the evening of chivalry. The decline of the system resulted from the operation of the same causes that effected the overthrow of feudalism. The changes in the mode of warfare which helped to do away with the feudal baron and his mail-clad retainers likewise tended to destroy knight-errantry. And then as civilization advanced, new feelings and sentiments began to claim the attention and to work upon the imagination of men. Governments, too,

became more regular, and the increased order and security of society rendered less needful the services of the gallant knight in behalf of the weak and the oppressed.

557. The Good in Chivalry. — Chivalry contributed powerfully to lift that sentiment of respect for the gentler sex which characterized all the northern nations, into that tender veneration of woman which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the present age, and makes it differ from all preceding phases of civilization.

Again, chivalry did much to create that ideal of character — an ideal distinguished by the virtues of courtesy, gentleness, humanity, loyalty, magnanimity, and fidelity to the plighted word — which we rightly think to surpass any ever formed under the influences of antiquity. Just as Christianity gave to the world an ideal manhood which it was to strive to realize, so did chivalry hold up an ideal to which men were to conform their lives. Men, indeed, have never perfectly realized either the ideal of Christianity or that of chivalry; but the influence which these two ideals have had in shaping and giving character to the lives of men cannot be overestimated. Together, through the enthusiasm and effort awakened for their realization, they have produced a new type of manhood, which we indicate by the phrase "a knightly and Christian character."

Selections from the Sources. — *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iii, No. 5, "English Manorial Documents," and vol. iv, No. 3, "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. ix.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Life of the serfs on a mediæval manor. 2. The open-field system of cultivation. See *Seebohm*. 3. Description of a feudal castle. 4. Life in the castle. 5. A tournament.

FIG. 110. — LANDING IN ENGLAND OF WILLIAM OF NORMANDY
(From the Bayeux Tapestry)

CHAPTER XLV

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND [1]

558. Introductory. — The history of the Normans — the name, it will be recalled, of the transformed Scandinavians who settled in Northern Gaul (sec. 540) — is simply a continuation of the story of the Northmen; and nothing could better illustrate the difference between the period we have left behind and the one upon which we have entered, nothing could more strikingly exhibit the gradual transformation that has crept over the face and spirit of European society, than the transformation which time and favoring associations have wrought in these men. When first we met them in the ninth century they were pagans; now they are Christians. Then they were rough, wild, merciless corsairs; now they are become the most cultured, polished, and chivalrous people in Europe. But the restless, daring spirit that drove the Norse sea kings forth upon the waves in quest of adventure and booty still stirs in the breasts of their descendants. As has been said, they were simply changed from heathen Vikings, delighting in the wild life of sea rover and pirate, into Christian knights, eager for pilgrimages and crusades.

[1] Not long before the Normans conquered England, they succeeded in gaining a foothold in the south of Italy, where they established a feudal state, which ultimately included the island of Sicily. The fourth head of the commonwealth was the celebrated Robert Guiscard (d. 1085), who spread the renown of the Norman name throughout the Mediterranean lands. This Norman state, converted finally into a kingdom, lasted until late in the twelfth century (1194).

The most important of the enterprises of the Normans, and one followed by consequences of the greatest magnitude not only to the conquered people but indirectly to the world, was their conquest of England.

559. Events leading up to the Conquest. — In the year 1066 Edward the Confessor, in whose person, it will be recalled, the old English line was restored after the Danish usurpation (sec. 539), died, and immediately the Witan,[2] in accordance with the dying wish of the king, chose Harold, Earl of Wessex, the best and strongest man in all England, to be his successor.

When the news of the action of the Witan and of Harold's acceptance of the English crown was carried across the Channel to William, Duke of Normandy, he was greatly vexed. He declared that Edward, who was his cousin, had during his lifetime promised the throne to him, and that Harold had assented to this, and by solemn oath engaged to sustain him. He now demanded of Harold that he surrender to him the usurped throne, threatening the immediate invasion of the island in case he refused. King Harold answered the demand by collecting an army for the defense of his dominions. Duke William now made ready for a descent upon the English coast.

560. The Battle of Hastings (1066). — The Norman army of invasion landed in the south of England, at the port of Hastings, which place gave name to the battle that almost immediately followed, — the battle that was to determine the fate of England. It was begun by a horseman riding out from the Norman lines and advancing alone toward the English army, tossing up his sword and skillfully catching it as it fell, and singing all the while the stirring battle song of Charlemagne and Roland. The English watched with astonishment this exhibition of "careless dexterity," and if they did not contrast the vivacity and nimbleness of the Norman foe with their own heavy and clumsy manners, others at least have not failed to do so.

[2] The Witan, or Witenagemot, which means the "Meeting of the Wise Men," was the common council of the realm. The House of Lords of the present Parliament is a survival of this early national assembly.

The battle once joined, the conflict was long and terrific. The day finally went against the English. Harold fell, pierced through the eye by an arrow; and William was master of the field. He now marched upon London, and at Westminster, on Christmas Day, 1066, was crowned king of England.

561. The Distribution of the Land and the Gemot of Salisbury. — Almost the first act of William after he had established his power in England was to fulfill his promise to the nobles who had aided him in his enterprise, by distributing among them the forfeited estates of the English who had fought against him at Hastings. Profiting by the lesson taught by the wretched condition of France, which country was kept in a state of constant turmoil by a host of feudal lords, many of whom were almost or quite as powerful as the king himself (sec. 550), William took care that in the distribution no feudatory should receive an entire shire, save in two or three exceptional cases. To the great lord to whom he must needs give a large fief, he granted not a continuous tract of land, but several estates or manors scattered in different parts of the country, in order that there might be no dangerous concentration of property or power in the hands of the vassal.

Another equally important limitation of the power of the vassal was effected by William through his requiring all fief holders, great and small, to take an oath of fealty directly to him as overlord. This was a great innovation upon feudal custom, for the rule was that the vassal should swear fealty to his own immediate lord only, and in war follow his banner even against his own king. The oath that William exacted from every fief holder made the allegiance which he owed to his king superior to that which he owed to his own immediate lord. At the great gemot or military assembly of Salisbury in the year 1086 "all the landholders of substance in England" swore to William this solemn oath of superior fealty and allegiance.

William also denied to his feudatories the right of coining money and making laws; and by other wise restrictions upon their power saved England from those endless contentions and petty wars that were distracting almost every other country of Europe.

562. **Domesday Book.** — One of the most celebrated acts of the Conqueror was the making of Domesday Book. This famous book contained a description and valuation of all the lands of England, — excepting those of some counties, mostly in the north, that were either unconquered or unsettled; an enumeration of the cattle and sheep; and statements of the income of every man. It was intended, in a word, to be a perfect survey and census of the entire kingdom.

563. **The Norman Successors of the Conqueror.** — For nearly three quarters of a century after the death of William the Conqueror, England was ruled by Norman kings.[8] The latter part of this period was a troublous time. The succession to the crown coming into dispute, civil war broke out. The result of the contention was a decline in the royal power, and the ascendancy of the Norman barons, who for a time made England the scene of the same feudal anarchy that prevailed at this time upon the Continent. Finally, in 1154, the Norman dynasty gave place to that of the Plantagenets. Under Henry II (1154–1189), the first king of the new house, and an energetic and strong ruler, the barons were again brought into proper subjection to the crown, and many castles which had been built without royal permission during the

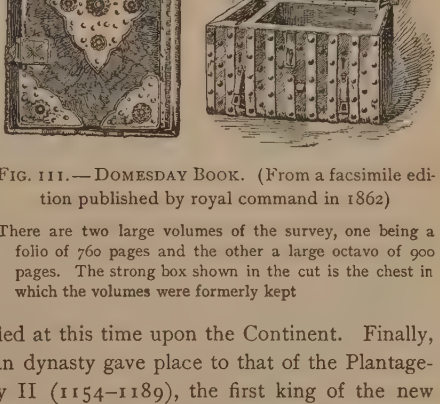

FIG. 111. — DOMESDAY BOOK. (From a facsimile edition published by royal command in 1862)

There are two large volumes of the survey, one being a folio of 760 pages and the other a large octavo of 900 pages. The strong box shown in the cut is the chest in which the volumes were formerly kept

[8] William II, known as Rufus "the Red" (1087–1100); Henry I, surnamed Beauclerc, "the good scholar" (1100–1135); and Stephen of Blois (1135–1154) William and Henry were sons, and Stephen a grandson, of the Conqueror.

preceding anarchical period, and some of which at least were little better than robbers' dens, were dismantled and demolished.

564. Results of the Norman Conquest. — The most important and noteworthy result of the Conquest was the establishment in England of a strong centralized government. England now became a real kingdom, — what it had hardly been in more than semblance before.

A second result of the Conquest was the founding of a new feudal aristocracy. The Saxon thane was displaced by the Norman baron. This not only introduced a new and more refined element into the social life of England, but it also changed the membership, the temper, and the name of the national assembly, the old English Witan now becoming the Parliament of later times.

A third result of the Conquest was the drawing of England into closer relations with the countries of Continental Europe, by which means her advance in art, science, and general culture was greatly promoted.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Bayeux Tapestry.* (Reproduced in autotype plates with historic notes by Frank Rede Fowke, London, 1875.) This is a strip of linen canvas over two hundred feet long and nineteen inches wide, upon which are embroidered in colors seventy-two pictures, representing episodes in the Norman conquest of England. The work was executed not long after the events it depicts, and is named from the cathedral in France where it is kept. Its importance consists in the information it conveys respecting the life and manners, and the costumes, arms, and armor of the times. KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chap. iii, "Norman England."

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Robert Guiscard. 2. The Bayeux Tapestry. 3. Domesday Book. 4. The Curfew. 5. The "forests" and forest laws of the Norman kings.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

565. The Three Theories respecting the Relations of Pope and Emperor. — After the revival of the Empire in the West and the rise of the Papacy, there gradually grew up three different theories in regard to the divinely constituted relation of the Pope and the Emperor. The first was that each was independently commissioned by God, the Pope to rule the spirits of men, the Emperor to rule their bodies. Each reigning thus by original divine right, neither is set above the other, but both are to coöperate and to help each other. The special duty of the temporal power is to maintain order in the world and to be the protector of the Church.

FIG. 112. — THE SPIRITUAL AND THE TEMPORAL POWER. (From a ninth-century mosaic in the Lateran at Rome)

St. Peter gives to Pope Leo III the stola and to Charlemagne the banner of Rome as symbols of the spiritual and temporal power. The portrait of Charlemagne here shown is with little doubt the oldest in existence

The second theory, the one held by the imperial party, was that the Emperor was superior to the Pope in secular affairs. Arguments from Scripture and from the transactions of history were not wanting to support this view. Thus Christ's payment of tribute money was cited as proof that he regarded the temporal power as superior to the spiritual. And then, did he not say, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's"? Further, the gifts of Pippin and Charles the Great to the Roman see made the popes, it was maintained, the vassals of the emperors.

The third theory, the one held by the papal party, maintained that the ordained relation of the two powers was the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual authority, even in civil affairs. This view was maintained by such texts of Scripture as these: "But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man";[1] "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant."[2] The conception was further illustrated by such comparisons as the following, — for in mediæval times parable and metaphor often took the place of argument: As God has set in the heavens two lights, the sun and the moon, so has he established on earth two powers, the spiritual and the temporal; but as the moon is inferior to the sun and receives its light from it, so is the Emperor inferior to the Pope and receives all power from him. Again, the two authorities were likened to the soul and the body; as the former rules over the latter, so is it ordered that the spiritual power shall rule over and subject the temporal.

The first theory was the impracticable dream of lofty souls who forgot that men are human. Christendom was virtually divided into two hostile camps the members of which were respectively supporters of the imperial and the papal theory.

566. Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) and his Reforms. — One of the most eminent supporters of the papal claims was Pope Gregory VII, better known by his earlier name of Hildebrand, the most noteworthy character, after Charlemagne, that the Middle Ages produced. In the year 1049 he was brought from the cloisters of the celebrated monastery of Cluny, in France, to Rome, where he became the maker and adviser of popes, and finally was himself elevated to the pontifical throne, which he held from 1073 to 1085.

When Gregory came to the papal throne one grave danger threatening the Church was the marriage of the clergy. At this time a great part of the minor clergy were married. Gregory

[1] 1 Corinthians ii. 15.
[2] Jeremiah i. 10.

resolved to bring all the clergy to the strict observance of celibate vows. By thus separating the priests from the attachments of home, and lifting from them all family burdens and cares, he aimed to render their consecration to the duties of their offices more whole-souled and their dependence upon the Church more complete. Though most obstinately opposed by a large section of the clergy, this reform was finally effected, — but not in Gregory's lifetime, — so that celibacy became as binding upon the priest as upon the monk.

Gregory's second reform, the correction of simony,[3] had for one of its ultimate objects the freeing of the lands and offices of the Church from the control of lay lords and princes, and the bringing of them more completely under the direction of the Roman pontiff.

The evil of simony had grown up in the Church chiefly in the following way. As the feudal system took possession of European society, the Church, like individuals and cities, assumed feudal relations. Thus, as we have already seen, abbots and bishops, as the heads of monasteries and churches, for the sake of protection, became the vassals of powerful barons or princes. When once a prelate had promised fealty for his estates or temporalities, as they were called, these became henceforth a permanent fief of the overlord and subject to all the incidents of the feudal tenure. When a vacancy occurred the lord assumed the right to fill it, just as in case of the escheat of a lay fief.[4] In this way the temporal rulers throughout Europe had come to exercise the right of nominating or confirming the election of almost all the great prelates of the Church.

Now these lay princes who had the patronage of these Church offices and lands handled them just as they did their lay fiefs. They required the person nominated to an abbacy or to a bishopric to pay for the appointment and investiture a sum proportioned

[3] By simony is meant the purchase of an office in the Church, the name of the offense coming from Simon Magus, who offered Peter money for the power to confer the Holy Spirit. See Acts viii. 9–24.

[4] The clergy and monks still retained the nominal right of election, but too frequently an election by them was a mere matter of form. For a typical case see sec. 587.

to the income from the office. This was in strict accord with the feudal rule which allowed the lord to demand from the vassal, upon his investiture with a fief, a sum of money called a relief (sec. 545). This rule, thus applied to Church lands and offices, was, it is easy to see, the cause of great evil and corruption. The ecclesiastical vacancies were virtually sold to the highest bidder, and at times the most unsuitable persons became bishops and abbots.

FIG. 113. — INVESTITURE OF A BISHOP BY A KING THROUGH THE GIVING OF THE CROSIER, OR PASTORAL STAFF. (From a manuscript of the tenth century)

To remedy the evil Gregory issued decrees forbidding any one of the clergy to receive the investiture of a bishopric or abbey or church from the hands of a temporal prince or lord. Any one who should dare to disobey these decrees was threatened with the penalties of the Church.

567. Excommunications and Interdicts. — The chief instruments relied upon by Gregory for enforcing his decrees were the spiritual weapons of the Church, — excommunication and interdict. The first was directed against individuals. The person excommunicated was cut off from all relations with his fellow-men. If a king, his subjects were released from their oath of allegiance. Any one providing the excommunicate with food or shelter incurred the penalties of the Church. Living, the excommunicated person was to be shunned as though tainted with an infectious disease; and dead, he was to be refused the ordinary rites of burial.

The interdict was directed against a city, province, or kingdom. Throughout the region under this ban the churches were closed; no bell could be rung, no marriage celebrated, no burial ceremony performed. The sacraments of baptism and extreme unction alone could be administered.

It is difficult for us in modern days to realize the effect of these bans during these early ages. They rarely failed in bringing the most contumacious offender to a speedy and abject confession, or in effecting his undoing. This will appear in the following paragraph.

568. The Investiture Contest; Emperor Henry IV's Humiliation at Canossa (1077). — It was in Germany that Gregory experienced the most formidable opposition to his reform measures. The Emperor-elect, King Henry IV (1056–1106), who had been threatened by Gregory with excommunication and deposition, gathering in council such of the prelates of the Empire as would answer his call (1076), even dared to bid him descend from the papal throne. Gregory in turn gathered a council at Rome and deposed and excommunicated the Emperor.

Henry's excommunication encouraged a revolt on the part of some of his discontented subjects. He was shunned as a man accursed by Heaven. His authority seemed to have slipped entirely out of his hands, and his kingdom was on the point of going to pieces. In this wretched state of his affairs there was but one thing for him to do, — to go to Gregory and humbly sue for pardon and reinstatement in the favor of the Church.

Henry sought Gregory among the Apennines, at Canossa, a stronghold of the celebrated Countess Matilda of Tuscany. But Gregory refused to admit him to his presence. It was winter, and on three successive days the king, clothed in sackcloth, stood with bare feet in the snow of the courtyard of the castle, waiting for permission to kneel at the feet of the pontiff and to receive forgiveness. On the fourth day the king was admitted to the presence of Gregory, and the sentence of excommunication was removed (1077).

Henry afterwards avenged his humiliation. He raised an army, descended upon Rome, and drove Gregory into exile at Salerno, where he died with these words on his lips: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile" (1085).

But the quarrel did not end here. It was taken up by the successors of Gregory, and Henry was again excommunicated. After

maintaining a long struggle with the power of the Church and with his own sons, who were incited to rebel against him, he finally died broken-hearted (1106).

569. Concordat of Worms (1122). — Henry's successors maintained the quarrel with the popes. The outcome of the matter, after many years of bitter contention, was the celebrated Concordat of Worms (1122). It was agreed that all bishops and abbots of the Empire, after free election by those having this right, should receive the ring and staff, the symbols of their spiritual jurisdiction, from the Pope, but that the Emperor should exercise the right of investiture by the touch of a scepter, the emblem of temporal rights and authority. This was a recognition by both parties that all spiritual authority emanates from the Church and all temporal authority from the State. It was a compromise, — "a rendering unto Cæsar of the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

We must here drop the story of the contentions of Pope and Emperor in order to watch the peoples of Europe as at the time we have now reached they undertake with surprising unanimity and enthusiasm the most remarkable enterprises in which they were ever engaged, — the Crusades, or Holy Wars.

Selections from the Sources. — DANTE, *De Monarchia* (trans. by Aurelia Henry). Dante argues that the authority of the Emperor comes direct from God and not from the Pope. HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 351–409, "Decrees concerning Papal Elections and Documents relating to the Controversy over Investiture." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. xiii.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The monastery of Cluny. 2. The Sacred College of Cardinals. 3. The Interdict.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE CRUSADES

(1096–1273)

570. The Crusades defined. — The Crusades were great military expeditions carried on intermittently for two centuries by the Christian peoples of Europe, with the aim of rescuing from the hands of the Mohammedans the holy places of Palestine and maintaining in the East a Latin kingdom. Historians usually enumerate eight of these expeditions as worthy of special narration. Of these eight the first four are often designated the Principal Crusades and the remaining four the Minor Crusades. But besides these there were a children's crusade and several other expeditions, which, being insignificant in numbers or results, are not usually enumerated, as well as several enterprises in Europe itself which partook of the nature of crusades.

571. Causes of the Crusades. — Among the early Christians it was thought a pious and meritorious act to undertake a journey to some sacred place. Especially was it thought that a pilgrimage to the land whose soil had been pressed by the feet of the Saviour of the world, to the Holy City that had witnessed his martyrdom, was a peculiarly pious undertaking, and one which secured for the pilgrim the special favor and blessing of Heaven.

The Saracen caliphs, for the four centuries and more that they held possession of Palestine, pursued usually an enlightened policy towards the pilgrims, even encouraging pilgrimages as a source of revenue. But in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks, a prominent Tartar tribe, zealous proselytes of Islam, wrested Syria from the tolerant Saracen caliphs. The Christians were not long in realizing that power had fallen into new hands. Pilgrims were insulted and persecuted in every way. The churches in Jerusalem were, in some cases, destroyed or turned into stables.

Now if it were a meritorious thing to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, much more would it be a pious act to rescue the sacred spot from the profanation of infidels. This was the conviction that changed the pilgrim into a warrior, — this the sentiment that for two centuries and more stirred the Christian world to its profoundest depths and cast the population of Europe in wave after wave upon Asia.

Although this religious feeling was the principal cause of the Crusades, still there were other concurring causes which must not be overlooked. Among these was the restless, adventurous spirit of the Teutonic peoples of Europe, who had not as yet outgrown their barbarian instincts. The feudal knights and lords, just now animated by the rising spirit of chivalry, were very ready to enlist in an undertaking so consonant with their martial feelings and their new vows of knighthood.

572. **The Council of Clermont** (1095). — There is a tradition which makes one immediate inciting cause of the First Crusade to have been the preaching of a monk named Peter the Hermit, a native of France. That the preaching of the monk was of a most extraordinary character and produced a deep impression upon the popular mind is beyond doubt. But the real originator of the First Crusade was Pope Urban, and not the hermit, as the legend represents.

Having been appealed to by the Emperor Alexis Comnenus for aid against the Turks, who were now threatening Constantinople, Urban called a great council of the Church at Piacenza, in Italy, to consider the appeal, but nothing was effected at this meeting. Later in the same year a new council was convened at Clermont, in France, Urban purposely fixing the place of meeting among the warm-tempered and martial Franks. Fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, four hundred abbots, and of others a multitude that no man could number, crowded to the council.

After the meeting had considered some minor matters the question which was agitating all hearts was brought before it. The Pope himself was one of the chief speakers. He possessed

the gift of eloquence, so that the man, the cause, and the occasion all contributed to the achievement of one of the greatest triumphs of human oratory. Urban pictured the humiliation and misery of the provinces of Asia; the profanation of the places made sacred by the presence and footsteps of the Son of God; and then he detailed the conquests of the Turks, until now, with almost all Asia Minor in their possession, they were threatening Europe from the shores of the Hellespont. "When Jesus Christ summons you to his defense," exclaimed the eloquent pontiff, "let no base affection detain you in your homes; whoever will abandon his house, or his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his children, or his inheritance, for the sake of His name, shall be recompensed a hundredfold and possess life eternal."

Here the enthusiasm of the vast assembly burst through every restraint. With one voice they cried, "*Dieu le volt! Dieu le volt!*" (It is the will of God! It is the will of God!). Thousands immediately affixed the cross [1] to their garments as a pledge of their engagement to go forth to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher. The following summer was set for the expedition.

573. **The First Crusade** (1096–1099); **Founding of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.** — It was the countries of France and Southern Italy that were most deeply stirred by the papal call. By edict the Pope had granted to all who should enlist from right motives "remission of all canonical penalties," and promised to the truly penitent, in case they should die on the expedition, "the joy of life eternal." Under such inducements princes and nobles, bishops and priests, monks and anchorites, saints and sinners, rich and poor, hastened to enroll themselves beneath the standard of the Cross. "Europe," says Michaud, "appeared to be a land of exile, which every one was eager to quit."

Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Robert, Duke of Normandy; Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine; Bohemund, Prince of Otranto, and his nephew, Tancred, the "mirror of knighthood," were among the most noted of the leaders of the different

[1] Hence the name "Crusades" given to the Holy Wars, from Old French *crois*, cross.

divisions of the army which was soon gathered.[2] The expedition is said to have numbered about three hundred thousand men.

The crusaders traversed Europe by different routes and reassembled at Constantinople. Crossing the Bosporus, they first captured Nicæa, the Turkish capital in Bithynia, and then set out across Asia Minor for Syria. The line of their dreary march between Nicæa and Antioch was whitened with the bones of nearly one half their number. Arriving at Antioch, the survivors captured that place, and then, after considerable delay, pushed on towards Jerusalem.

When at length the Holy City burst upon their view, a perfect delirium of joy seized the crusaders. As they moved on, they took off their shoes, and marched with uncovered head and bare feet, singing the words of the prophet: "Jerusalem, lift up thine eyes, and behold the liberator who comes to break thy chains." The city was taken by storm. A terrible slaughter of the infidels followed. "And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there," thus runs a home letter of one of the crusaders, "know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

The government which the crusaders established for the city and country they had conquered was a model feudal state, called the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The code known as the Assizes of Jerusalem, which was a late compilation of the rules and customs presumably followed by the judges of the little state, forms one of the most interesting collections of feudal customs in existence.

At the head of the kingdom was placed Godfrey of Bouillon, the most devoted of the crusader knights. The prince refused

[2] Before the regular armies of the crusaders were ready to move, those who had gathered about Peter the Hermit, becoming impatient of delay, urged him to place himself at their head and lead them at once to the Holy Land. Dividing command of the mixed multitudes with a poor knight called Walter the Penniless, and followed by a throng, it is said, of eighty thousand persons, among whom were many women and children, the hermit set out for Constantinople by the overland route. Thousands of the crusaders perished miserably of hunger and exposure on the march. Those who crossed the Bosporus were surprised by the Turks, and almost all were slaughtered.

EUROPE AND THE ORIENT
IN 1096
On the eve of the Crusades
Christian Lands (Latin Church)
Mohammedan Lands
Christian Lands (Greek Church)
Regions still Pagan
0 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
Longitude East 10° from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Hastings
Bruges
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cologne
Coblenz
Rouen
Normandy
Paris
FRANCE
Clermont
Cluny
Lorraine
HOLY ROMAN EMPI
Worms
St. Gall
Milan
Venice
Piacenza
Genoa
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Salerno
Avignon
Marseille
Languedoc
Albi
Toulouse
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
K. OF NAVARRE
K. OF ARAGON
R. Ebro
R. Tagus
Lisbon
Cordova
EMPIRE OF THE
Seville
Corsica
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
MEDITE
Sicily
Tunis
ALMORAVIDES
CALIPHATE OF
DENMARK
Lubeck
R. Elbe
R. Rhine
R. Rhone
R. Tiber
R. Seine
10°
0°
50°
40°
30°

20°
30°
40°
50°
40°
30°
20°
30°
TIC SEA
Lithuanians
Prussians
GRAND DUCHY OF RUSSIA
R. Vistula
OLAND
Kiev
R. Dnieper
R. Don
Petchenegs
or
Cumans
HUNGARY
ATIA
R. Danube
BLACK SEA
SERVIA
Adrianople
Bosporus
THE EAST
EMPIRE OF
Constantinople
Nicæa
Angora
Dorylæum
Otranto
Hellespont
EMPIRE OF THE SELJUK TURKS
Smyrna
Edessa
Athens
Ephesus
Antioch
Peloponnesus
Rhodes
Tripolis
Cyprus
Damascus
Berytus
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Crete
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
Jaffa
Dead Sea
Ascalon
Gaza
Palestine
Damietta
Alexandria
Egypt
Cairo
THE FATIMITES

the title and vestments of royalty, declaring that he would never wear a crown of gold in the city where his Lord and Master had worn a crown of thorns. The only title he would accept was that of "Baron of the Holy Sepulcher."

Many of the crusaders, considering their vows to deliver the Holy City as now fulfilled, soon set out on their return to their homes, some making their way back by sea and some by land.

574. **Origin of the Religious Orders of Knighthood.** — In the interval between the First and the Second Crusade, the two famed religious military orders known as the Hospitalers and the Templars[8] were formed. A little later, during the Third Crusade, still another fraternity known as the Teutonic Knights was established. The objects of all the orders were the care of the sick and wounded crusaders, the entertainment of Christian pilgrims, the guarding of the holy places, and ceaseless battling for the Cross. These fraternities soon acquired a military fame that was spread throughout the Christian world. They were joined by many of the most illustrious knights of the West, and through the gifts of the pious acquired great wealth, and became possessed of numerous estates and castles in Europe as well as in Asia.

575. **The Second Crusade** (1147–1149); **Preaching of St. Bernard; Failure of the Crusade.** — In the year 1146 the city of Edessa, the outlying bulwark on the side towards Mesopotamia of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, was taken by the Turks and the entire population slaughtered or sold into slavery. This disaster threw Europe into a state of the greatest alarm lest the little Christian kingdom should be overwhelmed and all the holy places should again fall into the hands of the infidels.

The scenes that marked the opening of the First Crusade were now repeated in many of the countries of the West. St. Bernard

[8] The Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, took their name from the fact that the organization was first formed among the monks of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem; while the Templars, or Knights of the Temple, were so called on account of one of the buildings of the brotherhood occupying the site of Solomon's Temple. In the case of the Hospitalers it was monks who added to their ordinary monastic vows those of knighthood; in the case of the Templars it was knights who added to their military vows those of religion. Thus were united the seemingly incongruous ideals of the monk and the knight.

of Clairvaux, an eloquent monk, was the second Peter the Hermit who went everywhere arousing the warriors of the Cross to the defense of the birthplace of their religion. The contagion of the enthusiasm seized upon not merely barons, knights, and the common people, which classes alone participated in the First Crusade, but the greatest sovereigns were now infected by it. Louis VII, king of France, was led to undertake the crusade through remorse for an act of great cruelty against some of his revolted subjects. The Emperor Conrad III of Germany was persuaded to leave the affairs of his distracted realms in the hands of God and consecrate himself to the defense of the sepulcher of Christ.

The best part of the strength of both the German and the French division of the expedition was wasted in Asia Minor. Mere remnants of the armies joined in Palestine. The siege of Damascus, which was now undertaken, proved unsuccessful, and the crusaders, broken in spirit, returned home.

576. **The Third Crusade (1189–1192); Frederick Barbarossa, Saladin, and Richard the Lion-Hearted.** — The Third Crusade was caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the renowned sultan of Egypt. This event occurred in the year 1187. The intelligence of the disaster caused the greatest consternation and grief throughout Christendom. Three of the great sovereigns of Europe, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I of England, assumed the cross, and set out, each at the head of a large army, for the recovery of the Holy City. The English king, Richard, afterwards given the title of *Cœur de Lion*, the "Lion-Hearted," in memory of his heroic exploits in Palestine, was the central figure among the Christian knights of this crusade.

The German army, attempting the overland route, after meeting with the usual troubles in Eastern Europe from the unfriendliness of the natives, was decimated in Asia Minor by the hardships of the march and the swords of the Turks. The Emperor Frederick was drowned while crossing a swollen stream, and most of the survivors of his army, disheartened by the loss of their leader, soon returned to Germany.

The English and French kings took the sea route, and finally mustered their forces beneath the walls of Acre, which city the Christians were then besieging. After one of the longest and most costly sieges they ever carried on in Asia, the crusaders at last forced the place to capitulate, in spite of all the efforts of Saladin to render the garrison relief.

For two years Richard contended in vain with Saladin, a knightly and generous antagonist according to the chroniclers, for possession of the tomb of Christ. He finally concluded with him a favorable truce and then set out for home; but while traversing Germany in disguise he was discovered and was arrested and imprisoned by order of the Emperor Henry VI, who was his political enemy. Henry cast his prisoner into a dungeon, and, notwithstanding the outcry of all Europe that the champion of Christianity should suffer such treatment at the hands of a brother prince, refused to release him without an enormous ransom, which was paid by the English people.

577. **The Fourth Crusade** (1202–1204); **Capture of Constantinople by the Latins.** — The city of Venice was the rendezvous of the Fourth Crusade. It was made up largely of unscrupulous adventurers and the marine forces of Venice. It was originally aimed at Egypt but struck Constantinople. A great share of the responsibility for the diversion of the crusade from its first designation lies, it seems, at the door of the Venetians, who, when it was proposed that the crusaders should undertake to right certain alleged wrongs of the imperial family at the Byzantine capital, seeing in the proposed adventure an opportunity to further their trade interests in the Black Sea regions, took pains to insure that the expedition should be launched in that direction.

The outcome of the crusade was the capture and sack of Constantinople and the setting up of a Latin prince, Baldwin of Flanders, as Emperor of the East (1204). The Empire was now remodeled into a feudal state like the Kingdom of Jerusalem established by the knights of the First Crusade. Most of the Greek islands and certain of the shore lands of the old Empire were given to Venice as her share of the spoils.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople, as it was called, lasted only a little over half a century (1204–1261). The Greeks, at the end of this period, succeeded in regaining the throne, which they then held until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

One lamentable consequence of the crusaders' act was the weakening of the military strength of the capital. For a thousand years Constantinople had been the great bulwark of Western civilization against Asiatic barbarism. Its power of resistance was now broken, with momentous consequences for Western Christendom, as we shall learn later (Chapter XLIX).

578. **The Children's Crusade** (1212). — During the interval between the Fourth and the Fifth Crusade the religious enthusiasm that had so long agitated the men of Europe came to fill with unrest the children, resulting in what is known as the Children's Crusade.

The chief preacher of this crusade was a child about twelve years of age, a French peasant lad, named Stephen, who became persuaded that Jesus Christ had commanded him to lead a crusade of children to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher. The children became wild with excitement and flocked in vast crowds to the places appointed for rendezvous. Nothing could restrain them or thwart their purpose. "Even bolts and bars," says an old chronicler, "could not hold them." The great majority of those who collected at the rallying places were boys under twelve years of age, but there were also many girls.

The movement excited the most diverse views. Some declared that it was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and quoted such scriptural texts as these to justify the enthusiasm: "A little child shall lead them"; "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." Others, however, were quite as confident that the whole thing was the work of the devil.

The German children, whose number is variously estimated at from twenty to forty thousand, crossed the Alps and marched down the Italian shores looking for a miraculous pathway through the sea to Palestine. Beneath the toil and hardships of the journey a great part of the little crusaders died or fell out by the way.

Those reaching Rome were kindly received by the Pope, who persuaded them to give up their enterprise and return to their homes.

The French children, numbering thirty thousand, according to the chroniclers, set out from the place of rendezvous for Marseilles. Arriving there, the children were bitterly disappointed that the sea did not open and give them passage to Palestine. The greater part, discouraged and disillusioned, now returned home; five or six thousand, however, accepting gladly the seemingly generous offer of two merchants of the city, who proposed to take them to the Holy Land free of charge, crowded into seven small ships and sailed out of the port of Marseilles. But they were betrayed and the most of them sold as slaves in Alexandria and other Mohammedan slave markets.

This children's expedition marked at once the culmination and the decline of the crusading movement. The fervid zeal that inspired the first crusaders was already dying out. "These children," said the Pope, referring to the young crusaders, "reproach us with having fallen asleep, whilst they were flying to the assistance of the Holy Land."

579. **The Minor Crusades; End of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.** — The last four expeditions — the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth — undertaken by the Christians of Europe against the infidels of the East may be conveniently grouped as the Minor Crusades. They were marked by a less genuine enthusiasm than that which characterized particularly the First Crusade. The flame of the Crusades had burned itself out, and the fate of the little Christian kingdom in Asia, isolated from Europe and surrounded on all sides by bitter enemies, became each day more and more apparent. Finally, the last of the places held by the Christians fell into the hands of the Moslems, and with this event the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end (1291). The second great combat between Mohammedanism and Christianity was over, and "silence reigned along the shore that had so long resounded with the world's debate" (Gibbon).

580. **Crusades in Europe.** — Notwithstanding the strenuous and united efforts which the Christians of Europe put forth against

the Mohammedans, they did not succeed in extending permanently the frontiers of Western civilization in the Orient.

But in the southwest and the northeast of Europe it was different. Here the crusading spirit rescued from Moslem and pagan large territories, and upon these regained or newly acquired lands established a number of little Christian principalities, which later grew into states, or came to form a portion of states, which were to play great parts in the history of the following centuries. The states whose beginnings are thus connected with the crusading age are Portugal, Spain, and Prussia. We will say just a single word respecting each of them.

581. Crusades against the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula. — Just before the actual beginning of the Crusades against the Moslems of the East a band of northern knights went to the help of the Christians against the Moslems in the west of the Iberian peninsula. The issue of this chivalric enterprise was the formation of a little feudal principality, the nucleus of the later kingdom of Portugal. At the time of the Second Crusade some German and English crusaders, on their way to Palestine by sea, stopped here and aided the native Christians in the siege and capture from the Mohammedans of the important city of Lisbon (1147). This gave the little growing state its future capital. Thus Portugal was, in a very strict sense, a creation of the crusading spirit.

Then during all the time that the Crusades proper were going on in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Spanish Christian knights were engaged in almost one uninterrupted crusade against the Moslem intruders. By the middle of the thirteenth century the Christians had crowded the Moors into a small region in the southern part of the peninsula. Upon the ground thus regained there arose a number of small Christian states which finally coalesced to form the modern kingdom of Spain.

582. Crusades by the Teutonic Knights against the Pagan Slavs (1226–1283). — At the time of the Crusades all the Baltic shore lands lying eastward of the Vistula and which to-day form a part of Prussia were held by pagan Slavs. These people, like the pagan Saxons of an earlier time, resisted strenuously the introduction of

Christianity among them. Devoted priests who carried the Gospel to them, together with the converts they made, were often massacred. Finally, a crusade was preached against them.

Early in the thirteenth century (1226) some knights of the Teutonic order transferred their crusading efforts to these northern heathen lands. For the greater part of the century the knights carried on what was a desperate and almost continuous war of extermination against the pagans. The surrounding Slav population was either destroyed or subjected, and the whole land was gradually Germanized. Thus what was originally Slav territory was converted into a German land, and the basis laid of a principality which later came to form an important part of modern Prussia.[4]

583. **Crusades against the Albigenses** (1209–1229). — During the crusading age holy wars were preached and waged against heretics as well as against infidels and pagans.

In the south of France was a sect of Christians called Albigenses, who had departed so far from the orthodox faith that Pope Innocent III declared them to be "more wicked than Saracens." He therefore, after a vain endeavor to turn them from their errors, issued a call for a crusade against them and their rich and powerful patron, Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse.

A great number of French nobles responded eagerly to the call of the Church. The leader of the First Crusade (1209–1213) was Simon de Montfort, a man cruel, callous, and relentless beyond belief. A great part of Languedoc, the beautiful country of the Albigenses, was made a desert, the inhabitants being slaughtered and the cities burned. In 1229 the fury of a fresh crusade burst upon the Albigenses, which resulted in their prince (Raymond VII) ceding the greater part of his beautiful but ravaged provinces to Louis IX, king of France, and submitting himself to the Church. The Albigensian heresy was soon wholly extirpated by the tribunal of the Inquisition which was set up in the country.

584. **Effects upon Civilization of the Crusades.** — The indirect results of the Crusades were many and far-reaching. Through

[4] See on map of modern Europe how the German territory on the northeast is thrust out into the Slavonic mass.

them the towns gained many advantages at the expense of the crusading barons and princes. Ready money in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was largely in the hands of the burgher class, and in return for the contributions and loans they made to their overlords and suzerains they received charters conferring special and valuable privileges. The Holy Wars further promoted the prosperity of the towns by giving a great impulse to commercial enterprise. Particularly was this true of the Italian cities. The Mediterranean was whitened with the sails of their transport ships, which were constantly plying between the various ports of Europe and the towns of the Syrian coast.

FIG. 114. — A MEDIÆVAL WINDMILL. (From an engraving of an abbey and its precincts, dating from about the middle of the fourteenth century)

The kings also gained much through the Crusades. Many of the nobles who set out on the expeditions never returned, and their estates, through failure of heirs, escheated to the crown; while many more wasted their fortunes in meeting the expenses of their undertaking. Thus the nobility were greatly weakened in numbers and influence, and the power and patronage of the kings correspondingly increased. This process of the disintegration of feudalism and the growth of monarchy is to be traced most distinctly in France, the cradle and center of the crusading movement.

Again, the effects of the Crusades upon the social and industrial life of the Western nations were marked and important. Giving opportunity for romantic adventure, they were one of the chief fostering influences of chivalry; while by bringing the rude peoples of the West in contact with the culture of the East, they exerted upon them a general refining influence. Also, various arts, manufactures, and inventions (among these the windmill [5]

[5] Windmills were chiefly utilized in the Netherlands, where they were used to pump the water from the oversoaked lands, and thus became the means of creating the most important part of what is now the kingdom of Holland.

and probably the mariner's compass) before unknown in Europe were at this time introduced from Asia, and contributed to enrich and develop the industrial life of the European peoples. Furthermore, the knowledge of Oriental or Græco-Arabic science and learning gained by the crusaders through their expeditions greatly stimulated the Latin intellect and helped to awaken in Western Europe that mental activity which resulted finally in the great intellectual outburst known as the Renaissance (Chapter LIII).

Lastly, the incentive given to geographical exploration led various travelers, such as the celebrated Venetian Marco Polo, to range over the most remote countries of Asia. Nor did the matter end here. Even that spirit of maritime enterprise and adventure which rendered illustrious the close of the Middle Ages, inspiring the voyages of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, may be traced back to that lively interest in geographical matters awakened by the expeditions of the crusaders.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Truce of God. 2. Letters of the crusaders. 3. Incidents of the Fourth Crusade. 4. The Children's Crusade.

CHAPTER XLVIII

SUPREMACY OF THE PAPACY; DECLINE OF ITS TEMPORAL POWER

585. Preliminary Survey: the Papacy at its Height. — In an earlier chapter on the Empire and the Papacy we related the beginnings of the contention for supremacy between Pope and Emperor. In the present chapter we shall first speak of the Papacy at the height of its power, and then tell how, as the popes, with the Empire ruined, seemed about to realize their ideal of a universal ecclesiastical and secular monarchy, their temporal power was shattered by a new opposing force, — the rising nations.

We have already noticed the work of some of the upholders of the Papacy, notably that of Pope Gregory VII. Gregory had many worthy successors. The most eminent of these were Alexander III (1159–1181) and Innocent III (1198–1216), under whom the power of the Papacy was at its height.

586. Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. — A little after the settlement known as the Concordat of Worms (sec. 569) the first of the House of Hohenstaufen came to the German throne, and then began a sharp contention, lasting, with intervals of strained peace, for more than a century, between the emperors of this proud family and the successive occupants of the papal chair. We can here do no more than simply note the issue of the quarrel in so far as it concerned Pope Alexander III and one of the most noted of the Hohenstaufen, Frederick Barbarossa, the crusader. After maintaining the contest for many years Frederick, vanquished and humiliated, was constrained to seek reconciliation at the feet of the pontiff (1177). Precisely one hundred years had passed since the like humiliation of the Emperor Henry IV (sec. 568).

587. Pope Innocent III and King John of England. — When one of the most powerful of the emperors after Charlemagne was forced

thus to bow before the papal throne, we are not surprised to find the kings of the different countries subjecting themselves obediently to the same authority. English history of the period covered by the pontificate of Innocent III affords a striking illustration of the subject relation which the sovereigns of Europe had come to sustain to the papal see. The see of Canterbury falling vacant, King John ordered the monks who had the right of election to give the place to a favorite of his. They obeyed; but the Pope immediately declared the election void, and caused the vacancy to be filled with one of his own friends, Stephen Langton. John declared that the Pope's archbishop should never enter England as primate, and proceeded to confiscate the estates of the see. Innocent now laid all England under an interdict, excommunicated John, and called upon the French king, Philip Augustus, to undertake a crusade against the contumacious rebel.

The outcome of the matter was that John was compelled to yield to the power of the Church. He gave back the lands he had confiscated, acknowledged Langton to be the rightful primate of England, and even went so far as to give England and Ireland to the Pope, receiving them back as a perpetual fief (1213). In token of his vassalage he agreed to pay to the papal see the annual sum of one thousand marks sterling. This tribute money was actually paid, though irregularly, until the reign of Edward III (sec. 591).

588. **The Mendicant Orders, or Begging Friars.**[1] — The immediate successors of Innocent III found a strong support for their authority in two new monastic orders known as the Dominican and the Franciscan. They were so named after their respective founders, St. Dominic (1170–1221) and St. Francis (about 1182–1226). Speaking in general terms, until now the monk had sought cloistral solitude primarily in order to escape from the world and to work out his own salvation. In the new orders the members instead of withdrawing from the world were to remain in it and give themselves wholly to the work of securing the salvation of others.

[1] From *fratres*, *frères*, brethren.

Again, the orders were also as *orders* to renounce all earthly possessions, and, "espousing Poverty as a bride," to rely entirely for support upon the daily and voluntary alms of the pious.[2] Hitherto, while the individual members of a monastic order must espouse extreme poverty, the house or fraternity might possess any amount of communal wealth. But in the new orders "the brethren must be as poor as the brother."

The new fraternities grew and spread with marvelous rapidity, and in less than a generation they had quite overshadowed all the old monastic orders of the Church. The popes conferred upon them many and special privileges. They in turn became the stanchest friends and supporters of the Roman see. They were to the Papacy of the thirteenth century what the later order of the Jesuits was to the papal Church of the period of the Reformation (sec. 709).

589. **The Revolt of the Nations.** — The fourteenth century marks the turning point in the history of the temporal power of the Papacy. In the course of that century France, Germany, and England successively revolted against the Roman see and formally denied the right of the Pope to interfere in their political or governmental affairs. But it should be carefully noted that the leaders of this revolt against the secular domination of the Papacy did not think of challenging the spiritual authority of the Pope as the supreme head of the Church. Their attitude was wholly like that of the Italians of our own day, who, while dispossessing the Pope of the last remnant of his temporal sovereignty, abate nothing of their veneration for him as the Vicar of God in all things moral and spiritual.

590. **Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France.** — It was during the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294–1303) that the secular authority of the popes received a severe blow and began rapidly to decline. In the year 1296 Boniface issued a bull in

[2] The friars soon came to interpret their vow of poverty more liberally, and believed that they met its obligations when they put the title of the property they acquired in the hands of the Pope, while they themselves simply enjoyed the use of it. The new fraternities grew in time to be among the richest of the monastic orders.

which, under pain of excommunication, he forbade all ecclesiastical persons, without papal permission, to pay taxes in any form levied by lay rulers. All civil rulers of whatsoever name — baron, duke, prince, king, or emperor — who should presume to impose upon ecclesiastics taxes of any kind, were also to incur the same sentence.[8]

Philip of France regarded the papal claims as an encroachment upon the civil authority. The contention between him and the Pope speedily grew into a bitter and undignified quarrel. In one of his letters to Boniface, Philip addressed the pontiff in words of unseemly and studied rudeness. Philip was bold because he knew that his people were with him. The popular feeling was given expression in a famous States-General which the king summoned in 1302, and in another called together the next year. The three estates of the realm — the nobility, the clergy, and the commons — declared that the Pope had no authority in France in civil matters; that the French king had no superior save God.

The end was soon reached. At Anagni, in Italy, a band of soldiers in the French pay, with every indignity, accompanied by blows, made Boniface a prisoner. After three days he was set free by friends and returned to Rome, only, however, to be there made the victim of fresh insults. In a few days he died, broken-hearted, it is said, at the age of eighty-seven (1303).

By all historians of the rise and decline of the temporal power of the popes, the scene at Anagni is placed for historical instruction alongside that enacted more than two centuries earlier at Canossa (sec. 568). The contrasted scenes cannot fail to impress one deeply with the vast vicissitudes in the fortunes of the mediæval Papacy.

591. Removal of the Papal Seat to Avignon (1309–1376); Revolt of Germany and England. — In 1309, through the concurrence of various influences, the papal seat was removed from Rome to Avignon, in Provence, adjoining the frontier of France. Here it remained for a space of nearly seventy years, an era known in Church history as the "Babylonian Captivity." While

[8] This is the celebrated bull known as *Clericis Laicos*. See Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, p. 432.

it was established here all the popes were Frenchmen and their policies were largely dictated by the French kings. Under these circumstances it was but natural that outside of France there should be stirred up a more and more angry protest against the interference of the popes in civil matters. The measures taken at this time by the national assemblies of Germany and England, in both of which countries a national sentiment was springing up, show how completely the Papacy had lost prestige as an international power.

In 1338 the German princes with whom rested the right of electing the German king, in opposing the papal claims, declared that the German Emperor derived all his powers from God through them and not from the Pope. The German Diet indorsed this declaration, and the principle that the German Emperor, as to his election and the exercise of his functions, is independent of the papal see became from that time forward a part of the German constitution.

A little later (in 1366), during the reign of Edward III, the English Parliament, acting in a like spirit and temper, put an end to English vassalage to Rome by formally refusing to pay the tribute pledged by King John,[4] and by repudiating wholly the claims of the popes upon England as a fief of the holy see.

592. **The Great Schism** (1378–1417). — The stirring of the national sentiment in several of the countries of Europe was not the only disastrous result to the Papacy of the Babylonian exile. The discontent awakened among the Italians by the situation of the papal court led to an open rupture between them and the French party. In 1378 the opposing factions each elected a Pope, and thus there were two heads of the Church, one at Avignon and the other at Rome. Such was the beginning of the Great Schism (1378).

The spectacle of two rival popes, each claiming to be the rightful successor of St. Peter, naturally gave the reverence which the world had so generally held for the Roman see a rude shock, and one from which it never fully recovered.

[4] See sec. 587. The payment of this tribute had fallen in arrears.

593. **The Church Councils of Pisa** (1409) **and Constance** (1414–1418). — For a generation all Western Christendom was deeply agitated by the unseemly quarrel. No peaceful solution of the difficulty seemed possible. Some even favored a resort to force. The faculties of the University of Paris invited suggestions as to the best means of ending the schism. They received ten thousand written opinions. The drift of these was in favor of an ecumenical council. Finally, in 1409, a council of the Church assembled at Pisa for the purpose of composing the unfortunate feud. This council deposed both popes and elected Alexander V as the supreme head of the Church. But matters instead of being mended hereby were only made worse; for neither of the deposed pontiffs would lay down his authority in obedience to the demands of the council, and so now there were three popes instead of two.

In 1414 another council was called at Constance for the settlement of the growing dispute. One of the claimants resigned and the other two were deposed. A new pope was then elected, the choice of the assembly falling upon an Italian cardinal, who became Pope Martin V (1417). In his person the Catholic world was again united under a single spiritual head.

Selections from the Sources. — HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, p. 430, "John's Concession of England to the Pope"; p. 432, "The Bull 'Clericis Laicos.'" *The Mirror of Perfection* (ed. by Paul Sabatier). This is the life of St. Francis written by a companion and disciple. It is a wonderful story simply and lovingly told.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. St. Francis of Assisi. 2. St. Dominic. 3. The popes at Avignon.

CHAPTER XLIX

TURANIAN CONQUESTS; MONGOLS AND TURKS

594. The Huns and the Hungarians. — The Huns, of whom we have already told, were the first Turanians that during historic times pushed their way in among the peoples of Europe (sec. 442).

The next Turanian invaders of Europe that we need here notice were the Magyars, or Hungarians, another branch of the Hunnic race, who in the ninth century of our era succeeded in thrusting themselves far into the continent, and establishing there the important kingdom of Hungary. These people, in marked contrast to almost every other tribe of Turanian origin, adopted the manners, customs, and religion of the peoples about them — became, in a word, thoroughly Europeanized, and for a long time were the main defense of Christian Europe against the Turkish tribes of the same race that followed closely in their footsteps.

595. The Seljuk Turks. — The Seljuk Turks, so called from the name of one of their chiefs, are the next Turanian people who thrust themselves prominently upon our notice. It was the capture of the holy places in Palestine by this intolerant race and their threatening advance toward the Bosporus that alarmed the Christian nations of Europe and led to the First Crusade (sec. 571).

The blows dealt the empire of the Seljuks by the crusaders, and disputes respecting the succession, caused the once formidable sovereignty to crumble to pieces, only, however, to be replaced by others of equally rapid growth, destined to as quick a decay.

596. The Mongols. — While the power of the Seljuk Turks was declining in Western Asia, the Mongols, cruel and untamed nomads bred on the steppes of Central and Eastern Asia, that nursery of conquering races, began to set up a new dominion among the various tribes of Mongolia. Their first great chieftain was Jenghiz Khan (1206–1227), the most terrible scourge that ever afflicted the human race. At the head of innumerable hordes composed

largely of Turkish tribes, callous and pitiless in their slaughterings as though their victims belonged to another species than themselves, Jenghiz traversed with sword and torch a great part of Asia. He conquered all the northern part of China, and then turning westward overran Turkestan and Persia. Cities disappeared as he advanced; populous plains were transformed into silent deserts. Before death overtook him he had extended his authority to the Dnieper in Russia and to the valley of the Indus.

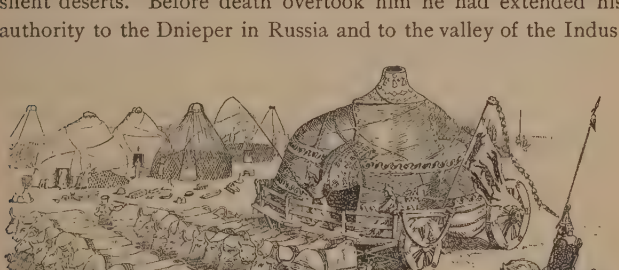

FIG. 115. — HUT-WAGON OF THE MEDIÆVAL TARTARS. (From Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*)

The wandering Scyths who dwell
In latticed huts high-poised on easy wheels.

ÆSCHYLUS, *Prom. Vinct.*, 709–710; quoted by Yule

Even in death he claimed his victims: at his tomb forty maidens were slain that their spirits might go to serve him in the other world.

The vast domains of Jenghiz passed into the hands of his son Oktai (d. 1241), a worthy successor of the great conqueror. He pushed outwards still further the boundaries of the empire in the east as well as in the west of Asia, and made a threatening invasion of Europe. In the space of two or three terrible years (1238–1241) almost half of Europe (a large part of Russia, Poland, and Hungary) was pitilessly ravaged.

One of the most noted of the successors of Oktai was Kublai Khan (1259–1294), who made Cambalu, the modern Peking, his royal seat, and there received ambassadors and visitors from all parts of the world. It was at the court of this prince that the celebrated Italian traveler Marco Polo resided many years and gained that valuable and quickening knowledge of the Far East which he communicated to Europe in his remarkable work of travels and observations.

Upon the death of Kublai Khan the immoderately extended and loosely knit empire fell into disorder and separated into many petty states. It was restored by Timur, or Tamerlane (1369–1405), a remote relative of Jenghiz Khan. His dominions came to embrace a great part of Asia.

Timur's immense empire crumbled to pieces after his death. His descendant Baber invaded India (1525) and established there what became known as the Kingdom of the Great Moguls. This Mongol state lasted over two hundred years, — until destroyed by the English in the eighteenth century. The magnificence of the court of the Great Moguls at Delhi and Agra is one of the most splendid traditions of the East.

Asia has never recovered from the terrible devastation wrought by the Mongol conquerors. Many districts swarming with life were swept clean of their population by these destroyers of the race and have remained to this day desolate as the tomb. But it is the relation of the Mongol eruption to the history of the West that chiefly concerns us at present. This revolution had significance for European history almost solely on account of the Mongols having laid the yoke of their power for a long time — for about three centuries — upon the Eastern Slavs. This was some such calamity for Russia as the later conquests of the Ottoman Turks were for the lands of Southeastern Europe.

597. The Beginnings of the Ottoman[1] Empire. — The latest, most permanent, and most important historically of all the Turanian sovereignties was that established by the Ottoman Turks.

[1] From Othman I (1288–1326), or Osman, whence not only "Ottoman," but "Osmanlis," the favorite name which the Turks apply to themselves.

The nucleus of this great empire was a little state set up in Asia Minor about the middle of the thirteenth century by a band of Turkish warriors. Gradually the Ottoman princes subjected to their rule the surrounding tribes, and at the same time seized upon province after province of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine emperors. During the reign of Amurath I (1360–1389) a large part of the regions that came to be known as Turkey in Europe fell into their hands.

598. **The Janizaries.**—The conquests of the Turks were greatly aided by a remarkably efficient body of soldiers known as the Janizaries, which was organized early in the fourteenth century.

THE EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS ABOUT 1464

This select corps was composed at first of the fairest children of Christian captives, who were brought up in the Mohammedan faith. When war ceased to furnish recruits, the sultans levied a tribute of children on their Christian subjects. At one time this tribute amounted to two thousand boys yearly. This method of recruiting the corps was maintained for about three centuries.

599. **The Fall of Constantinople** (1453).—The fall of Constantinople was delayed for a time by the attacks of the Mongols upon the Ottomans in Asia. But finally, in the year 1453, Mohammed II the Great (1451–1480) laid siege to the capital with a vast army and fleet. After a short investment the place was taken by storm. Of the hundred thousand inhabitants of the capital forty thousand are said to have been slain and fifty thousand

made slaves. The Cross on the dome of St. Sophia was replaced by the Crescent.

Thus fell New Rome into the hands of the barbarians of the East almost an exact millennium after Old Rome had passed into the possession of the barbarians of the West. Its fall was one of the most harrowing and fate-laden events in history. As Mohammed, like Scipio at Carthage, gazed upon the ruined city and the empty palace of Constantine, he is said, impressed by the mutability of fortune, to have repeated musingly the lines of the Persian poet Firdusi: "The spider's web is the curtain in Cæsar's palace; the owl is the sentinel on the watchtower of Afrasiab." [2]

The Turks have ever remained quite insensible to the influences of European civilization. They have always been looked upon as intruders in Europe, and their presence there has led to several of the most sanguinary wars of modern times. Gradually they are being pushed out from their European possessions, and the time is probably not remote when they will be driven back across the Bosporus, just as the Moslem Moors were expelled long ago from the opposite corner of the continent by the Christian chivalry of Spain.

Selections from the Sources. — *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols. (trans. by Henry Yule; new ed. revised by Henri Cordier). The best part of these volumes is condensed in NOAH BROOKS, *The Story of Marco Polo*. Marco Polo resided seventeen years at the court of Kublai Khan at Cambalu, the modern Peking. He saw the Mongol court at the time of its greatest brilliancy and gave Europe a vivid description of what he observed and heard in an account which our growing knowledge of the Far East is giving a constantly higher reputation for accuracy and honesty.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Marco Polo at the Mongol court. 2. The Mongols in Russia. 3. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

[2] Afrasiab is the name of a personage who figures in the legends of Persia.

CHAPTER L

THE GROWTH OF THE TOWNS

600. Rapid Development of the Cities in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. — The old Roman towns, as points of attack and defense, suffered much during the period of the barbarian invasions. When the storm had passed, many of the once strong-walled towns lay "rings of ruins" on the wasted plains. But it was not alone the violence of the destroyers of the Empire that

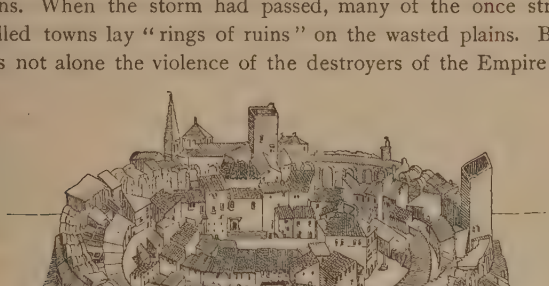

FIG. 116. — THE AMPHITHEATER AT ARLES IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

"The amphitheater was made a fortress, packed with houses, in the eighth century, on account of Saracen incursions." — SMITH, *The Troubadours at Home*

brought so many cities to ruin; what chiefly caused their depopulation and decay was the preference of the barbarians for the open country to the city. Up to the eleventh century the population of Europe was essentially a rural population like that of Russia to-day.

But just as soon as the invaders had settled down and civilization had begun to revive, the towns began gradually to assume somewhat of their former importance. During the tenth century

Western Europe, it will be recalled, was terribly troubled by the Northmen, the Hungarians, and the Saracens (sec. 547). There being no strong central government, the cities, thrown upon their own resources for defense, armed their militia, and above all else surrounded themselves with walls. Strong walls were the only sure protection in those evil times. Thus Europe became thick-set with strong-walled cities, the counterpart of the castles of the feudal lords, which were the defense of the countryside.

601. The Towns enter the Feudal System; their Revolt. — When feudalism took possession of Europe the cities became a part of the system. They became vassals and suzerains. As vassals, they were of course subjected to all the incidents of feudal ownership. They owed allegiance to their suzerain, were he baron, prince, prelate, king, or emperor, and must pay him feudal tribute and aid him in his war enterprises. As the cities, through their manufactures and trade, were the most wealthy members of the feudal system, the lords naturally looked to them for money when in need. Their demands and exactions at last became unendurable, and a long struggle broke out between them and the burghers.

The advantage in the end rested with the burghers. In process of time the greater number of the towns of the countries of Western Europe either bought with money or wrested by force of arms charters from their lords or suzerains. This was a great gain; and as, under the protection of their charters, the cities grew in wealth and population, many of them in some countries became at last strong enough to cast off all actual dependence upon lord or king, became in effect independent states, — little commonwealths. Especially was this true in the case of the Italian cities, and in a less marked degree in the case of some of the German towns.

602. The Industrial Life of the Towns; the Gilds. — The towns were the workshops of the later Middle Ages. The most noteworthy characteristics of their industrial life are connected with certain corporations or fraternities known as gilds. There were two chief classes of these, the gild merchant and the craft gilds. The members of the gild merchant, speaking generally,

were the chief landowners and traders of the place. The craft gilds were unions of the shoemakers, the bakers, the weavers, the spinners, the dyers, the millers, and so on to the end. In some cities there were upwards of fifty of these associations.

The internal history of the towns during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is very largely the story of the gilds in their manifold activities. This story, however, it is impossible to give even in outline in our short space. We must content ourselves with having merely indicated the place of these interesting fraternities in the life of the mediæval towns.

603. The Hanseatic[1] League. — When, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the towns of Northern Europe began to extend their commercial connections, the greatest drawback to their trade was the insecurity and disorder that everywhere prevailed. The trader who intrusted his goods to the overland routes was in danger of losing them at the hands of the robber nobles, who watched all the lines of travel and either robbed the merchant outright or levied an iniquitous toll upon his goods. Nor was the way by sea beset with less peril. Piratical crafts scoured the waters and made booty of any luckless merchantman they might overpower or lure to wreck upon the dangerous shores.

This state of things led some of the German cities, about the middle of the fourteenth century, to form, for the protection of their merchants, an alliance called the Hanseatic League. The confederation eventually embraced eighty or more of the principal towns of North Germany. In order to facilitate the trading operations of its members, the league established in different foreign cities trading posts and warehouses. The four most noted centers of the trade of the confederation were the cities of Bruges, London, Bergen, Wisby, and Novgorod. The league thus became a vast monopoly, which endeavored to control in the interests of its own members the entire commerce of Northern Europe.

Numerous causes concurred to undermine the prosperity of the Hansa towns and to bring about the dissolution of the league. Among these were the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth

[1] From the old German *hansa*, a confederation or union.

and sixteenth centuries, which transferred the centers of commercial activity as well from the Baltic as from the Mediterranean ports to the harbors on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Reformation and the accompanying religious wars in Germany, which brought many of the Hansa towns to utter ruin.

604. Causes of the Early Growth of the Italian Cities. — But it was in Italy that the mediæval cities acquired the greatest power and influence. Several things conspired to promote their early and rapid development, but a main cause of their prosperity was their trade with the East, and the enormous impulse given to this commerce by the Crusades.

With wealth came power, and all the chief Italian cities became distinct, self-governing states, with just a nominal dependence upon Pope or Emperor. Towards the close of the thirteenth century Northern and Central Italy was divided among about two hundred contentious little city-republics. Italy had become another Greece.

605. The Rise of Despots. — The constant wars of the Italian cities with each other and the incessant strife of parties within each city led to the same issue as that to which tended the endless contentions and divisions of the Greek cities in ancient times. Their democratic institutions were overthrown, and by the end of the thirteenth century a large part of the city-republics of Northern and Central Italy had fallen into the hands of domestic tyrants, many of whom by their crimes rendered themselves as odious as the worst of the tyrants who usurped supreme power in the cities of ancient Hellas (sec. 153).

We shall now relate some circumstances, for the most part of a commercial or social character, which concern some of the most renowned of the Italian city-states.

606. Venice. — Venice, the most famous of the Italian cities, had its beginnings in the fifth century in the rude huts of some refugees who fled out into the marshes of the Adriatic to escape the fury of the Huns of Attila (sec. 443). Century after century conquests and negotiations gradually extended the possessions of the island republic, until she finally came to control the coast

and waters of the Eastern Mediterranean in much the same way that Carthage had mastery of the Western Mediterranean at the time of the First Punic War. Even before the Crusades her trade with the East was very extensive, and by those expeditions was expanded into enormous dimensions.

Venice was at the height of her power during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Her supremacy on the sea was celebrated each year by the unique ceremony of "Wedding the Adriatic" by the dropping of a ring into the sea. The origin of this custom was as follows. In the year 1177 Pope Alexander III, out of gratitude to the Venetians for services rendered him, gave a ring to the Doge with these words: "Take this as a token of dominion over the sea, and wed her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know that the sea belongs to Venice and is subject to her as a bride is subject to her husband." This ceremony was one of the most brilliant spectacles of the Middle Ages.

The decline of Venice dates from the fifteenth century. The conquests of the Ottoman Turks during this century deprived her of much of the territory she held east of the Adriatic, and finally the discovery of the New World by Columbus and of an unbroken water route to India by Vasco da Gama gave a deathblow to her commerce. From this time on the trade with the East was to be conducted from the Atlantic ports instead of from those in the Mediterranean.

607. Genoa. — Genoa, on the old Ligurian coast, was, after Venice, the most powerful of the Italian maritime cities. The period of her greatest prosperity dates from the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins by the Greeks in 1261; for the Genoese had assisted the Greek princes in the recovery of their throne, and as a reward were shown commercial favors by the Greek emperors. The jealousy with which the Venetians regarded the prosperity of the Genoese led to oft-renewed war between the two rival republics. For nearly two centuries their hostile fleets contended, as did the navies of Rome and Carthage, for the supremacy of the sea.

The merchants of Genoa, like those of Venice, reaped a rich harvest during the Crusades. Their prosperity was brought to an end by the irruption of the Mongols and Turks, and the capture of Constantinople by the latter in 1453. The Genoese traders were now driven from the Black Sea, and their traffic with Eastern Asia was completely broken up.

608. **Florence.** — Florence, "the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics," although from her inland location upon the Arno shut out from engaging in those naval enterprises that conferred wealth and importance upon the coast cities of Venice and Genoa, became, notwithstanding, through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, and art center of the later mediæval centuries. The list of her illustrious citizens is more extended than that of any other city of mediæval times; and indeed, as respects the number of her great men, Florence is perhaps unrivaled by any city of the ancient or modern world save Athens. In her long roll of fame we find the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Amerigo Vespucci, and the Medici.[2]

609. **Services of the Mediæval Towns to Civilization.** — Modern civilization inherited much from each of the three great centers of mediæval life, — the monastery, the castle, and the town. We have noticed what came out of cloister and baronial hall, what the monk and what the baron contributed to civilization (secs. 492 and 551). We must now see what came out of the town, — what contribution the burgher made to European life and culture.

In the first place, the towns were the centers of the industrial and commercial life of the Middle Ages, and laid the foundations of that vast system of international exchange and traffic which forms a characteristic feature of modern European civilization.

In the second place, the mediæval cities, along with the monasteries, were the foster home of architecture, sculpture, and

[2] The Medici were enlightened despots. The two most distinguished names of the family are those of Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464), who was called the "Friend of the People and the Father of his Country," and Lorenzo, his grandson (1448-1492).

painting. These things, as has been well said, are "the beautiful flowers of free city life." The old picturesque high-gabled houses, the sculptured guildhalls, the artistic gateways, the superb palaces, and the imposing cathedrals found in so many of the

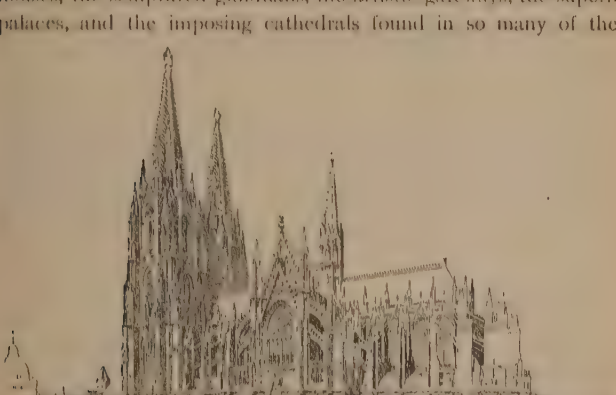

FIG. 117. THE COLOGNE CATHEDRAL. (From a photograph)

This edifice was begun in the eleventh century, but was not finished until our own day (1880). It is one of the most imposing monuments of Gothic architecture in the world

cities of Europe to-day bear witness to the important place which the mediæval towns hold in the history of architecture and art.[a]

In the third place, the towns were the birthplace of modern political liberty. The inhabitants of the towns grew into a new order destined to a great political future, the so-called *Third*

[a] The enthusiasm for church building was most marked in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The style of architecture first employed was the Romanesque, characterized by the rounded arch and the dome, but towards the close of the twelfth century this was superseded by the Gothic, distinguished by the pointed arch, the slender spire, and rich ornamentation.

Estate, or *Commons*.[4] During the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the representatives of the towns came to sit along with the nobles and the clergy in the national diets or parliaments of the different countries.[5] What this meant for the development of modern parliamentary government we shall learn later.

In the fourth place, it was the most typical of the free cities, those of Italy, which gave to the world the Renaissance, that great essentially intellectual movement which marked the latter part of the Middle Ages. The relation of the Italian cities to this mental awakening will be made the subject of a section further on (sec. 670).

Selections from the Sources. — LEE, *Source-Book*, sec. 56, "Charter of the City of London (from Henry I)." COLBY, *Selections*, p. 70, "A Town Charter." *Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 1, "English Towns and Gilds." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. xviii (last part).

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The gilds. 2. Frederick Barbarossa and Milan. 3. The *Carroccio*. 4. The Wedding of the Adriatic. 5. St. Mark's at Venice. 6. Cathedral building.

[4] In England the men of the rural districts, that is of the counties, formed from the first, or almost from the first, a part of this order. In other countries, however, it was not until a later time that the rural class came to reënforce the new estate.

[5] See secs. 621 and 640.

CHAPTER LI

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE SCHOOLMEN

610. The Rise and Early Growth of the Universities. — It will be recalled that a significant feature of the work of Charlemagne was the establishment of schools in connection with the cathedrals and monasteries of his realm (sec. 533). From the opening of the ninth till well on into the eleventh century the lamp of learning was fed in these Church schools, although throughout the tenth century the flame burned very low.

But about the opening of the twelfth century a new intellectual movement began to stir Western Christendom. This mental revival was caused by many agencies, particularly by the quickening influence of the Græco-Arabian culture in Spain and the Orient, with which the Christian West was just now being brought into closer contact through the Crusades. As a consequence of this newly awakened intellectual life there arose a demand for a more secular system of education than that given in the cloister schools, — one that should prepare a person for entering upon a professional career as a physician, lawyer, or statesman.[1]

It was in response to these new demands that the universities came into existence. Some of these were mere expansions of cathedral or monastery schools; others developed out of lay schools which had grown up in commercial towns. Three of the most ancient universities were the University of Salerno, noted for its teachers in medicine; the University of Bologna, frequented for its instruction in law; and the University of Paris, revered for the authority of its doctors in theology. The University of Paris

[1] The number of faculties in the mediæval university was not fixed. A usual number was four, — the Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Arts (or Philosophy). The course in arts embraced what is to-day covered by the courses in letters and science, and served as a preparation for entrance upon one of the three specialized professional courses, though most of the students never went beyond it.

gave constitution and rules to so many as to earn the designation of "the Mother of Universities and the Sinai of the Middle Ages."

611. Students and Student Life. — The number of students in attendance at the mediæval universities was large. Contemporaries tell of crowds of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty thousand at the most popular institutions. These numbers are doubtless exaggerated, but that the attendance was numerous is certain, for

FIG. 118. — UNIVERSITY AUDIENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
(From Geiger's *Renaissance und Humanismus*)

in those times all who were eager to acquire knowledge must needs seek some seat of learning, since the scarcity and great cost of manuscript books put home study out of the question. Then, again, many of the pupils attending the nonprofessional courses were mere boys of twelve or thereabouts, — the high-school pupils of to-day; while, on the other hand, the student body embraced many mature men, among whom were to be counted canons, deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries.

Student life in the earlier university period, before the dormitory and college system was introduced, was unregulated and shamefully disorderly. The age was rough and lawless, and the student class were no better than their age; indeed, in some respects they seem to have been worse. For the student body included many rich young profligates, who found the universities the most agreeable places for idling away their time, as well as many wild and reckless characters who were constantly engaging in tavern brawls, terrorizing the townsmen at night, even waylaying travelers on the public roads, and committing "many other enormities hateful to God."

612. Branches of Study and Methods of Instruction. — The advanced studies given greatest prominence in the universities were the three professional branches of theology, medicine, and law. The natural sciences can hardly be said to have existed, although in alchemy lay hidden the germ of chemistry and in astrology that of astronomy. The Ptolemaic theory, which made the earth the stationary center of the revolving celestial spheres, gave color and form to all conceptions of the structure of the universe.

The method of instruction in all the university departments was the same. It was a servile study of texts, which were regarded with a veneration bordering on superstition. Not even in the physical sciences was there any serious appeal to experience, to observation, to experiment. In anatomy discussions took the place of dissections.[2] Books were considered better authority than nature herself. "Aristotle," says Ueberweg, "was regarded as the founders of religions are wont to be considered." One venturing to criticise this "Master of those who know" was looked upon as presumptuous and irreverent.

613. Scholasticism; the Province of the Schoolmen. — Springing up within the early ecclesiastical schools and developed within the later universities, there came into existence a method of philosophizing which, from the place of its origin, was called

[2] At Bologna, where anatomical study was most advanced, each student witnessed only one dissection during the year.

Scholasticism, while its representatives were called Schoolmen, or Scholastics. The chief task of the Schoolmen was the reducing of Christian doctrines to scientific form, the harmonizing of revelation and reason, of faith and science. Viewed in this light, it was not altogether unlike that theological philosophy of the present day whose aim is to harmonize the Bible with the facts of modern science.

614. Peter Abelard. — The most eminent of the early Schoolmen was Peter Abelard (1079–1142). Such a teacher the world had probably not produced since Socrates enchained the youth of Athens. At Paris over five thousand pupils are said to have thronged his lecture room. Driven by the shame of a public scandal to seek retirement, he hid himself first in a monastery and later in a solitude near the city of Troyes. But his admirers followed him into the wilds in such multitudes that a veritable university sprang up around him in his desert retreat.

Abelard's brilliant reputation as a philosopher was tarnished by grave faults of character. Intrusted with the education of a fascinating and mentally gifted maiden, Héloïse by name, Abelard betrayed the confidence reposed in him. A secret marriage bound in a tragic fate the lives of teacher and pupil. The "tale of Abelard and Héloïse" forms one of the most romantic yet saddest traditions of the twelfth century.

615. Scholasticism in the Thirteenth Century.—The thirteenth century was the great age of Scholasticism. Its most illustrious representatives during this period were Albertus Magnus, or "Albert the Great" (d. 1280), who was called "the second Aristotle," and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), known as "the Angelic Doctor." As philosophers these Schoolmen stand to each other in some such relation as did Plato and Aristotle, nor are their names unworthy of being linked with the names of those great thinkers of ancient Greece. The reputation of Aquinas as the greatest Scholastic and theologian of the Middle Ages rests largely upon his prodigious work entitled *Summa Theologiæ*, or "Sum of Theology." The work is regarded as the standard of orthodoxy in the Catholic Church.

The most noteworthy representative of the scientific activity of the Scholastic age was the English Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon (d. 1294), called "the Wonderful Doctor," on account of his marvelous knowledge of mechanics, optics, chemistry, and other sciences. He understood the composition of gunpowder, or a similar explosive, and seemingly the nature of steam; for in one of his works he says that "wagons and ships could be built which would propel themselves with the swiftness of an arrow, without horses and without sails." His contemporaries believed him to be in league with the devil. He suffered persecution and was imprisoned for fourteen years.

616. The Decline of Scholasticism; Services of the Schoolmen to Intellectual Progress. — The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the decline of Scholasticism. In this period Scholastic debate in the hands of unworthy successors of the earlier great philosophers fell away for the most part into barren disputations over idle and impossible questions. The Schoolmen sank in public estimation and gave place to the humanists (sec. 671).

But notwithstanding this degeneracy of Scholasticism, the Schoolmen as a whole rendered a great service to the intellectual progress of Europe. By their ceaseless debates they sharpened the wits of men, created activity of thought and deftness in argument. They made the universities of the time real mental gymnasia, in which the young awakening mind of Europe was trained and strengthened for its later work.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The "Nations" at the universities. 2. Student life. 3. Abelard and St. Bernard. 4. Roger Bacon.

CHAPTER LII

GROWTH OF THE NATIONS: FORMATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND LITERATURES

617. Introductory. — The most important political movement that marked the latter part of the Middle Ages was the fusion, in several of the countries of Europe, of the petty feudal principalities and half-independent cities and communes into great nations with strong centralized governments. This movement was accompanied by, or rather consisted in, the decline of feudalism as a governmental system, the loss by the cities of their freedom, and the growth of the power of the kings.

In some countries, however, conditions were opposed to this centralizing tendency, and in these the Modern Age was reached without nationality having been found. But in England, in France, and in Spain circumstances all seemed to tend towards unity, and by the close of the fifteenth century there were established in these countries strong despotic monarchies. Yet even among those peoples where national governments did not appear, some progress was made towards unity through the formation of national languages and literatures, and the development of common feelings and aspirations, so that these races or peoples were manifestly only awaiting the opportunities of a happier period for the maturing of their national life.

The rise of monarchy and decline of feudalism, this substitution of strong centralized governments in place of the feeble, irregular, and conflicting rule of the feudal nobles or of other local authorities, was a very great gain to the cause of law and good order. It paved the way for modern progress and civilization.

I. England

618. General Statement. — In earlier chapters we told of the origin of the English people and traced their growth under Saxon, Danish, and Norman rulers. In the present sections we shall tell

ANGEVIN DOMINIONS
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Countries held by Vassals from Henry II
Held by Henry II from a superior king
Held by Henry II in his own right
NORTH SEA
Irish Channel
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
THE PLATTAGENET DOMINIONS
THE EMPIRE
FRANCE
Stirling
R. Forth
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Durham
York
R. Humber
The Wash
Chester
Leicester
Oxford
Runnymede
Clarendon
Winchester
Hastings
Salisbury
Southampton
Exeter
Bristol
Milford
R. Severn
Anglesey
Dublin
LEINSTER
Limerick
Wexford
Waterford
MUNSTER
CONNAUGHT
ULSTER
Armagh
R. Shannon
Solway Firth
R. Dee
R. Tyne
R. Tees
R. Ouse
R. Trent
R. Thames
Canterbury
Dover
Calais
Boulogne
Flanders
Bruges
R. Rhine
Eves
Verdun
R. Marne
Champagne
Troyes
R. Seine
Orleans
Burgundy
Blois
Rouen
Havre
Caen
NORMANDY
PARIS
Cherbourg
Brest
BRITTANY
Rennes
MAINE
Le Mans
ANJOU
Angers
Nantes
Tours
Fontevrault
Chinon
Poitou
R. Loire
Berry
Marche
Limoges
Lyons
R. Saone
R. Rhone
R. Garonne
AQUITAINE (GUIENNE)
Bordeaux
Auvergne
R. Isere
Avignon
Arles
Provence
Marseille
LANGUEDOC
Toulouse
GASCONY
R. Adour
THE MEN. WORKS.

very briefly the story of their fortunes under the Plantagenet[1] house and its branches, thus carrying on our narrative to the accession of the Tudors in 1485, from which event dates the beginning of the modern history of England.

The chief events of the period which we shall notice were the loss of the English possessions in France, the wresting of *Magna Carta* from King John, the formation of the House of Commons, the conquest of Wales, the wars with Scotland, the Hundred Years' War with France, and the Wars of the Roses.

619. Loss of the English Possessions in France (1202–1204). — The issue of the battle of Hastings, in 1066, made William of Normandy king of England. But we must bear in mind that he still held his possessions in France as a fief from the French king, whose vassal he was. These Continental lands, save for some short intervals, remained under the rule of William's Norman successors in England. Then, when Henry, Count of Anjou, came to the English throne as the first of the Plantagenets (sec. 563), these territories were greatly increased by the French possessions of that prince. The larger part of Henry's dominions, indeed, was in France, the whole of the western half of the country being in his hands; but for all of this he of course paid homage to the French king.

As was inevitable, a feeling of intense jealousy sprang up between the two sovereigns. The French king was ever watching for some pretext upon which he might deprive his rival of his possessions in France. The opportunity came when John, in 1199, succeeded Richard the Lion-Hearted as king of England. Twice that odious tyrant was summoned by Philip Augustus of France to appear before his French peers and clear himself of certain charges, one of which was the murder of his nephew Arthur. John refused to obey the summons. Philip was finally able, so strong was the feeling against John, to dispossess him of all his lands in France, save a part of Aquitaine in the south.

The loss of these lands was a great gain to England. The Angevin kings had been pursuing a policy which, had it been

[1] The name Plantagenet came from the peculiar badge, a sprig of broom plant (*plante de genêt*), adopted by one of the early members of the house.

successful, would have made England a subordinate part of a great Continental state. That danger was now averted.

620. Magna Carta (1215). — *Magna Carta*, the "Great Charter," held sacred as the safeguard of English liberties, was an instrument which the English barons and clergy wrested from King John, and in which the ancient rights and privileges of the people were clearly defined and guaranteed.

King John, as will easily be believed from the revelation of his character already made, surpassed the worst of his predecessors in tyranny and wickedness. His course led to an open revolt of the barons of the realm. The tyrant was forced to bow to the storm he had raised. He met his barons at Runnymede, a flat meadow on the Thames, near Windsor, and there affixed his seal to the instrument that had been prepared to receive it.

Among the important articles of the Great Charter were the following, which we give as showing at once the nature of the venerable document and the kind of grievances of which the people had occasion to complain.

ART. 12. "No scutage[2] or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except by the common council of our kingdom, except for the ransoming of our body, for the making of our oldest son a knight, and for once marrying our oldest daughter, and for these purposes it shall be only a reasonable aid;[3] . . .

ART. 39. "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

The Great Charter did not create new rights and privileges, but in its main points simply reasserted and confirmed old usages and laws. It was immediately violated by John and afterwards was disregarded by many of his successors; but the people always

[2] Scutage was a money payment made in commutation of personal military service.

[3] This article respecting taxation was suffered to fall into abeyance in the reign of John's successor, Henry III, and it was not until about one hundred years after the granting of *Magna Carta* that the great principle that the people should be taxed only through their representatives in Parliament became fully established.

clung to it as the warrant and safeguard of their liberties, and again and again forced tyrannical kings to renew and confirm its provisions, and swear solemnly to observe all its articles.

Considering the far-reaching consequences that resulted from the granting of *Magna Carta*, — the securing of constitutional liberty as an inheritance for the English-speaking race in all parts of the world, — it must always be considered the most important concession ever wrung from a tyrannical sovereign.

621. Beginnings of the House of Commons (1265). — The reign of Henry III (1216–1272), John's son and successor, witnessed the second important step taken in English constitutional freedom. This was the formation of the House of Commons, the Great Council having up to this time been made up of nobles and bishops. It was again the royal misbehavior — so frequently is it, as Lieber says, that Liberty is indebted to bad kings, though to them she owes no thanks — that led to this great change in the form of the English national assembly.

Henry had violated his oath to observe the provisions of the Great Charter and had become even more tyrannical than his father. In the words of a contemporary, the English were oppressed "like as the people of Israel under Pharaoh." The final outcome was an uprising of the barons and the people similar to that in the reign of King John. It was open war between the king and his people. In a great engagement known as the battle of Lewes, the royal forces were defeated and Henry was taken prisoner (1264).

In order to rally all classes to the support of the cause he represented, Earl Simon de Montfort, the leader of the revolt, now issued, in the king's name, writs of summons to the barons (save the king's adherents), the bishops, and the abbots to meet in Parliament; and at the same time sent similar writs to the sheriffs of the different shires, directing them "to return two knights for the body of their county, with two citizens or burghers for every city and borough contained in it." This was the first time that plain untitled citizens, or burghers, had been called to take their place with the barons, bishops, and knights, in the

great council of the nation, to join in deliberations on the affairs of the realm.[4]

From this gathering, then, may be dated the birth of the House of Commons (1265). Formed as it was of knights and burghers, representatives of the common people, it was at first a weak and timorous body, quite overawed by the great lords, but was destined finally to grow into the controlling branch of the British Parliament.

622. **Conquest of Wales** (1272–1282). — For more than seven hundred years after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain the Celtic tribes of Wales maintained among their mountain fastnesses an ever-renewed struggle with the successive invaders of the island, — with Saxon, Dane, and Norman. They were forced to acknowledge the overlordship of some of the Saxon and Norman kings; but they were restless vassals, and were constantly withholding tribute and refusing homage.

When Edward I (1272–1307) came to the English throne, Llewellyn III, who held the overlordship of the Welsh chiefs, refused to render homage to the new king. Edward led a strong army into the fastnesses of the country and quickly reduced his rebel vassal to submission. A few years later and the Welsh patriots were again in arms; but the uprising was soon crushed and Llewellyn was slain (1282). His head, after the barbarous manner of the times, was exposed over the gateway of the Tower of London. The last remnant of Welsh independence was now extinguished. Edward made his little son, born during the campaign, feudal lord of the Welsh, with the title of Prince of Wales; and from that time the title has usually been borne by the eldest son of the English sovereign.

For two centuries after the death of Llewellyn the Welsh were the unwilling and at times rebellious subjects of England. Then occurred a happy circumstance, — the accession to the English

[4] At first the burghers could take part only in questions relating to taxation, but gradually they acquired the right to share in all matters that might come before Parliament. Just thirty years later (in 1295), in the reign of Edward I, there was gathered through regular constitutional summons what came to be called the Model Parliament, since in its composition it served as a pattern for later Parliaments.

throne of a prince of Welsh descent; for Henry Tudor, the first of the Tudor dynasty, was the grandson of a Welsh knight named Owen Tudor. With princes of the ancient British race reigning in London, the Welsh, from sullen subjects, were suddenly transformed into enthusiastic and loyal supporters of the English throne.

623. Wars with Scotland (1296–1328). — In 1285 the ancient Celtic line of Scottish chiefs became extinct. A great number of claimants for the vacant throne immediately arose. Chief among these were Robert Bruce and John Balliol, distinguished noblemen of Norman descent, attached to the Scottish court. Edward, who claimed suzerain rights over Scotland, was asked to act as arbitrator and decide to whom the crown should be given. He consented to do so, but only on condition that the Scottish nobles should do homage to him as their overlord. This they were constrained to do. Edward's commissioners then decided the question of the succession in favor of Balliol, who now took the crown of Scotland as the fully acknowledged vassal of the English sovereign (1292).

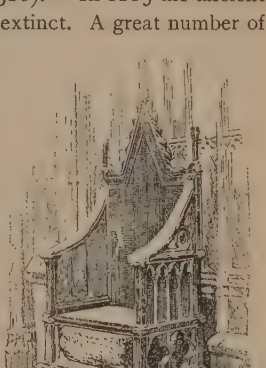


FIG. 119. — CORONATION CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Beneath the seat is the celebrated Scottish Stone of Scone, which was carried away from Scotland by Edward I

Balliol soon broke the feudal ties which bound him to Edward and sought an alliance with the French king. In the war that followed the Scots were defeated and Scotland fell back as a forfeited fief into the hands of Edward (1296). As a sign that the Scottish kingdom had come to an end, Edward carried off to London the royal regalia, and with this a large stone, known as the Stone of Scone, upon which the Scottish kings from time out of memory had been accustomed to be crowned. The block was

taken to Westminster Abbey and there put beneath the seat of a stately throne chair, which to this day is used in the coronation ceremonies of the English sovereigns.

The two countries were not long united. The Scotch people loved too well their ancient liberties to submit quietly to this extinguishment of their national independence. Under the inspiration and lead of the famous Sir William Wallace, an outlaw knight, all the Lowlands were soon in determined revolt. Wallace gained some successes,[5] but at length was betrayed into Edward's hands. He was condemned to death as a traitor, and his head, garlanded with a crown of laurel, was fixed on London Bridge (1305). The romantic life of Wallace, his patriotic services, his heroic exploits, and his tragic death at once lifted him to the place that he has ever since held as the national hero of Scotland.

The struggle in which Wallace had fallen was soon renewed by the almost equally renowned hero Robert Bruce (grandson of the Robert Bruce mentioned above), who was the representative of the nobles, as Wallace had been of the common people. With Edward II Bruce fought the great battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling. Edward's army was almost annihilated (1314). It was the most appalling disaster that had befallen the arms of the English people since the memorable defeat of Harold at Hastings.

The independence of Scotland really dates from the great victory of Bannockburn, but the English were too proud to acknowledge it until after fourteen years more of war. Finally, in the year 1328, the young king, Edward III, gave up all claim to the Scottish crown, and Scotland, with the hero Bruce as its king, took its place as an independent power among the nations.

The independence gained by the Scotch at Bannockburn was maintained for nearly three centuries, — until 1603, — when the crowns of England and Scotland were peacefully united in the person of James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England, the founder of the Stuart dynasty of English kings. During the greater part of these three hundred years the two countries were very quarrelsome neighbors.

[5] Notably a great victory, which is known as the battle of Stirling (1297).

The Hundred Years' War (1338–1453)

624. Causes of the War. — The long and wasteful war between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War was a most eventful one, and its effect upon both England and France was so important and lasting as to entitle it to a prominent place in the records of the closing events of the Middle Ages.

The war with Scotland was one of the things that led up to this war. All through that struggle France, as the old and jealous rival of England, was ever giving aid and encouragement to the Scots. Then the English possessions in France, for which the English king owed homage to the French sovereign as overlord, were a source of constant dispute between the two countries. Trade jealousies also contributed to the causes of mutual hostility. Furthermore, upon the death of Charles IV of France, the last of the direct Capetian line, Edward III laid claim to the French crown in much the same way that William of Normandy centuries before had laid claim to the crown of England.

625. The Battle of Crécy (1346). — The first great combat of the long war was the famous battle of Crécy, in which the English bowmen inflicted upon the French a most terrible defeat. Twelve hundred knights, the flower of French chivalry, and thousands of foot soldiers lay dead upon the field.

The battle of Crécy is memorable for several reasons, but chiefly because feudalism and chivalry there received their death-blow. "The whole social and political fabric of the Middle Ages," writes Green, "rested on a military base, and its base was suddenly withdrawn. The churl had struck down the noble; the bowman proved more than a match, in sheer hard fighting, for the knight. From the day of Crécy feudalism tottered slowly but surely to its grave." The battles of the world were thereafter to be fought and won, not by mail-clad knights with battle-ax and lance, but by common foot soldiers with bow and gun.[6]

[6] The next two important events of this war were the capture of Calais by the English (1347) and the battle of Poitiers (1356), which was for the French a second Crécy. The battle was followed (in 1360) by the Treaty of Bretigny.

626. The Black Death (1347–1349). — At just this time there fell upon Europe the awful pestilence known as the Black Death. The plague was introduced from the East by way of the trade routes of the Mediterranean, and from the southern countries spread in the course of a few years over the entire continent, its virulence without doubt being greatly increased by the unsanitary condition of the crowded towns and the wretched mode of living of the poorer classes. In many regions almost all the people fell victims to the scourge. Many monasteries were almost emptied. In the Mediterranean and the Baltic ships were seen drifting about without a soul on board. Crops rotted unharvested in the fields; herds and flocks wandered about unattended. It is estimated that from one third to one half of the population of Europe perished. Hecker, an historian of the pestilence, estimates the total number of victims at twenty-five millions. It was the most awful calamity that ever befell the human race.

627. Battle of Agincourt (1415). — During the reign in England of Henry V, France was unfortunate in having an insane king, Charles VI; and Henry, taking advantage of the disorder into which the French kingdom naturally fell under these circumstances, invaded the country with a powerful army, made up largely of archers. On the field of Agincourt the French suffered a most humiliating defeat, their terrible losses falling, as at Crécy, chiefly upon the knighthood. Five years later was concluded a treaty,[7] according to the terms of which the French crown, upon the death of Charles, was to go to the English king.

628. Joan of Arc; the Relief of Orleans (1429). — But patriotism was not yet wholly extinct among the French people. There were many who regarded the concessions of the treaty as not only weak and shameful but as unjust to the dauphin Charles, who was thereby disinherited, and they accordingly refused to be bound by its provisions. Consequently, when the poor insane king died the terms of the treaty could not be carried out in full, and the war dragged on. The party that stood by their native prince, afterwards crowned as Charles VII, were at last

[7] The Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

reduced to most desperate straits. The greater part of the country was in the hands of the English, who were holding in close siege the important city of Orleans.

But the darkness was the deep gloom that precedes the dawn. A strange deliverer now appears, — the famous Joan of Arc. This young peasant girl, with soul sensitive to impressions from brooding over her country's wrongs and sufferings, saw visions and heard voices which bade her undertake the work of delivering France. She was obedient unto the heavenly voices.

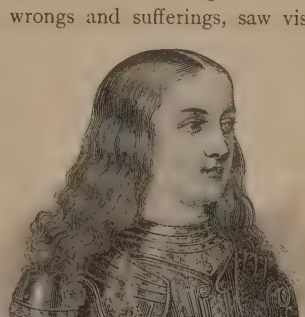


FIG. 120. — JOAN OF ARC. (From a photograph of a beautiful painting in the Historical Gallery at Versailles)

We have no authentic likeness of Joan of Arc. The above must be regarded as an idealized portrait

Rejected by some, yet received by most of her countrymen as a messenger from Heaven, the maiden kindled throughout the land a flame of enthusiasm that nothing could resist. Inspiring the dispirited French soldiers with new courage, she forced the English to raise the siege of Orleans (from which exploit she became known as the Maid of Orleans), and speedily brought about the coronation of Prince Charles at Rheims (1429). Shortly afterward she fell into the hands of the English, was tried by ecclesiastical judges for witchcraft and heresy, and was condemned to be burned as a heretic and a witch. Her martyrdom took place at Rouen in the year 1431.

But the spirit of the maid had already taken possession of the French nation. From this on, the war, though long-continued, went steadily against the English. Little by little they were pushed off from the soil they had conquered, and driven out of

their own Gascon lands of the south as well, until finally they held nothing in the land save Calais. Thus ended, in 1453, the year of the fall of Constantinople, the Hundred Years' War.

629. Effects upon England of the War. — The most important effects of the war as concerns England were the enhancement of the power of the Lower House of Parliament and the awakening of a national spirit. The maintaining of the long and costly quarrel called for such heavy expenditures of men and money that the English kings were made more dependent than hitherto upon the representatives of the people, who were careful to make their grants of supplies conditional upon the correction of abuses or the confirming of their privileges. Thus the war served to make the Commons a power in the English government.

Again, as the war was participated in by all classes alike, the great victory of Crécy and the others which followed, aroused a national pride, which led to a closer union between the different elements of society. Normans and English, enlisted in a common enterprise, were fused by the ardor of a common patriotic enthusiasm into a single people. The real national life of England dates from this time.

The Wars of the Roses (1455–1485)

630. The Two Roses; the Battle of Bosworth Field. — The Wars of the Roses is the name given to a long contest between the adherents of the houses of York and Lancaster, rival branches of the royal family of England. The strife was so named because the Yorkists adopted as their badge a white rose and the Lancastrians a red one. The battle of Bosworth Field (1485) marks the close of the war. In this fight King Richard III, the last of the House of York, was overthrown and slain by Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was crowned on the field with the diadem which had fallen from the head of Richard, and saluted as King Henry VII. With him began the dynasty of the Tudors.

631. The Effects of the Wars. — The first important result of the Wars of the Roses was the ruin of the baronage of England.

One half of the nobility were slain. Those that survived were ruined, their estates having been wasted or confiscated during the progress of the struggle. Not a single great house retained its old-time wealth and influence. The war marks the final downfall of feudalism in England.

The second result of the struggle sprang from the first. This was the great peril into which English liberty was cast by the ruin of the nobility. It was primarily the barons who had forced the Great Charter from King John, and who had kept him and his successors from reigning like absolute monarchs. Upon the ruins of their order was now erected something like a royal despotism. Not until the revolution of the seventeenth century did the people, by overturning the throne of the Stuarts, curb the undue power of the crown and recover their lost liberties.

Growth of the English Language and Literature

632. The Language. — From the Norman Conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century there were in use in England three languages: Norman French was the speech of the conquerors and the medium of polite literature; Saxon, or Old English, was the tongue of the conquered people; while Latin was the language of the laws and records, of the Church services, and of the works of the learned.

Modern English is the old Saxon tongue worn and improved by use, and enriched by a large infusion of Norman-French words, with less important additions from the Latin and other languages. It took the place of the Norman French in the courts of law about the middle of the fourteenth century. At this time the language was broken up into many dialects, and the expression "King's English" is supposed to have referred to the standard form employed in state documents and in use at court.

633. Effect of the Norman Conquest on English Literature. — The blow that struck down King Harold and his brave thanes on the field of Hastings silenced for the space of above a century the voice of English literature. The tongue of the conquerors became

the speech of the court, the nobility, and the clergy; while the language of the despised English was, like themselves, crowded out of every place of honor. But when, after a few generations, the downtrodden race began to reassert itself, English literature emerged from its obscurity, and, with an utterance somewhat changed, — yet unmistakably it is the same voice, — resumed its interrupted lesson and its broken song.

634. **Chaucer** (1340?–1400). — Holding a position high above all other writers of early English is Geoffrey Chaucer. He is the first in time, and, after Shakespeare, perhaps the first in genius, among the great poets of the English-speaking race. He is reverently called the Father of English Poetry.

Chaucer's greatest and most important work is his *Canterbury Tales*. The poet represents himself as one of a company of story-telling pilgrims who have set out on a journey to the tomb of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. The persons, thirty-two in number, making up the party, represent almost every calling in the middle class of English society. The prologue, containing characterizations of the different members of the company, is the most valuable part of the production. Here as in a gallery we find faithful portraits of our ancestors of the fourteenth century.

635. **William Langland.** — The genial Chaucer shows us the pleasant, attractive side of English society and life; William

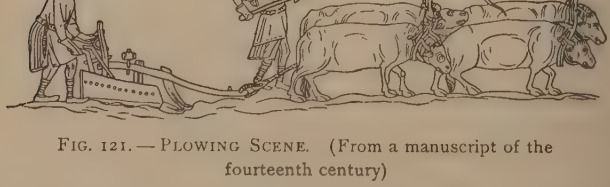


FIG. 121. — PLOWING SCENE. (From a manuscript of the fourteenth century)

Langland, another writer of the same period, in a poem called the *Vision of Piers the Plowman* (1362), lights up for us the world of the poor and the oppressed. This poem quivers with sympathy for the hungry, labor-worn peasant, doomed to a life of

weary routine and helplessness, despised by haughty lords and robbed by shameless ecclesiastics. The long wars with France had demoralized the nation; the Black Death had just reaped its awful harvest among the ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed poor. Occasional outbursts of wrath against the favored classes are the mutterings of the storm soon to burst upon the social world in the fury of the Peasants' Revolt,[8] and later upon the religious world in the upheavals of the Reformation.

636. **John Wycliffe** (1324–1384) **and the Lollards.** — Foremost among the reformers and religious writers of the period under review was John Wycliffe, called "the Morning Star of the Reformation." This bold reformer attacked first many of the practices and then certain of the doctrines of the Church. He gave the English people the first translation of the entire Bible in the English language. By means of manuscript copies it was widely circulated and read. Its influence was very great, and from its appearance may be dated the beginnings of the Reformation in England.

The followers of Wycliffe became known as Lollards (babblers), a term applied to them in derision. They were regarded as heretics, and heretics at that time were hated and feared, at least by those in authority. Parliament passed a law (1401) known as the Statute for the Burning of Heretics, which made it the duty of the proper civil officers, in cases of persons convicted of heresy by the ecclesiastical courts, to receive the same and "before the people, in a high place, cause them to be burnt, that such punishment may strike fear to the hearts of others."

Heretics had been burned in England before the passage of this law, but now for the first time did Parliament by special enactment make this form of punishment the penalty for religious dissent. It was the opening of a sad chapter in English history. Under the statute many persons whose only fault was the teaching or the holding of religious opinions different from those of the Church perished at the stake.

[8] In 1381 the English peasants rose in revolt, demanding the abolition of serfdom. The uprising was pitilessly suppressed.

II. France

637. Beginnings of the French Kingdom. — The separate history of France may be regarded as beginning with the partition of Verdun in 843. At that time the Carolingians, of whom we have already learned (Chapter XLII), exercised the royal power. Towards the close of the tenth century, in 987, the first of the Capetian dynasty came to the throne.

We shall now direct attention to the important transactions of the period covered by the mediæval Capetian kings. Our special aim will be to give prominence to those matters which concern the gradual consolidation of the French monarchy and the development among the French people of the sentiment of nationality.

France under the Direct Line of the Capetians (987–1328)

638. General Statement. — The Capetian dynasty takes its name from Hugh Capet, Duke of Francia, the first of the house. The direct line embraced fourteen kings, whose united reigns spanned a space of three hundred and forty-one years.

The first Capetian king differed from his vassal counts and dukes simply in having a more dignified title, his power being scarcely greater than that of many of the lords who paid him homage as their suzerain; but before the close of the Middle Ages France had come to be one of the most compact and powerful kingdoms in Europe. How various circumstances conspired to build up the power of the kings at the expense of that of the great feudal lords and of the Church will appear as we go on.

In this place, however, it should be noted that nothing contributed more to the strength and influence of the monarchy during the period of which we are speaking than the fortunate circumstance that for eleven generations, spanning more than three centuries, no French king lacked a son to whom to transmit his authority. With no disputed successions the monarchy grew steadily in power and prestige.

639. **The French and the Crusades.** — The age of the Capetians was the age of the Crusades. These romantic expeditions, while stirring all Christendom, appealed especially to the ardent temperament of the Gallic race. It was the great predominance of French-speaking persons among the first crusaders which led the Eastern people to call them all Franks, the term still used throughout the East to designate Europeans, irrespective of their nationality.

But it is only the influence of the Crusades on the French monarchy that we need to notice in this place. They tended very materially to weaken the power and influence of the feudal nobility, and in a corresponding degree to strengthen the authority of the crown and add to its dignity. The way in which they brought about this transfer of power from the aristocracy to the king has been already explained in the chapter on the Crusades (sec. 584).

In that same chapter we also saw how the crusade against the Albigenses resulted in the almost total extirpation of that heretical sect and in the final acquisition by the French crown of large and rich territories formerly held by the counts of Toulouse, the patrons of the heretics.

640. **Admission of the Third Estate to the National Assembly** (1302). — The event of the greatest political significance in the Capetian age was the admission, in the reign of Philip the Fair, of the representatives of the towns to the National Assembly. This transaction is in French history what the creation of the House of Commons is in English history (sec. 621).

A dispute having arisen between Philip and the Pope respecting the control of the offices and revenues of the Church in France (sec. 590), Philip, in order to rally to his support all classes throughout his kingdom, called a meeting of the National Assembly, to which he invited representatives of the burghers, or inhabitants of the towns (1302). This council had hitherto been made up of two estates only, — the nobles and the clergy; now is added what comes to be known as the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate, while the assembly henceforth is called the Estates- or States-General.

Before the growing power of this Third Estate — a power developed, however, outside and not within the National Assembly itself — we shall see the Church, the nobility, and the monarchy all go down, just as in England we shall see clergy, nobles, and king yield to the rising power of the English Commons.

France under the Mediæval Valois[9] (*1328–1498*)

641. Effects upon France of the Hundred Years' War. — The main interest of the period of French history upon which we here enter attaches to that long struggle between England and France known as the Hundred Years' War. Having already in connection with English affairs touched upon the causes and incidents of this war, we shall here speak only of the effects of the struggle on the French people and kingdom. Among these must be noticed the almost complete ruin of the French feudal aristocracy, the consequent growth of the power of the king, and the awakening of the national consciousness. Speaking broadly, we may say that by the close of the war feudalism in France was over, and that France had become, partly in spite of the war but more largely by reason of it, not only a great monarchy but a great nation.

642. Louis XI and Charles the Bold of Burgundy. — The foundations of the French monarchy were greatly enlarged and strengthened by the unscrupulous measures of Louis XI (1461–1483), who was a perfect Ulysses in cunning and deceit. His maxim was, "He who does not know how to dissimulate does not know how to reign." The great feudal lords that still retained power and influence he brought to destruction one after another, and united their fiefs to the royal domains.

Of all the vassal nobles ruined by the craft of Louis, the most renowned and powerful was Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Charles was endeavoring, out of a great patchwork of petty feudal states and semi-independent cantons and cities, to build up a

[9] The House of Valois was a branch of the Capetian family.

kingdom between Germany and France.[10] Louis was frequently warring with the duke and forever intriguing against him. Upon the death of the duke — he was killed in 1477 in a battle with the Swiss — Louis, without clear right, seized a considerable part of his dominions.

By cession and by inheritance Louis also added to France important lands in the south (Provence and other territory), which gave the French kingdom a wider frontage upon the Mediterranean, and made the Pyrenees its southern defense.

643. Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. — Charles VIII (1483–1498), son and successor of Louis XI, was the last of the mediæval Valois. Through his marriage to Anne of Brittany he brought that great fief, which had hitherto constituted an almost independent state, under the direct rule of the crown.

Charles was a romantic youth. It was his dream to make France instead of Germany the head of the world empire. With a standing army, created during the latter years of the war with England, at his command, he invaded Italy, intent on the conquest of Naples, — to which he laid claim on the strength of an old bequest, — proposing, with that state subdued, to lead a crusade to the East against the Turks.

Charles' march through Italy was a mere "promenade." In the early spring of the year 1495 he entered Naples in triumph. Meanwhile the king of Aragon, the Venetians, and other powers were uniting their armies to punish the insolence and check the vaulting ambition of the would-be emperor and crusader. Only at the cost of a large part of his army did Charles succeed in making good his retreat into France.

This enterprise of Charles is noteworthy not only because it marks the commencement of a long series of campaigns carried on by the French in Italy, but further on account of Charles' army having been made up largely of paid troops instead of

[10] His success would have meant practically a restoration of the old Lotharingian kingdom (see map, p. 376). It seems one of the misfortunes of history that Charles did not succeed in his ambition. Such a kingdom as he planned might have proved a serviceable "buffer state" between France and Germany.

feudal retainers, which fact assures us that the feudal system, as a military organization, had practically come to an end.

The Beginnings of French Literature

644. The Troubadours. — The contact of the old Latin speech in Gaul with that of the Teutonic invaders gave rise there to two very distinct dialects. These were the *Langue d'Oc*, or Provençal, the tongue of the South of France and of the adjoining regions of Spain and Italy; and the *Langue d'Oïl*, or French proper, the language of the North.[11]

About the beginning of the twelfth century, by which time the Provençal tongue had become settled and somewhat polished, literature in France first began to find a voice in the songs of the Troubadours, the poets of the South. It is instructive to note that it was the home of the Albigensian heresy, the land that had felt the influence of every Mediterranean civilization, that was also the home of the Troubadour literature. The counts of Toulouse, the protectors of the heretics, were also the patrons of the poets. It was the same fierce persecution which uprooted the heretical faith that stilled the song of the Troubadours.

The verses of the Troubadours were sung in every land, and to their stimulating influence the early poetry of almost every people of Europe is largely indebted.

645. The Trouveurs. — These were the poets of Northern France, who composed in the *Langue d'Oïl*, or Old French tongue. They flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As the poetical literature of the South found worthy patrons in the counts of Toulouse, so did that of the North find admiring encouragers in the dukes of Normandy. The compositions of the Trouveurs were chiefly epic or narrative poems, called *romances*. Many of them gather about three familiar names, — Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Alexander the Great,

[11] The terms *Langue d'Oc* and *Langue d'Oïl* arose from the use of different words for "yes," which in the tongue of the South was *oc*, and in that of the North *oïl*.

— thus forming what are designated as the cycle of Charlemagne, the Arthurian or Armorican cycle, and the Alexandrian.[12]

The influence of these French romances upon the springing literatures of Europe was most inspiring and helpful. Nor has their influence yet ceased. Thus in English literature not only did Chaucer and Spenser and all the early island poets draw inspiration from these fountains of Continental song, but the later Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King*, has illustrated the power over the imagination yet possessed by the Arthurian poems of the old Trouveurs.

646. Froissart's Chronicles. — The first great prose writer in French literature was Froissart (b. 1337), whose picturesqueness of style and skill as a story-teller have won for him the title of the "French Herodotus." Born, as he was, only a little after the opening of the Hundred Years' War, and knowing personally many of the actors in that long struggle, it was fitting that he should have become, as he did, the annalist of those stirring times.

III. Spain

647. The Beginnings of Spain. — When, in the eighth century, the Saracens swept like a wave over Spain, the mountains of Asturias and Cantabria in the northwest corner of the peninsula afforded a refuge for the most resolute of the Christian chiefs who refused to submit their necks to the Moslem yoke. These brave and hardy warriors not only successfully defended the hilly districts that formed their asylum, but gradually pushed back the invaders and regained control of a portion of the fields and cities that had been lost. By the opening of the eleventh century several little Christian states, among which we must notice especially the states of Castile and Aragon because of the prominent part they were to play in later history, had been established upon the ground thus recovered or always maintained. Castile was at first simply "a line of castles" against the Moors, whence its name.

[12] These epics represent the three elements in the civilization of Western Europe, — the German, the Celtic, and the Græco-Roman. It was the Crusades that brought in a fresh relay of tales and legends from the lands of the East.

648. Union of Castile and Aragon (1479). — For several centuries the princes of the little states to which we have referred kept up an incessant warfare with their Mohammedan neighbors; but, owing to dissensions among themselves, they were unable to combine in any effective way for the complete reconquest of their ancient possessions. But the marriage, in 1469, of Ferdinand, prince of Aragon, to Isabella, princess of Castile, paved the way for the virtual union in 1479 of these two leading states into a single kingdom. By this happy union the quarrels of these two rival principalities were composed, and they were now free to employ their united strength in effecting what the Christian princes amidst all their contentions had never lost sight of, — the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula.

649. The Conquest of Granada (1492). — At the time when the basis of the Spanish monarchy was laid by the union of Castile and Aragon, the Mohammedan possessions, reduced by the constant pressure of the Christian chiefs through eight centuries, embraced only a limited dominion in the south of Spain. Here the Moors had established a strong, well-compacted state, known as the Kingdom of Granada. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella had settled the affairs of their dominions, they began to make preparation for the reduction of this last stronghold of the Moorish power in the peninsula.

The Moors made a desperate defense of their little state. The struggle lasted for ten years. City after city fell into the hands of the Christian knights, and finally Granada, pressed by an army of seventy thousand, was forced to surrender, and the Cross replaced the Crescent on its walls and towers (1492). The Moors, or Moriscos, as they were called, were allowed to remain in the country, though under many annoying restrictions. What is known as their *expulsion* occurred at a later date (sec. 727).

The fall of Granada holds an important place among the events that mark the last half of the fifteenth century. It marked the end, after an existence of almost eight hundred years, of Mohammedan rule in the Spanish peninsula, and thus formed an offset

THE ALHAMBRA: PALACE OF THE MOORISH KINGS AT GRANADA
(From a photograph)

to the progress of the Moslem power in Eastern Europe and the loss to the Christian world of Constantinople.

650. **The Inquisition.** — A dark shadow is cast upon the reign of the illustrious sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella by the establishment in Spain of the Inquisition, or Holy Office. This was a tribunal the purpose of which was the detection and punishment of heresy. The Jews were in this earlier period the chief victims of the court. Accompanying the announcement of the sentences of the Holy Office there were solemn public ceremonies known as the *auto de fe* (act of faith). The assembly was held in some church or in the public square, and the following day those condemned to death were burned outside the city walls. It is particularly to this last act of the drama that the term *auto de fe* has come popularly to be applied.

The Inquisition secured for Spain unity of religious belief, but only through suppressing freedom of thought, and thereby sapping the strength and virility of the Spanish people. Whatever was most promising and vigorous was withered and blasted, or was cast out. In the year 1492 the Jews were expelled from the country. It is estimated that between two and three hundred thousand of this race were forced to seek an asylum in other lands.

651. **Death of Ferdinand and Isabella.** — Queen Isabella died in 1504, and Ferdinand followed her in the year 1516, upon which latter event the crown of Spain descended to their grandson, Charles, of whom we shall hear much hereafter as Emperor Charles V. With his reign the modern history of Spain begins.

Beginnings of the Spanish Language and Literature

652. **The Language.** — After the union of Castile and Aragon it was the language of the former that became the speech of the Spanish court. Gradually this speech gained ascendancy over the numerous dialects of the country and became at last the national speech just as in France the *Langue d'Oil* finally crowded out all other dialects. By the conquests and colonizations of the

sixteenth century this Castilian speech was destined to become only less widely spread than is the English tongue.

653. The Poem of the *Cid*. — Castilian or Spanish literature begins in the twelfth century with the romance poem of the *Cid* (that is, *Chief*, the title of the hero of the poem), one of the best known literary productions of the mediæval period. This grand national poem was the outgrowth of the sentiments inspired by the long struggle between the Spanish Christians and the Mohammedan Moors. Its influence in exciting the sentiment of Spanish patriotism and in stimulating the spirit of Spanish nationality has been likened to the effects of the poems of Homer in creating fraternal bonds between the cities of ancient Hellas.

IV. Germany

654. Beginnings of the Kingdom of Germany. — The history of Germany as a separate kingdom begins with the break-up of the empire of Charlemagne, about the middle of the ninth century (sec. 535). The part to the east of the Rhine, with which fragment alone we are now specially concerned, was called the Kingdom of the Eastern Franks, in distinction from that to the west of the river, which was known as the Kingdom of the Western Franks. This Eastern Frankish kingdom was made up of several groups of tribes, of which the East Franks were at this time chief. Closely allied in race, speech, manners, and social arrangements, all these peoples seemed ready to be welded into a close and firm nation. That such was not the outcome of the historical development during mediæval times was due largely to the adoption by the German emperors of an unfortunate policy respecting a world empire. This matter will be explained in the following paragraph.

655. Consequences to Germany of the Revival of the Empire by Otto the Great. — We have in another place told how Otto I of Germany, in imitation of Charlemagne, restored the Empire (sec. 535). The pursuit of this phantom by the German kings resulted in the most woeful consequences to Germany. Trying to grasp too much, the German rulers seized nothing at all. Attempting to

be emperors of the world, they failed to become even kings of Germany. While they were engaged in outside enterprises their home affairs were neglected and the vassal princes of Germany succeeded in increasing their power and making themselves practically independent. Thus the unification of Germany was delayed for several hundred years.

Had the emperors inflicted loss and disaster upon Germany alone through this misdirection of their energies, the case would not be so lamentable; but the fair fields of Italy were for centuries made the camping fields of the imperial armies, and the whole peninsula was kept embroiled with the quarrels of Guelphs and Ghibellines,[18] and thus the nationalization of the Italian people was also delayed for centuries.

Germany received just one positive compensation for all this loss accruing from the ambition of her kings. This was the gift of Italian civilization, which came into Germany through the connections of the emperors with the peninsula.

656. The Seven Electors; the Interregnum (1254–1273). — In order to make intelligible the transactions of that period in German history known as the Interregnum, we must first say a word about the Electors of the Empire.

When at the beginning of the tenth century the German Carolingian line became extinct, the great nobles of the kingdom assumed the right of choosing the successor of the last of the house, and Germany thus became an elective feudal monarchy. In the course of time a few of the leading nobles usurped the right of choosing the king, and these princes became known as Electors. There were at the end of the Hohenstaufen period seven princes who enjoyed this important privilege, four of whom were secular princes and three spiritual.

We shall now understand the shameful transaction of the sale of the German crown. The Electors, like the prætorians of ancient Rome (sec. 415), put up the bauble for sale. There were two bidders, both foreigners, Richard of Cornwall, brother of the English king, Henry III, and Alphonso, king of Castile. Both

[18] The Guelphs were adherents of the Pope, and the Ghibellines of the Emperor.

candidates offered the Electors large bribes, and so both were elected, — one of the Electors voting for both candidates.

Of course neither of the emperors-elect possessed any real authority in Germany in any of the lands claimed as parts of the Empire. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country. Princes made themselves petty despots in their dominions, while the lesser nobles became robbers and preyed upon traders.

657. Towns and Free Imperial Cities. — The kingly power having fallen into such utter contempt, the towns found it necessary, in order to protect themselves against the violence and oppression of the princes and barons, to form confederations and take their defense in their own hands. It was during this anarchical period that the Hanseatic League grew rapidly in strength and influence (sec. 603).

During the course of the thirteenth century many of the towns got rid of the presence of the imperial officers and became what are known as *free imperial cities*. They of course still acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor, but were allowed to manage their own affairs to suit themselves, and thus became practically little commonwealths, somewhat like the city-republics of Italy.

658. Rise of the Swiss Republic. — The most noteworthy matters in German history during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the struggle between the Swiss and the princes of the Hapsburg or Austrian family, the religious movement of the Hussites, and the growing power of the House of Hapsburg.

Embraced within the limits of the mediæval Empire was the country now known as Switzerland. Its liberty-loving people yielded to the Emperor a nominal obedience, like that of the free imperial cities; but they were very impatient of the claims of various feudal lords to political rights and authority over them.

Among the lords claiming or actually possessing rights over different cantons or communities were the counts of Hapsburg.[14]

[14] So called from the castle of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, the cradle of the house. In 1273 Count Rudolph of Hapsburg was chosen Emperor. A little later he acquired Austria as an appanage for his house. From this new possession the family took a new title, — that of the House of Austria.

The efforts of the Hapsburgs to bring the mountaineers wholly under their direct power led the three so-called Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, to form a defensive union, known as the Everlasting Compact (1291). This league laid the basis of the Swiss Confederation, one of the most typical and interesting of the federal states of to-day.

The struggle between the brave hillsmen and the House of Hapsburg was long and memorable.[15] Embellished by Swiss patriotism with thrilling tales of heroic daring and self-devotion, the history of this contest reads like an Iliad. But modern historical criticism has reduced much of the story to prose. Thus the tale of the hero-patriot William Tell and the tyrant Gessler we now know to be a myth, with nothing but the revolt as the nucleus of fact.

659. **The Hussites.** — About the beginning of the fifteenth century, through the medium of the university connections between England and Germany, the doctrines of the English reformer Wycliffe began to spread in Bohemia. The chief of the new sect was John Huss, a professor of the University of Prague. His teachings were condemned by the great Council of Constance, and Huss himself, having been delivered over into the hands of the civil authorities for punishment, was burned at the stake (1415). The following year Jerome of Prague, another reformer, was likewise burned. Shortly after the burning of Huss a crusade was proclaimed against his followers, who had risen in arms. Then began a cruel, desolating war of fifteen years, the outcome of which was the almost total extermination of the radical party among the Hussites.

660. **The Imperial Crown becomes Hereditary in the House of Austria** (1438). — In the year 1438 Albert, Duke of Austria, was raised by the Electors to the imperial throne. His accession marks

[15] Noteworthy battles, all victories for the Swiss, were the battle of Morgarten (1315), the battle of Sempach (1386), and the battle of Näfels (1388). It was at Sempach, as a patriotic myth relates, that Arnold of Winkelried broke the ranks of the Austrians by collecting in his arms as many of their lances as he could, and, as they pierced his breast, bearing them with him to the ground, exclaiming, "Comrades, I will open a road for you."

an epoch in German history, for from this time on until the dissolution of the Empire by Napoleon in 1806, the imperial crown was practically hereditary in the Hapsburg family, the Electors, although never failing to go through the formality of an election, always, with one exception, choosing a person of Hapsburg descent.

The greatest of the Hapsburg line during the mediæval period was Maximilian I (1493–1519). The most noteworthy matter of his reign was the efforts made for constitutional reforms which should enable Germany to secure that internal peace and national unity which France, England, and Spain had each already in a fair degree attained. But every effort of this kind failed, because the Electors and princes would not give up any part of their privileges and power.

Beginnings of German Literature

661. The *Nibelungenlied*.— It was during the rule of the Hohenstaufen (1178–1254) that Germany produced the first pieces of a national literature. The *Nibelungenlied*, or the "Lay of the Nibelungs," is the great German mediæval epic. It was reduced to writing about 1200, being a recast of German legends and lays dating from the sixth and seventh centuries. The hero of the story is Siegfried, the Achilles of Teutonic legend and song.

662. The Minnesingers. — Under the same emperors, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Minnesingers, the poets of love as the word signifies, flourished. They were the "Troubadours of Germany."

Closely connected with the lyric poetry of the Minnesingers is a species of chivalric romances known as court epics. The finest of these pieces have for their groundwork the mythic Celtic-French legends of the Holy Grail and of the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table. The best representative of these romances is the poem of *Parsifal*.[16] The moral and spiritual teaching of the poem is that only through humility, purity, and human sympathy can the soul attain perfection.

[16] By Wolfram of Eschenbach (d. about 1220).

V. Russia

663. The Beginnings of Russia; the Mongol Invasion. — The state established by the Swedish adventurer Rurik (sec. 538) came to be known as Russia, from *Ros*, the name of the Scandinavian settlers. The descendants of Rurik gradually extended their authority over neighboring tribes, until nearly all the northwestern Slavs were included in their growing dominions.

In the thirteenth century an overwhelming calamity befell Russia. This was the overrunning and conquest of the country by the Mongol hordes (sec. 596). The barbarian conquerors inflicted the most horrible atrocities upon the unfortunate land, and for two hundred and fifty years held the Russian princes in a degrading bondage, forcing them to pay homage and tribute. This misfortune delayed for centuries the nationalization of the Slavic peoples. It was just such a misfortune as a little later befell the Greeks and other races of Southeastern Europe (sec. 599).

664. Russia freed from the Mongols. — It was not until the reign of Ivan the Great (1462–1505) that Russia, — now frequently called Muscovy from the fact that it had been reorganized with Moscow as a center, — after a terrible struggle, succeeded in freeing itself from the hateful Tartar domination and began to assume the character of a well-consolidated monarchy. By the end of the Middle Ages Russia had become a great power; but she was as yet too closely hemmed in by hostile states to be able to make her influence felt in the affairs of Europe.

VI. Italy

665. No National Government. — In marked contrast to all those countries of which we have thus far spoken, unless we except Germany, Italy came to the close of the Middle Ages without a national or regular government. This is to be attributed, as we have already learned, to a variety of causes, but in large part to that unfortunate rivalry between Pope and Emperor which resulted in dividing Italy into two hostile camps.

And yet the mediæval period did not pass without attempts on the part of patriot spirits to effect some sort of political union among the different cities and states of the peninsula. The most noteworthy of these movements, and one which gave assurance that the spark of patriotism which was in time to flame into an inextinguishable passion for national unity was kindling in the Italian heart, was that headed by the patriot-hero Rienzi in the fourteenth century.

666. Rienzi, Tribune of Rome (1347). — During the greater part of the fourteenth century the seat of the papal see was at Avignon, beyond the Alps (sec. 591). Throughout this period of the "Babylonian Captivity," Rome, deprived of her natural guardians, was in a state of the greatest confusion. The nobles terrorized the country about the capital and kept the streets of the city itself in constant turmoil with their bitter feuds.

In the midst of these disorders there appeared from among the lowest ranks of the people a deliverer in the person of one Nicola di Rienzi. Possessed of considerable talent and great eloquence, Rienzi easily incited the people to a revolt against the rule, or rather misrule, of the nobles, and succeeded in having himself, with the title of Tribune, placed at the head of a new government for Rome. He forced the nobles into submission, and in a short time effected a most wonderful transformation in the city and surrounding country. Order and security took the place of disorder and violence. The best days of republican Rome seemed to have been suddenly restored. The enthusiasm of the Roman populace knew no limits. The remarkable revolution drew the attention of all Italy, and of the world beyond the peninsula as well.

Encouraged by the success that had thus far attended his schemes, Rienzi now began to concert measures for the union of all the principalities and cities of Italy into a great republic, with Rome as its capital. He sent ambassadors throughout Italy to plead at the courts of the princes and in the council chambers of the municipalities the cause of Italian unity and freedom.

The splendid dream of Rienzi was shared by other Italian patriots besides himself, among whom was the poet Petrarch, who

was the friend and encourager of the plebeian tribune, and who "wished part in the glorious work and in the lofty fame."

But the moment for Italy's unification had not yet come. Rienzi proved to be an unworthy leader. His sudden elevation and surprising success completely turned his head, and he soon began to exhibit the most incredible vanity and weakness. The people withdrew from him their support; the Pope excommunicated him as a rebel and heretic; and the nobles rose against him. He was finally killed in a sudden uprising of the populace.

Thus vanished the dream of Rienzi and of Petrarch, of the hero and of the poet. Centuries of division, of shameful subjection to foreign princes, — French, Spanish, and Austrian, — of wars and suffering, were yet before the Italian people ere Rome should become the center of a free, orderly, and united Italy.

667. Savonarola (1452–1498). — A word must here be said respecting the Florentine monk and reformer, Girolamo Savonarola, who stands as the most noteworthy personage in Italy during the closing years of the mediæval period.

Savonarola was at once Roman censor and Hebrew prophet. His powerful preaching alarmed the conscience of the Florentines. At his suggestion the women brought their finery and ornaments, and others their beautiful works of art, and, piling them in great heaps in the streets of Florence, burned them as vanities. But finally the activity of his enemies brought about the reformer's downfall, and he was condemned to death, strangled, his body burned, and the ashes thrown into the Arno.

VII. The Northern Countries

668. The Union of Calmar (1397). — The great Scandinavian Exodus of the ninth and tenth centuries drained the Northern lands of some of the best elements of their population. For this reason these countries did not play as prominent a part in mediæval history as they probably would otherwise have done. The constant contentions between the nobility and their sovereigns were also another cause of internal weakness.

In the year 1397, by what is known as the Union of Calmar, the three kingdoms of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden were united under Margaret of Denmark. The treaty provided that each country should retain its constitution and make its own laws. But the treaty was violated, and though the friends of the measure had hoped much from it, it brought only feuds and wars.

Thus the history of these Northern countries during the later mediæval time presents nothing of primary interest which calls for narration here; but early in the Modern Age we shall see Sweden developing rapidly as an independent monarchy and for a period playing an important part in European affairs.

Selections from the Sources. — *Aucassin and Nicolette* (trans. by Andrew Lang). This is the most exquisite love story, in prose and verse, preserved to us from the age of the Troubadours. HENDERSON, *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 1–168. KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. v–vii.

Secondary Works. — (1) Works of a general character: FREEMAN, E. A., *Historical Geography of Europe*, 2 vols. (vol. ii consists of maps). GUIZOT, F. P. G., *History of Civilization in Europe*, Lects. ix and xi. WILSON, W., *The State;* has chapters on the development of the governmental institutions of the leading states. LODGE, R., *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273–1494*. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chaps. xiii and xiv.

(2) National histories: The "Story of the Nations" series contains convenient volumes on each of the chief European states. GREEN, J. R., *History of the English People*, parts of vols. i and ii. KITCHIN, G. W., *History of France*, vol. i. HENDERSON, E. F., *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*. HASSALL, A., *The French People*. HUME, M. A. S., *The Spanish People*.

(3) Biographies and books on special topics: In the "Heroes of the Nations" series are to be found separate biographies of many of the great characters of the period under review. LOWELL, F. C., *Joan of Arc*. TREVELYAN, G. M., *England in the Age of Wycliffe;* furnishes the best account we possess of the Peasants' Revolt. POOLE, R. C., *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*. GASQUET, F. A., *The Great Pestilence*. CHEYNEY, E. P., *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, chap. v, "The Black Death and the Peasants' Rebellion." SMITH, J. H., *The Troubadours at Home*, 2 vols.; the best work in our language on the subject with which it deals. MRS. OLIPHANT, *The Makers of Florence*. LEA, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. PRESCOTT, W. H., *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Thomas Becket. 2. William Wallace of Scotland. 3. The Black Death. 4. Joan of Arc. 5. Character of Louis XI of France. 6. Charles the Bold of Burgundy. 7. Savonarola.

CHAPTER LIII

THE RENAISSANCE

669. The Renaissance defined. — By the term *Renaissance* (New Birth), used in its narrower sense, is meant that new enthusiasm for classical literature, learning, and art which sprang up in Italy towards the close of the Middle Ages, and which during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gave a new culture to Europe.[1]

Using the word in a somewhat broader sense, we may define the Renaissance as the reëntrance into the world of that secular, inquiring, self-reliant spirit which characterized the life and culture of classical antiquity. This is simply to say that under the influence of the intellectual revival the men of Western Europe came to think and feel, to look upon life and the outer world, as did the men of ancient Greece and Rome; and this again is merely to say that they ceased to think and feel as mediæval men and began to think and feel as modern men.

670. Inciting Causes of the Movement in Italy. — Just as the Reformation went forth from Germany and the Political Revolution from France, so did the Renaissance go forth from Italy. And this was not an accident. The Renaissance had its real beginnings in Italy for the reason that all those agencies which were slowly transforming the mediæval into the modern world were here more active and effective in their workings than elsewhere.

Foremost among these agencies must be placed the influence of the Italian cities. We have already seen how city life was more perfectly developed in Italy than in the other countries of Western Europe. In the air of the great Italian city-republics there was nourished a political, intellectual, and artistic life like that of the cities of ancient Greece. Florence, for example, became

[1] By many writers the term is employed in a still narrower sense than this, being used to designate merely the revival of classical art.

a second Athens, and in the eager air of that city individual talent and faculty were developed as of old in the atmosphere of the Attic capital.

A second circumstance that doubtless contributed to make Italy the birthplace of the Renaissance was the fact that in Italy the break between the old and the new civilization was not so complete as it was in the other countries of Western Europe. The Italians were closer in language and in blood to the old Romans than were the other new-forming nations. The cities themselves were, in a very exact sense, fragments of the old Empire; and everywhere in the peninsula the ground was covered with ruins of the old Roman builders. The influence which these reminders of a great past exerted upon sensitive souls is well illustrated by the biographies of such men as Rienzi and Petrarch.

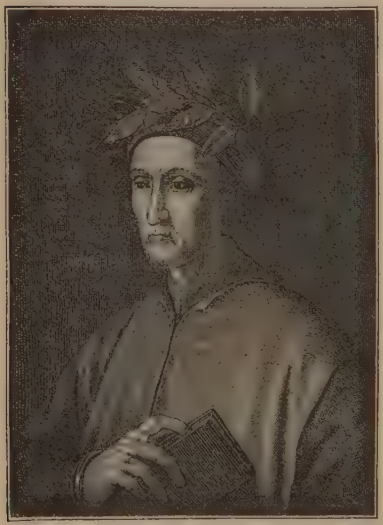


FIG. 122. — DANTE. (From a portrait by *S. Tofanelli*)

671. The Two Phases of the Italian Renaissance. — The Renaissance in Italy consisted of two distinct yet closely related phases, namely, the revival of classical literature and learning, and the revival of classical art. It is with the first only, the intellectual and literary phase of the movement, that we shall be chiefly concerned. This side of the movement is called "Humanism," and the promoters of it are known as "Humanists," because of their interest in the study of the classics, the *literæ humaniores*, or the "more human letters,"

in opposition to the diviner letters, that is, theology, which made up the old education.

672. Dante as a Forerunner of the Renaissance. — Dante Alighieri, "the fame of the Tuscan people," was born at Florence in 1265. He was exiled by the Florentines in 1302, and at the courts of friends learned how hard a thing it is "to climb the stairway of a patron." He died at Ravenna in 1321, and his tomb there is a place of pilgrimage to-day.

It was during the years of his exile that Dante wrote his immortal poem, the *Commedia* as named by himself, because of its happy ending; the *Divina Commedia*, or the "Divine Comedy," as called by his admirers. This poem has been called the "Epic of Mediævalism." It is an epitome of the life and thought of the Middle Ages. But although Dante viewed the world from a standpoint which was essentially that of the mediæval age which was passing away, still he was in a profound sense a prophet of the new age which was approaching, — a forerunner of the Renaissance. He was such in his feeling for classical antiquity. He speaks lovingly of Vergil as his teacher and master, the one from whom he took the beautiful style that had done him honor. His modern attitude towards Græco-Roman culture is further shown in his free use of the works of the classical writers; the illustrative material of his great poem is drawn almost as largely from classical as from Hebrew and Christian sources.

673. Petrarch, the First of the Humanists. — But the first and greatest of the humanists was Petrarch (1304–1374). To understand Petrarch is to understand the Renaissance. He was the first scholar of the mediæval time who fully realized and appreciated the supreme excellence and beauty of the classical literature and its value as a means of culture. His enthusiasm for the ancient writers was a sort of worship. At great cost of time and labor he made a collection of about two hundred manuscript volumes of the classics. Among his choicest Latin treasures were some of Cicero's letters, which he had himself discovered in an old library and reverently copied with his own hand. He could not read Greek, yet he gathered Greek as well as Latin manuscripts. He

had sixteen works of Plato and a revered copy of Homer sent him from Constantinople; and thus, as he himself expressed it, the first of poets and the first of philosophers took up their abode with him. Often he wrote letters to the old worthies, — Homer, Cicero, Vergil, and the rest, — for Petrarch loved thus to record his thoughts, and spent much of his time in the recreation of letter writing; for recreation, and life itself, letter writing was to him.

FIG. 123. — PETRARCH. (From a portrait by *S. Tofanelli*)

Petrarch's enthusiasm for the classical authors became contagious. Fathers reproached him for enticing their sons from the study of the law to the reading of the classics and the writing of Latin verses. But the movement started by Petrarch could not be checked. The impulse he imparted to humanistic studies is still felt in the world of letters and learning.

674. Boccaccio, the Disciple of Petrarch. — Petrarch called into existence a school of ardent young humanists who looked up to him as their master, and who carried on with unbounded enthusiasm the work of exploring the new spiritual hemisphere which he had discovered. Most distinguished among these disciples was Boccaccio (1313–1375). He industriously collected and copied ancient manuscripts and thus greatly promoted classical scholarship in Italy. Imitating Petrarch, he tried to learn Greek, but, like Petrarch, made very little progress towards the mastery of the language

because of the incompetence of his teacher and also because of the utter lack of text-books, grammars, and dictionaries. He persuaded his teacher, however, to make a Latin translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and was thus instrumental in giving to the world the first modern translation of Homer. It was a wretched version, yet it served to inspire in the Italian scholars an intense desire to know at first hand Greek literature, — that literature from which the old Roman authors had drawn their inspiration.

675. The Search for Old Manuscripts. — Having now spoken of the pioneers of Italian humanism in the fourteenth century, we can, in our remaining space, touch only in a very general way upon the most important phases of the humanistic movement in the following century.

The first concern of the Italian scholars was to rescue from threatened oblivion what yet remained of the ancient classics. Just as the antiquarians of to-day dig over the mounds of Babylonia for relics of the ancient civilization of the East, so did the humanists ransack the libraries of the monasteries and cathedrals and search through all the out-of-the-way places of Europe for old manuscripts of the classic writers.

The precious manuscripts were often discovered in a shameful state of neglect and in advanced stages of decay. Sometimes they were found covered with mold in damp cells or loaded with dust in the attics of monasteries. This late search of the humanists for the works of the ancient authors saved to the world many precious manuscripts which, a little longer neglected, would have been forever lost.

676. Patrons of the New Learning; the Founding of Libraries. — This gathering and copying of the ancient manuscripts was costly in time and labor. But there was many a Mæcenas to encourage and further the work. Prominent among these promoters of the New Learning, as it was called, were Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence. It was largely due to their enlightened interest in the great undertaking of recovering for culture the ancient literatures that Florence became the foster home of the intellectual and literary revival.

Among the papal promoters of the movement Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) was one of the most noted. He sent out explorers to all parts of the West to search for manuscripts, and kept busy at Rome a multitude of copyists and translators. A little later Pope Julius II (1503–1513) and Pope Leo X (1513–1521) made Rome a brilliant center of Renaissance art and learning.

Libraries were founded where the new treasures might be safely stored and made accessible to scholars. In this movement some of the largest libraries of Italy had their beginnings. At Rome Pope Nicholas V enriched the original papal collection of books by the addition, it is said, of fully five thousand manuscripts, and thus became the real founder of the celebrated Vatican Library.

677. How the Fall of Constantinople aided the Revival. — The humanistic movement was given a great impulse by the disasters which in the fifteenth century befell the Eastern Empire. Constantinople, it will be recalled, was captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. But for a half century before that event the threatening advance of the barbarians had caused a great migration of Greek scholars to the West. So many of the exiles sought an asylum in Italy that one could say: "Greece has not fallen; she has migrated to Italy, which in ancient times bore the name of Magna Græcia."

These fugitives brought with them many valuable manuscripts of the ancient Greek classics still unknown to Western scholars. The enthusiasm of the Italians for everything Greek led to the appointment of many of the exiles as teachers in their schools and universities. Thus there was now a repetition of what took place at Rome in the days of the later republic (sec. 354); Italy was conquered a second time by the genius of Greece.

678. The Invention of Printing. — During the latter part of the fifteenth century the work of the Italian humanists was greatly furthered by the happy and timely invention of the art of printing from movable letters, the most important discovery, in the estimation of Hallam, recorded in the annals of mankind.

The making of impressions by means of engraved and lettered seals or blocks seems to be a device as old as civilization. The

Chinese have practiced this form of printing from an early time. The art appears to have sprung up independently in mediæval Europe. During the first half of the fifteenth century many entire books were produced by the block-printing method.

But printing from blocks was slow and costly. The art was revolutionized by John Gutenberg (1400–1468), a native of Mainz in Germany, through the invention of the movable letters which we call type. The oldest book known to have been printed

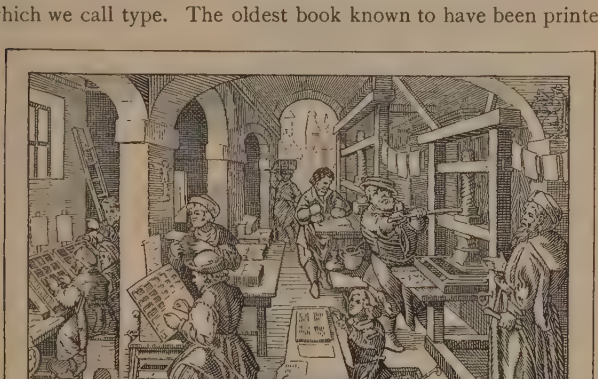


FIG. 124. — THE PRINTING OF BOOKS. (From *Early Venetian Printing*)

from movable letters was a Latin copy of the Bible issued from the press of Gutenberg and Faust at Mainz between the years 1454 and 1456. The art spread rapidly, and before the close of the fifteenth century presses were busy in every country of Europe — in the city of Venice alone there were two hundred — multiplying books with a rapidity undreamed of by the patient copyists of the cloister.

The most celebrated of the early printing houses was that established at Venice by Aldus Manutius (1450–1515) and known as the Aldine Press. In the course of a few years Aldus gave to the

appreciative scholars of Europe an almost complete series of the Greek authors, and many Latin and Hebrew texts. In quality of paper and in clearness and beauty of type his editions have never been surpassed.

The work of the Aldine Press at Venice, in connection of course with what was done by presses of less note in other places, made complete the recovery of the classical literatures, and by scattering broadcast the works of the ancient authors rendered it impossible that any part of them should ever again become lost to the world.

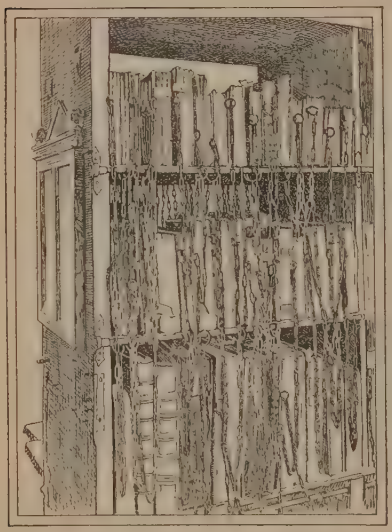


FIG. 125. — CASE OF CHAINED BOOKS
(From Clarke, *The Care of Books*)

In some libraries this practice of chaining the books was kept up even in the eighteenth century

679. Humanism crosses the Alps. — As early as the middle of the fifteenth century the German youths had begun to cross the Alps in order to study Greek at the feet of the masters there. As the representative of these young German humanists we may name Reuchlin, who in 1482 journeyed to Italy and presented himself there before a celebrated teacher of Greek. As a test of his knowledge of the language he was given to translate a passage from Thucydides. The young barbarian — for by this term the Italians of that time expressed their contempt for an inhabitant of the rude North — turned the lines so easily and masterfully that the examiner, who was a native-born Greek, cried out in astonishment, "Our exiled Greece has flown beyond the Alps."

In transalpine Europe the humanistic movement became blended with other tendencies. In Italy it had been an almost exclusive devotion to Greek and Latin letters and learning; but in the North there was added to this enthusiasm for classical culture an equal and indeed supreme interest in Hebrew and Christian antiquity. The Renaissance, in a word, becomes the Reformation; the humanist becomes the reformer.

680. The Artistic Revival; Why Painting was the Supreme Art of the Italian Renaissance. — As we have already seen, the new feeling for classical antiquity awakened among the Italians embraced not simply the literary side of the Græco-Roman culture but the artistic side as well. Respecting this latter phase of the Italian Renaissance our space allows only a few words.

The characteristic art of the Italian Renaissance was painting,[2] and for the reason that it best expresses the ideas and sentiments of Christianity. The art that would be the handmaid of the Church needed to be able to represent faith and hope, ecstasy and suffering,—none of which things can well be expressed by sculpture, which is essentially the art of repose.

Sculpture was the chief art of the Greeks, because the aim of the Greek artist was to represent physical beauty and strength. But the problem of the Christian artist is to express emotion through the medium of the body. This cannot be represented in cold, colorless marble. Thus, as Symonds asks, "How could the Last Judgment be expressed in plastic form?" The chief events of Christ's life removed him beyond the reach of sculpture.

Therefore, because sculpture has so little power to express emotion, painting, which runs so easily the entire gamut of feeling, became the chosen medium of expression of the Italian artist. This art alone enabled him to portray the raptures of the saint, the sweet charm of the Madonna, the intense passion of the Christ, the moving terrors of the Last Judgment.

[2] Yet sculpture was not without eminent representatives. The following names are especially noteworthy: Ghiberti (1378–1455), whose genius is shown in his celebrated bronze gates of the Baptistery at Florence, of which Michael Angelo said that they were worthy to be the gates of Paradise; Brunelleschi (1377–1444); and Michael Angelo (1475–1564).

681. The Four Masters; Mingling of Christian and Classical Subjects. — The four supreme masters of Italian Renaissance painting were Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), whose masterpiece is his *Last Supper*, on the wall of a convent at Milan; Raphael (1483–1520), the best beloved of artists, whose Madonnas are counted among the world's treasures; Michael Angelo (1475–1564), whose best paintings are his wonderful frescoes, among them the *Last Judgment*, in the Sistine Chapel at Rome; and Titian (1477–1576), the Venetian master, celebrated for his portraits, which have preserved for us in flesh and blood, so to speak, many of the most noteworthy personages of his time.

The earlier Italian painters drew their subjects chiefly from Christian sources. They literally covered the walls of the churches, palaces, and civic buildings of Italy with pictorial representations of all the ideas and imaginings of the mediæval ages respecting death, the judgment, heaven, and hell. The later artists, more under the influence of the classical revival, mingled freely pagan and Christian subjects and motives, and thus became truer representatives than their predecessors of the Renaissance movement, one important issue of which was to be the blending of pagan and Christian culture.

682. Evil and Good Results of the Classical Revival. — There were some serious evils inherent in the classical revival. In Italy, especially, where the humanistic spirit took most complete possession of society, it was "disastrous to both faith and morals." The study of the old pagan writers produced the result predicted by the monks, — caused a revival of paganism. To be learned in Greek was to excite suspicion of heresy. With the New Learning came also those vices and immoralities that characterized the decline of classical civilization. Italy was corrupted by the new influences that flowed in upon her, just as Rome was corrupted by Grecian luxury and vice in the days of the failing Republic.

On the other hand, the benefits of the movement to European civilization were varied and positive. First, the humanistic revival revolutionized education. During the Middle Ages the Latin language had degenerated, for the most part, into a barbarous jargon,

while Greek had been forgotten. Humanism restored to the world the pure classical Latin, rediscovered the Greek language, and recovered for civilization the once-rejected heritage of the ancient classics. Chairs in both the Greek and Latin languages and literatures were now established, not only in the new universities which arose under the inspiration of the New Learning, but also in the old ones. The Scholastic method of instruction, of which we spoke in a preceding chapter, was gradually superseded by this so-called classical system of education, which dominated the schools and universities of the world down to the incoming of the scientific studies of the present day.

Second, the classical revival gave to Europe not only faultless literary models but also large stores of valuable knowledge. As President Woolsey says: "The old civilization contained treasures of permanent value which the world could not spare, which the world will never be able or willing to spare. These were taken up into the stream of life, and proved true aids to the progress of a culture which is gathering in one the beauty and truth of all the ages."

Selections from the Sources. — ROBINSON and ROLFE, *Petrarch*. This volume contains a selection from Petrarch's "correspondence with Boccaccio and other friends, designed to illustrate the beginnings of the Renaissance." The student should begin his readings on this subject with this delightful book. WHITCOMB, *Source-Book of the Renaissance*, Part I. An excellent little book, which forms a good supplement to the preceding work. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. i, chap. xxii.

Secondary Works. — The literature on the Renaissance is very extensive; we shall suggest only a few titles. SYMONDS, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy*, 7 vols.; the best extended history in English. BURCKHARDT, J., *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy;* the most philosophical and suggestive work on the subject. MRS. OLIPHANT, *Makers of Florence* and *Makers of Venice*. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. xv. MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C., *Mediæval Civilization*, pp. 277–309. PUTNAM, G. H., *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. i, Part II, "The Earlier Printed Books." GRIMM, H., *The Life of Michael Angelo*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Dante's *Divine Comedy*. 2. The ruins of Rome in mediæval times. 3. Petrarch's ascent of Mount Ventoux. 4. Chrysoloras, the Greek teacher. 5. The Aldine Press.

Division II — The Modern Age

THIRD PERIOD — THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

(From the Discovery of America, in 1492, to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648)

CHAPTER LIV

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN COLONIZATION

683. Preliminary Statements. — As an introduction to the history of the Modern Age, we shall give a brief account of the voyages and geographical discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan, and of the beginning of European conquests and settlements in the New World, inasmuch as these great events lie at the opening of the era and form the prelude of its story.

It should here be noted that the great ocean voyages of the times were rendered possible only by the fortunate invention of the mariner's compass,[1] whose trusty guidance emboldened the navigator to quit the shore and push out upon hitherto untraversed seas.

684. Portuguese Explorations; Prince Henry the Navigator. — Many incentives concurred to urge daring navigators in the later mediæval time to undertake voyages of discovery, but a chief motive was a desire to find an ocean route from Europe to the Indies.

[1] It is a disputed question as to what people should be given the credit of the discovery of the properties of the magnetic needle. In a very primitive form the compass was certainly in use among the Chinese as early as the eighth century of our era. There is no reliable record of its use by European navigators before about the middle of the thirteenth century. It seems most probable that a knowledge of the instrument was gained in the East by the crusaders (sec. 584).

The first attempts to reach these lands by an all-sea route were made by sailors feeling their way down the western coast of the African continent. The favorable situation of Portugal upon the Atlantic seaboard caused her to become foremost in these enterprises. The soul and inspiration of all this maritime enterprise was Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460).

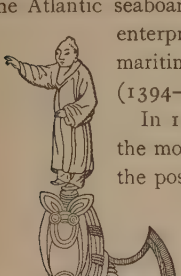


FIG. 126. — A CHINESE MAGNET FIGURE. (After *Beazley*)

A rude form of the compass used by early Chinese sailors. The little wooden figure was set on a pivot, and in the outstretched arm was placed a bar of magnetized iron

In 1486 Bartholomew Dias succeeded in reaching the most southern point of the continent, which, as the possibility of reaching India by sea now seemed assured, was later given the name of Cape of Good Hope. But at the same time it was a disappointment to the Portuguese to find that Africa extended so far to the south. Even should India be reached, the way, it was now known, would be long and dangerous. This knowledge stimulated efforts to reach the Indies and the "place of spices" by a different and shorter route.

685. Columbus in Search of a Westward Route to the Indies finds the New World (1492). — It was Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by birth, who now proposed the bold plan of reaching these eastern lands by sailing westward. The sphericity of the earth was a doctrine held by all the really learned men of this time. This notion was also familiar to many at least of the common people; but they, while vaguely accepting the view that the earth is round, thought that the habitable part was a comparatively flat, shieldlike plain on the top of it. All the rest they thought to be covered by the waters of a great ocean.

In his endeavors to secure a patron for his enterprise, Columbus met at first with repeated repulse and disappointment. At last, however, he gained the ear of Queen Isabella of Spain; a little fleet was fitted out for the explorer, — and the New World was found.

The return of Columbus to Spain with his vessels loaded with the strange animal and vegetable products of the new lands he had found, together with several specimens of the inhabitants, — a race of men new to Europeans, — produced the profoundest sensation among all classes. Curiosity was unbounded. The spirit of hazardous enterprise awakened by the surprising discovery led to those subsequent undertakings by Castilian adventurers which make up the most thrilling pages of Spanish history.

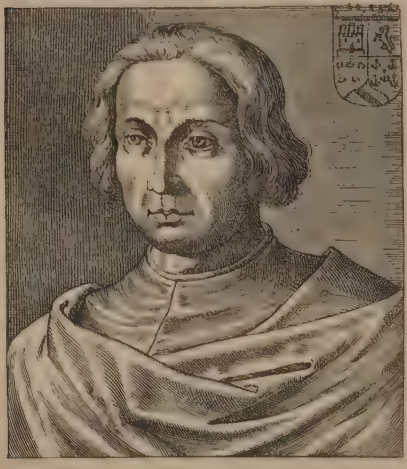
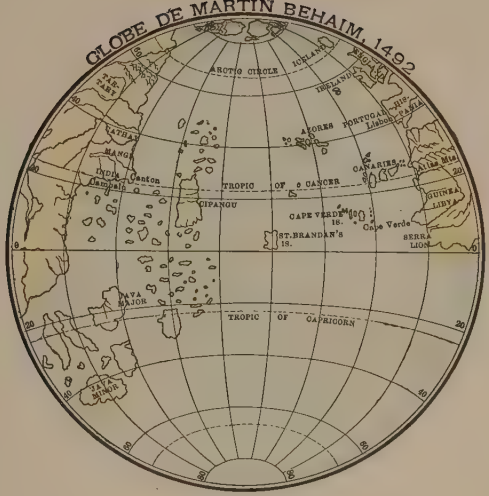


FIG. 127. — CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. (After the Capriolo portrait; from the *Columbus Memorial Volume*)

Columbus made altogether four voyages to the new lands; still he died in ignorance of the fact that he had really discovered a new world. He supposed the land he had found to be some part of the Indies, whence the name "West Indies" which still clings to the islands between North and South America, and the term "Indians" applied to the aborigines. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that it became fully established that a great new double continent, separated from Asia by an ocean wider than the Atlantic, had been found.

Columbus never received a fitting reward for the great service he had rendered mankind. Even the continent to which he had shown the way, instead of being called after him as a perpetual memorial, was named from a Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, whose chief claim to this distinction was his having written the first widely published account of the new lands.


GLOBE DE MARTIN BEHAIM, 1492
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
ENGLAND
IRELAND
TAR-TARY
CATHAY
MANGI
INDIA
Canton
Cambalo
AZORES
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
HISPANIA
CANARIES
Atlas Mts.
TROPIC OF CANCER
CIPANGU
CAPE VERDE IS.
Cape Verde
GUINEA LIBYA
ST. BRANDAN'S IS.
SERRA LION
JAVA MAJOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
JAVA MINOR

GLOBE DORÉ VERS 1528
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
IRELAND
HISPANIA
PORTUGAL
Gades
CATHAY
NEW SPAIN
FLORIDA
CUBA
TROPIC OF CANCER
CANARIES
MANGI
DOMINICA
DARIEN
GUINEA
SERRA LION
EQUATOR
210
240
270
300
330
360
AMERICA
BRAZIL
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Sea of Magellan
Str. of Magellan

686. The Voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497–1498); the Portuguese create a Colonial Empire in the East. — We have seen that the Portuguese navigators, in their search for an ocean route to the Indies, had, before the first voyage of Columbus, reached the southern point of Africa. A little later, six years after the discovery of the New World, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese admiral, doubled the Cape, crossed the Indian Ocean, and landed on the coast of Malabar.

The discovery of an unbroken water path to India effected most important changes in the trade routes and traffic of the world. It made the port of Lisbon the depot of the Eastern trade. The merchants of Venice were ruined. The great warehouses of Alexandria were left empty. The old route to the Indies by way of the Red Sea, which had been from time immemorial a main line of communication between the Far East and the Mediterranean lands, now fell into disuse, not to be reopened until the construction of the Suez Canal in our own day.

Portugal dotted the coasts of Africa and Asia, the Moluccas and other islands of the Pacific archipelago, with fortresses and factories, and built up in these parts a great commercial empire, and, through the extraordinary impulse thus given to the enterprise and ambition of her citizens, now entered upon the most splendid era of her history.

687. The Papal Line of Demarcation. — Upon the return of Columbus from his successful expedition, Pope Alexander VI, with a view to adjusting the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal, issued a bull wherein he drew from pole to pole a line of demarcation through the Atlantic one hundred leagues west of the Azores (the line was afterwards moved two hundred and seventy leagues farther west), and gave to the Spanish sovereigns all pagan lands, not already in possession of Christian princes, that their subjects might find west of this line, and to the Portuguese kings all unclaimed pagan lands discovered by Portuguese navigators east of the designated meridian. By treaty arrangements, as well as by papal edicts, the Portuguese were prohibited from sailing any of the seas thus placed under the dominion of Spain or from visiting as traders any of her lands, and the

Spaniards from trespassing upon the waters or the lands granted to the Portuguese.

Spain was thus shut out from the use of the Cape route to the Indies which had been opened up by Vasco da Gama, and consequently from participation in the coveted spice trade, unless perchance a way to the region of spices could be found through some opening in the new lands discovered by Columbus.

688. The Circumnavigation of the Globe by Magellan (1519–1522).—Such was the situation of things when Ferdinand Magellan, a navigator of Portuguese birth, laid before the young Emperor Charles V, grandson of the Isabella who had given Columbus his commission, his plan of reaching the Moluccas, or "Spice Islands," which he contended were in Spanish waters,[2] by a westward voyage. The young king looked with favor upon the navigator's plans, and placed under his command a fleet of five small vessels.

Magellan directed his ships in a southwesterly course across the Atlantic, hoping to find towards the south a break in the new-found lands. Near the most southern point of South America he found the narrow strait that now bears his name. Through this channel the bold sailor pushed his vessels and found himself upon a great sea with a blank horizon to the west. From the calm, unruffled face of the new ocean, so different from the stormy Atlantic, he gave to it the name *Pacific*.

After a most adventurous voyage upon the hitherto untraversed waters of the new sea, the expedition reached the group of islands now known as the Philippines, having been so named in honor of Philip II, Charles' son and his successor on the Spanish throne. The year following the discovery of the Philippines a single battered ship of the fleet, the *Victoria*, with eighteen men out of the original crews of over two hundred sailors, entered the Spanish port of Seville. The globe had for the first time been circumnavigated. "In the whole history of human undertakings," says Draper, "there is nothing that exceeds, if, indeed, there is

[2] There was difficulty in determining just where among the islands lying southeast of Asia the papal line of demarcation, when carried around the globe, should run.

anything that equals, this voyage of Magellan's. That of Columbus dwindles away in comparison."

Equally does the exploit seem to have impressed the imagination of Magellan's own age. The old writer Richard Eden (b. about 1521) refers to it as "a thing doubtless so strange and marvelous that, as the like was never done before, so is it perhaps never like to be done again; so far have the navigations of the Spaniards excelled the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts to the region of Colchis, or all that ever were before"; and a Spanish contemporary declares, "Nothing more notable in navigation has ever been heard of since the voyage of the patriarch Noah."

FIG. 128. — "THE ANTIPODES IN DERISION." (From Cosmas, *Christian Topography*; after Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*)

Cosmas lived in the sixth Christian century. In the cut here reproduced from his *Topography*, he ridicules the idea of a round earth with people on the under side whose heads hang downwards. The views of Cosmas as to the existence of an antipodal people had defenders throughout the mediæval centuries

The results of the achievement were greatest in the intellectual realm. It revolutionized whole systems of mediæval theory and belief; it pushed aside old narrow geographical ideas; it settled forever and for all men the question as to the shape and size of the earth. It brought to an end the scholastic controversy concerning the antipodes, — that is, whether there were men living on the "under" side of the earth. The state of most men's minds in regard to this matter had till then been just about the same as is ours to-day on the question whether or not the planets are inhabited.[8]

[8] It is worthy of note that while Columbus, Magellan, and others were making known the truth about the earth itself, Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543) was

689. The Five Early Colonial Empires. — One of the most important outcomes of the voyages and geographical discoveries of which we have been speaking was the expansion of the five states on the Atlantic seaboard of Europe — namely, Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and England — each into a great empire, embracing colonies and dependencies in two hemispheres. This expansion of Europe into Greater Europe holds somewhat such a place in modern history as the expansion of Hellas into Greater Hellas and of Rome into Greater Rome holds in ancient history.

In the mutual jealousies and conflicting interests of these growing colonial empires is to be found the ground and cause of many of the great wars of modern times since the close of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For this reason, although it is our special task to trace the lines of the historic development in Europe, we shall from time to time call the reader's attention to these European interests outside of the European continent. In the present connection a few words in regard to Spanish conquests and the beginnings of Spanish colonization in the New World will suffice.

690. The Conquest of Mexico (1519–1521). — The accounts of Spanish explorations and conquests in the lands opened up by the fortunate voyage of Columbus read more like a romance than any other chapter in history.[4] Perhaps the most brilliant exploit in which the Spanish cavaliers engaged during this period of daring adventure was the conquest of Mexico. Reports of a rich and powerful "Empire" upon the mainland to the west were constantly spread among the Spanish colonists who very soon after the discovery of the New World settled the islands in the

discovering its true place in the solar system. He had quite fully matured his theory by the year 1507, but, fearing the charge of heresy, he did not publish the great work embodying his views until thirty-six years later (in 1543). The Copernican theory, however, had little influence on the thought of the sixteenth century. It was denounced as contrary to Scripture by both Catholics and Protestants, and was almost universally rejected for more than a hundred years after its first publication.

[4] Juan Ponce de Leon started on his romantic expedition in search of the fabled Fountain of Youth in 1512; Vasco de Balboa discovered the Pacific in 1513; Hernando de Soto, while searching for a rich Indian kingdom, found the Mississippi in 1541.

Gulf of Mexico. These stories inflamed the imagination of adventurous spirits among the settlers, and an expedition, consisting of five or six hundred foot soldiers and sixteen horsemen, was organized and placed under the command of Hernándo Cortes for the conquest and "conversion" of the heathen nation. The expedition was successful, and soon the Spaniards were masters of the greater part of what now constitutes the republic of Mexico.

The state that the conquerors destroyed was not an empire, as termed by the contemporary Spanish chroniclers, but rather a sort of league, or confederacy, — something like the Iroquois confederacy in the North, — formed of three Indian tribes.[5] Of these the Aztecs were the leading tribe and gave name to the confederacy. At the head of the league stood a sachem, or war-chief, who bore the name of Montezuma.

The Mexican Indians had taken some steps in civilization. They employed a system of picture writing, and had cities and temples. But they were cannibals and offered human victims in their sacrifices. They had no knowledge of the horse or the ox, or of any other useful domesticated animal except the dog.[6] They cultivated maize, but were without wheat, oats, or barley.

691. The Conquest of Peru (1532–1536). — Shortly after the conquest of the Indians of Mexico the subjugation of the Indians of Peru was effected. The civilization of the Peruvians was superior to that of the Mexicans. It has been compared, as to several of its elements, to that of ancient Assyria. Not only were the great cities of the empire filled with splendid temples and palaces, but throughout the country were to be seen magnificent works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, and aqueducts. The government of the Incas, the royal or ruling race, was a mild, paternal autocracy.

[5] Prescott's description of the Mexican state, especially as to its political organization, is misleading. For later authorities see bibliography at end of the chapter.

[6] It has been conjectured that the backwardness in civilization of the native races of the Americas is to be attributed in part to their lack of useful tame animals. See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. i, p. 27. Aside from the llama, the alpaca, and the turkey, the New World has contributed nothing of essential value to the great store of domesticated stocks which constitute the basis of so large a part of modern industry.

Glowing reports of the enormous wealth of the Incas, the commonest articles in whose palaces, it was asserted, were of solid gold, reached the Spaniards by way of the Isthmus of Darien, and it was not long before an expedition, consisting of less than two hundred men, was organized for the conquest of the country. The leader of the band was Francisco Pizarro, an iron-hearted, cruel, and illiterate adventurer.

Through treachery Pizarro made a prisoner of the Inca, Atahualpa. The captive offered, as a ransom for his release, to fill the room in which he was confined "as high as he could reach" with vessels of gold. Pizarro accepted the offer, and the palaces and temples throughout the empire were stripped of their golden vessels, and the apartment was filled with the precious relics. The value of the treasure is estimated at over $15,000,000. When this vast wealth was once under the control of the Spaniards, they seized it all, and then treacherously put the Inca to death (1533). With the death of Atahualpa the power of the Inca dynasty passed away forever.

692. Beginnings of Spanish Colonization in the New World. — Not until more than one hundred years after the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus was there established a single permanent English settlement within the limits of what is now the United States; but into those parts of the new lands opened up by Spanish exploration and conquest there began to pour at once a stream of Spanish adventurers and colonists in search of fortune and fame. Upon the West India Islands, in Mexico, in Central America, all along the Pacific slope of the Andes, and everywhere upon the lofty and pleasant tablelands that had formed the heart of the empire of the Incas there sprang up rapidly cities as centers of mining and agricultural industries, of commerce and of trade. Often, as in the case of Mexico, Quito, and Cuzco, these new cities were simply the renovated and rebuilt towns of the conquered natives.

Thus did a Greater Spain grow up in the New World. Before the close of the sixteenth century the dominions of the Spanish monarch in the new lands formed of themselves a magnificent

empire, and were the source of a large revenue to the royal exchequer. It was, in part, the treasures derived from these new possessions that enabled the sovereigns of Spain to play the important part they did in the affairs of Europe during the century following the discovery of America.[7]

Selections from the Sources. — *Cathay and the Way Thither* (ed. by Colonel Henry Yule). The student here learns with what knowledge of Eastern Asia Columbus and the others set out, and what they expected to find. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus* (Hakluyt Society publications). *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 29, 31–36, 39, 71, 89, 90, 102. *The First Three English Books on America* (ed. by Edward Arber). This work possesses a special fascination. "One is able therein," as says the editor, "to look out on the New World as its discoverers and first explorers looked upon it."

Secondary Works. — KEANE, J., *The Evolution of Geography*, chaps. v–viii. BEAZLEY, C. R., *Prince Henry the Navigator*. There are numerous lives of Columbus: WINSOR'S, IRVING'S, and C. K. ADAMS' are recommended. GUILLEMARD, F. H. H., *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan*. FISKE, J., *The Discovery of America*, 2 vols. There is not a chapter here that will fail to interest and charm young readers. *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, chap. i, "The Age of Discovery"; and chap. ii, "The New World." BOURNE, E. G., *Essays in Historical Criticism*, Essay No. 6, "Prince Henry the Navigator," and Essay No. 7, "The Demarcation Line of Pope Alexander VI"; and *Spain in America* (1450–1580). PRESCOTT, W. H., *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru* (various editions). STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Albuquerque*. PAYNE, E. J., *History of the New World called America*, vol. i, pp. 303–364; for the relation of the aboriginal civilizations of the Americas to their animal and plant life.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Prince Henry the Navigator. 2. The naming of America. See article by Professor E. G. Bourne, in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1904. 3. Civilization of the Peruvians.

[7] After having robbed the Indians of their wealth in gold and silver, the slow accumulations of centuries, the Spaniards further enriched themselves by the enforced labor of the unfortunate natives. Unused to such toil as was exacted of them under the lash of worse than Egyptian taskmasters, the Indians wasted away by millions in the mines of Mexico and Peru, and upon the sugar plantations of the West Indies. More than half of the native population of Peru is thought to have been consumed in the Peruvian mines. As a substitute for native labor, negroes were introduced. This was the beginning of the African slave trade in the New World. At the outset the traffic was approved by a benevolent bishop named Las Casas (1474–1566), known as the "Apostle of the Indians." Before his death, however, Las Casas came to recognize the wickedness of negro as well as of Indian slavery, and to regret that he had ever expressed approval of the plan of substituting one for the other. See Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii, pp. 454–458.

SUGGESTION TO TEACHERS — COMPARATIVE STUDY

In no way, we think, will the teacher be able to give his pupils so clear an idea of the character of the sixteenth century as by having them make a comparative study of that century and the nineteenth. The striking parallels which they will discover between the two periods will be sure to suggest to them that "the wonderful nineteenth century," as it is called by Alfred Russel Wallace, like the sixteenth, may be a transition period, a period which will be regarded by the future historian as we regard the sixteenth, — as the beginning of a new age in history. The following will suggest in what realms parallels may be sought.

The Sixteenth Century	The Nineteenth Century
a. The New Learning. Great intellectual activity.	*a.* The New Sciences. Great intellectual activity.
b. The Reformation. Revision of creeds. Relation of the religious movement to the Renaissance.	*b.* The New Theology. Revision of creeds. Relation of this movement to the birth of the new scientific spirit.
c. The unification of great nations, — England, France, Spain.	*c.* The unification of great nations, — Germany, Italy.
d. The expansion of Europe; the partition of the New World and of Southern Asia. The formation of colonial empires, — Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English.	*d.* The expansion of Europe; the partition of Africa and of Oceania. The formation of new colonial empires, — English, French, German, Belgian, and American.
e. Great geographical and astronomical discoveries (Columbus, Copernicus), which reveal the universe as infinite in *space*. Man's conceptions of the earth and its place in the universe revolutionized.	*e.* Great geological and biological discoveries (*Evolution* — Lyell, Darwin), which reveal the universe as infinite in *time*. Man's conceptions as to his origin and his place in the plan of creation revolutionized.
f. Great inventions, now first hit upon or brought into general use, — printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass. Political, social, and economic revolutions caused or promoted by them.	*f.* Great inventions, — the steam railway, the ocean steamship, the electric telegraph, electric motor, etc. Political, social, and economic revolutions caused or furthered by their introduction.

CHAPTER LV

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION

693. **Introductory Statement.** — When the Modern Age opened the European peoples were on the eve of a great religious revolution known as the Reformation. In the present chapter we shall speak of the causes and the beginnings of this revolution in Germany.

694. **Extent of Rome's Spiritual Authority at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century.** — In a preceding chapter on the Papacy it was shown how nearly perfect at one time was the obedience of the West not only to the spiritual but also to the temporal authority of the Pope. It was also shown how the papal claim of the right to a certain oversight of temporal or governmental affairs was practically rejected by the princes and sovereigns of Europe as early as the fourteenth century (sec. 589). But previous to the opening of the sixteenth century there had been comparatively few — there had been some, like the Albigenses in the south of France, the Wyckliffites in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia — who denied the supreme and infallible authority of the bishops of Rome in matters purely religious. Speaking in a very general manner, it would be correct to say that at the close of the fifteenth century all the nations of Western Europe professed the faith of the Catholic Church and yielded spiritual obedience to the papal see.

695. **Causes of the Reformation.** — We must now seek the causes which led one half of the nations of Europe to secede from the papal Church. There were various causes. One cause was the Renaissance, that great intellectual awakening which marked the close of the mediæval and the opening of the modern epoch. The promoters of the New Learning and the upholders of the old Scholastic theology came into collision (sec. 730), and this helped to prepare the way for the great schism.

A second cause of the revolution was the existence in the Church of most serious scandals. The necessity of the thorough reform of the Church, in both "head and members," was recognized by all earnest and spiritually minded men. The only difference of opinion among such was as to the manner in which the work of renovation should be effected, whether from within or from without, by reform or by revolution.

A third cause was jealousy of the Papacy on the part of the temporal princes. It is true that the claims to temporal supremacy put forward by some of the mediæval popes were no longer maintained; still there remained a very large field embracing matters such as appointment or nomination to Church offices, the taxation of the clergy and of Church property, questions concerning marriages, wills, and so on, which the popes as the guardians of religion claimed the right to regulate or to review. Thus the nations were really very far from being independent. As respects many matters they were virtually provinces of an ecclesiastical world empire centered at Rome.

But foremost among the proximate causes, and the actual *occasion* of the revolution, was the controversy which arose about the doctrine of Indulgences. An Indulgence, as defined by Catholic theologians, is the remission of that temporal[1] punishment which often remains due on account of sin after its guilt has been forgiven. It is granted on the performance of some work of piety, charity, or mercy, which often includes an alms to the poor or a gift of money to promote some good work, and takes effect only upon certain conditions, among which is that of confession of sin and sincere repentance.

Before the time of the Reformation, Indulgences had been frequently granted by various pontiffs, with different objects in view. A great part of the money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome was obtained in this manner.

696. Tetzel and the Preaching of Indulgences. — Leo X, upon his election to the papal dignity in 1513, found the coffers of the

[1] By "temporal" punishment is meant penances imposed by the Church and the temporary pains of purgatory, as opposed to the *eternal* punishment of hell.

Church almost empty, and being in pressing need of money to carry on his various undertakings, among which was work upon St. Peter's, he had recourse to the now common expedient of a grant of Indulgences. He delegated the power of dispensing these in a great part of Germany to Archbishop Albert of Mainz. As his deputy, Albert employed a Dominican friar by the name of John Tetzel.

The archbishop was unfortunate in the selection of his agent. Tetzel carried out his commission in such a way as to give rise to a great scandal. The language that he and his subordinates used in exhorting the people to comply with the conditions of gaining the Indulgences — one of which was a donation of money — was unseemly and exaggerated. The result was that erroneous views as to the effect of Indulgences began to spread among the ignorant and credulous, many being so far misled as to think that if they only contributed this money to the building of St. Peter's in Rome they would be exempt from all penalty for sins, paying little heed to the other conditions, such as sorrow for sin and purpose of amendment. Hence serious persons were led to declaim against the procedure of the zealous friar. These protests were the near mutterings of a storm that had long been gathering, and that was soon to shake all Western Christendom.

697. Martin Luther. — Foremost among those who opposed and denounced the methods used by Tetzel was Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and teacher of theology in the University of Wittenberg. This great reformer was born in Saxony in 1483. He was of humble parentage, his father being a poor miner. Just as a career planned by his father in the profession of the law was opening before him, he suddenly turned his back upon the world and entered a convent. Before Tetzel appeared in Germany, Luther had already earned a wide reputation for learning and piety.

698. The Ninety-Five Theses (1517).— When Tetzel began in the neighborhood of Wittenberg the preaching of Indulgences in the scandalous manner to which we have just alluded, Luther was

greatly distressed. He drew up in protest ninety-five theses bearing on Indulgences, and nailed them upon the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. It was a custom of those times for a scholar thus to post propositions which he was willing to maintain against any and all comers. An examination of the theses shows that Luther at this time still held the generally accepted view both as to purgatory and the validity of Indulgences, and that his protest was aimed only at abuses.

FIG. 129. — MARTIN LUTHER. (After the portrait by *Lucas Cranach*, the elder; Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

By means of the press the theses were spread broadcast. They were eagerly read and commented upon by all classes, particularly in Germany. Tetzel issued counter-propositions. The air was thick with controversial leaflets. At first Pope Leo had been inclined to make light of the whole matter, but at length he felt constrained to take decisive measures against Luther. The monk was to be silenced by means of a papal bull.

699. **Luther's "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"** (July, 1520). — Luther heard that the bull was soon to be launched against him. He anticipated its arrival by the issuance to the German nobility of a remarkable address, which has been called "The Manifesto of the Reformation." It was practically a German declaration of independence of Rome. Luther

demanded, among other things, that payment to the Pope of annates[2] should be forbidden by the princes, nobles, and cities, or that they should be wholly abolished; that the Pope should have no power whatever over the Emperor, "save to anoint and crown him at the altar"; and that the secular clergy should be free to marry or not to marry.[3]

700. Luther burns the Papal Bull (Dec. 10, 1520). — At length a copy of the papal bull came into Luther's hands. Forty-one propositions selected from his writings were therein condemned either as "heretical" or as "scandalous," and all persons were forbidden to read his books, which were ordered to be burned; and he himself, if he did not retract his errors within sixty days, was, together with all his adherents, to be regarded as having "incurred the penalty due for heresy."

Luther now took a startling determination. He resolved to burn the papal bull. A fire was kindled outside one of the gates of Wittenberg, and in the presence of a great throng of doctors, students, and citizens, Luther cast the bull, together with the papal decretals and some books of his opponents, into the flames. The audacious proceeding raised a terrible storm, which raged "high as the heavens, wide as the earth." Luther wrote a friend that he believed the tempest could never be stilled before the day of judgment.

701. The Diet of Worms (1521). — Affairs had now assumed a threatening aspect. All Germany was in a state of revolt. The papal supremacy was imperiled. The papal ban having failed

[2] Annates, or first fruits, were the first year's revenue, or some portion of the first year's revenue, of a benefice paid to the Pope by a bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastic for the papal confirmation in his office. This was a most important source of revenue to the Roman court. The temporal princes naturally regarded with great jealousy these payments by their subjects to the Pope, since in this way immense sums of money passed out of their dominions and into the Roman treasury. In England the prohibition of the payment of first fruits to the Pope was one of the earliest steps taken in the separation from Rome. See sec. 738.

[3] Luther was not at this time ready to release monks from their vows. Gradually, however, his views changed and he came to regard the celibacy of the monks as opposed to Scripture teachings. In the year 1525, acting upon his maturer views, he married Catharine Bora, a former nun. This violation by Luther of his monastic vows was made the subject of bitter reproach against him by his enemies.

to produce any effect, Pope Leo now invoked the aid of the recently elected Emperor Charles V in extirpating the spreading heresy. He wished Luther to be sent to Rome for trial there. Luther's friends, however, persuaded Charles not to accede to the Pope's request, but to permit Luther to be heard in Germany. Accordingly Luther received an imperial summons to appear at Worms before an assembly of the princes, nobles, and clergy of Germany to be convened for the purpose of deliberating upon the affairs of the country, and especially upon matters touching the great religious controversy.

Called upon in the imperial assembly to recant his errors, Luther replied in substance: "I cannot, I will not, retract anything, unless what I have written shall be shown to be contrary to Holy Scripture or to plain reason, for to act against conscience is neither safe nor upright." His closing words were impressive: "I can do no otherwise; here I stand, God help me, Amen."

Although some wished to deliver the reformer to the flames, the safe-conduct of the Emperor under which he had come to the Diet protected him. So Luther was allowed to depart in safety, but was followed by the ban of the Empire.

702. Luther at the Wartburg (1521–1522). — Luther, however, had powerful friends, among whom was his own prince, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Solicitous for the safety of the reformer, the prince caused him to be seized on his way from the Diet by a company of masked horsemen, who carried him to the castle of the Wartburg, where he was kept about a year, his retreat being known only to a few friends.

During this period of forced retirement from the world Luther was busy writing pamphlets and translating the Bible. Appeal had been made to the Scriptures, — "Prove it from the Scriptures," was the constant challenge of the reformers to their opponents, — hence it was necessary that the Scriptures should be accessible in a language understood by all. In giving Germany this translation of the Bible, Luther rendered some such service to the German tongue, by fixing its literary forms, as Dante rendered to the Italian through his *Divine Comedy*.

703. The Peasants' War (1524–1525). — Before quite a year had passed Luther was drawn from the Wartburg by the troubles caused by certain radical reformers whose preaching was occasioning tumult and violence, and thereby bringing into discredit the whole reform movement. Luther's sudden appearance at Wittenberg gave a temporary check to the agitation.

But in the course of two or three years the trouble broke out afresh, and in a more complex and aggravated form. The peasants of Suabia and Franconia, stung to madness by the oppressions of their feudal lords, stirred by the religious excitement that filled the air, and influenced by the incendiary preaching of their prophets Carlstadt and Münzer, rose in revolt against the nobles and the priests, — against all in authority.[4] Castles and monasteries were sacked and burned, and horrible outrages were committed. The rebellion was finally crushed, but not until a hundred thousand lives had been sacrificed, a large part of South Germany devastated, and great reproach cast upon the reformers, whose teachings were held by their enemies to be the whole cause of the ferment.

704. The Reformers are called Protestants. — But in spite of all these discrediting movements the reform made rapid progress. The friends of the ancient Church became alarmed. In the year 1529 there gathered an assembly known as the Second Diet of Spires to consider the matter. The action of the Catholic majority of this body took away from the reformed princes and cities the right they had hitherto enjoyed of determining what form of religion should be followed in their domains, and forbade the teaching of certain of the new doctrines until a Church council should have pronounced authoritatively upon them.

Six of the German princes and a large number of the cities of the Empire issued a formal protest against the action of the Diet, denying the power or right of a majority to bind the minority in matters of religion and conscience. Because of this *protest* the reformers from this time began to be known as *Protestants*.

[4] The demands of the peasants were embodied in a document known as the Twelve Articles. See *Translations and Reprints* (Univ. of Penn.), vol. ii, No. 6.

705. The Catholic Reaction; its Causes and Agents. — Even before the death of Luther, which occurred in the year 1546,[5] the Reformation had gained a strong foothold in most of the countries of Western Christendom, save in Spain and Italy, and even in these parts the new doctrines had made some progress. But several causes now conspired to check the hitherto triumphant advance of Protestantism and to enable the old Church to regain much of the ground that had been lost. Chief among these were the divisions among the Protestants, the Counter-Reform in the Catholic Church, the increased activity of the Inquisition, the rise of the Society of the Jesuits, and Spain's zealous championship of Catholicism.

706. Divisions among the Protestants. — Early in their contest with the Roman see the Protestants became divided into three mutually hostile sects,— Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists.

The creed of the Lutherans came to prevail very generally in North Germany, and was received in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. It also spread into the Netherlands, but there it was soon overshadowed by Calvinism. Of all the Protestant sects the Lutherans made the least departure from the Catholic Church.

The Zwinglians, followers of Huldreich Zwingli (1484–1531), differed from the Lutherans particularly in their views regarding the Eucharist and in the matter of church organization. Their creed became dominant in the greater part of German Switzerland, and from there spread into Southern Germany.

The Calvinists were followers of John Calvin (1509–1564), a Frenchman by birth, who, forced to flee from France on account of persecution, found a refuge at Geneva, which city he made the center of a movement even more extended and historically important than that having its point of departure at Wittenberg. We can best remember the wide range of Calvinism and its remarkable influence upon the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth

[5] After the death of Luther the leadership of the Reformation in Germany fell to Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), one of Luther's friends and fellow-workers. Melanchthon's disposition was exactly the opposite of Luther's. He often reproved Luther for his indiscretion and vehemence, and was constantly laboring to effect, through mutual concessions, a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants.

centuries by keeping in mind that the French Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, the Dutch Netherlanders (in large part), the English Puritans, and the Pilgrim Fathers were all Calvinists.

These great Protestant communions finally broke up into a large number of denominations, or churches, each holding to some minor point of doctrine or adhering to some form of worship disregarded by the others, yet all agreeing in the central doctrine of the Reformation, "justification by faith alone."

Now the contentions between these different sects were sharp and bitter. The liberal-minded reformer had occasion to lament the same state of things as that which troubled the Apostle Paul in the early days of Christianity. One said, I am of Luther; another said, I am of Calvin; and another said, I am of Zwingli. Even Luther himself denounced Zwingli as a heretic; and the Calvinists would have no dealings with the Lutherans.

The influence of these sectarian strifes and divisions upon the progress of the reform movement was most disastrous. They afforded the Catholics a strong and effective argument against the entire movement as tending to uncertainty and discord.

707. The Catholic Counter-Reform; the Council of Trent (1545–1563); **Carlo Borromeo.** — As we have seen, it was the existence of acknowledged evils and scandals in the old Church that had contributed greatly to undermine its authority and to weaken its hold upon the reverence and the consciences of men. It was the correction of these evils and the removal of these scandals which did much to restore its lost influence and authority.

This reform, which even before the rise of Protestantism had already begun within the Catholic Church, was carried out in great measure by the memorable Council of Trent (1545–1563). This body, the most important Church assembly since that of Nicæa, A.D. 325, with the voice of authority passed upon all the points that had been raised by the reformers. It declared the traditions of the Church to be of equal authority with the Bible; it reasserted the divine character of the Papacy; it condemned as heresy the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. It made everything so clear that no one, not even a wayfaring man,

need err either in doctrine or in duty. It also demanded that the lives of all priests and bishops should be an exemplification of Christian purity and morality. These measures of the council helped greatly to check the Protestant movement. The correction of the abuses that had had so much to do in causing the great schism, smoothed the way for the return to the ancient Church of thousands who had become alarmed at the dangers into which society seemed to drift when once it cast loose from anchorage in the safe harbor of tradition and authority.

The spirit in which the Council of Trent had done its work finds illustration in the exalted character and devoted life of the Italian reformer, Carlo Borromeo (1538–1588). In him the reforming spirit of the great council was incarnate. He became Archbishop of Milan, and took as his model the holy Ambrose, who, twelve centuries before, in the corrupt times of the failing Roman Empire, had won sainthood in that same see. He renovated and restored the desecrated and deserted churches, reformed the lax and dissolute lives of the clergy, restored discipline in the religious orders, and established schools and colleges. It was due largely to his zealous labors and to the happy contagion of his holy example that a new spiritual life was created in Milan and the regions round about, that popular veneration for the ancient Church was again evoked, that the progress of Protestantism in Italy was stayed, and that the wavering were held firm in their allegiance to the Papacy and many who had already been led away by the Protestant heresy were brought back to the ancient fold.

708. The Inquisition. — The Catholic Church, having purified itself and defined clearly its articles of faith, demanded of all a more implicit obedience than hitherto. The Inquisition now assumed new vigor and activity, and heresy was sternly dealt with. The tribunal was assisted in the execution of its sentences by the secular authorities in all the Romance countries, but outside of these it was not generally recognized by the temporal princes, though it did succeed in establishing itself for a time in the Netherlands and in some parts of Germany. Death, usually by burning, and loss of property were the penalty of obstinate

heresy. Without doubt the Inquisition did much to check the advance of the Reformation in Southern Europe, aiding especially in holding Italy and Spain obedient to the ancient Church.

At this point, in connection with the persecutions of the Inquisition, we should not fail to recall that in the sixteenth century a refusal to conform to the established worship was regarded by the great majority of Protestants, as well as of Catholics, as a species of treason against society, and was dealt with accordingly. Thus at Geneva we find Calvin bending all his energies to the trial and execution of Servetus, because he published views that the Calvinists thought heretical; and in England we see the Anglican Protestants waging the most cruel, bitter, and persistent persecutions not only against the Catholics but also against all Protestants who refused to conform to the Established Church.

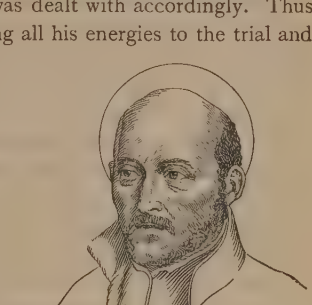


FIG. 130. — IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA
(After a painting by *Rubens*)

709. The Society of the Jesuits; Ignatius of Loyola; Francis Xavier. — The Society of the Jesuits, or the Company of Jesus, was another most powerful auxiliary concerned in the reëstablishment of the threatened authority of the papal see. The founder of the fraternity was Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a native of Spain. Ignatius was the embodiment of Spanish religious zeal. His object was to form a society the devotion and energy of whose members should meet the ardor and activity of the reformers. The new society was instituted by a papal bull in 1540.

Ignatius before he became a priest was a soldier, and it was this circumstance which lent a military cast to his society. Like the soldier, each member of the society is required to submit his own will to that of his superior, and is taught to regard self-renunciation and obedience as cardinal virtues.

It was particularly as educators that the Jesuits made their influence felt upon society. Their aim here was to fill the world with schools and colleges, just as a conquered country might be occupied with military garrisons. Ignatius left behind him a full hundred colleges and seminaries; within a century and a half after his death the order had founded over seven hundred.

As the well-disciplined, watchful, and uncompromising foes of the Protestants, now divided into many and often hostile sects, the Jesuits did so much to bring about a reaction that Macaulay declares, "The history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic Reaction." It was largely through their direct or indirect agency that Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and South Germany, after they had been invaded by Protestantism and in a greater or less degree drawn away from the old faith, were won back to the Catholic Church and again bound by stronger ties than ever to the Papacy. By the end of the sixteenth century this great work of recovery had been in the main accomplished. This regaining of these debatable countries for Catholicism constitutes one of the most important matters in the religious history of Europe.

And not only did the labors of the Jesuits contribute thus greatly to the retrieving of the papal fortunes in Europe, but they were also instrumental in extending the authority and spreading the doctrines of the Catholic Church into all other parts of the world. Most distinguished of all the missionaries of the society to pagan lands was the saintly Francis Xavier (1506–1552), known as the "Apostle of the Indies." His charity was measureless. He thought that he should be as ready to face danger in quest of souls as others were in quest of "aromatic groves and mines of gold." His labors in India, Japan, and other lands of the Far East were attended with astonishing results.

710. Spain's Zealous Championship of Catholicism. — Just as England became the champion and the bulwark of Protestantism, so did Spain become the champion and the bulwark of Catholicism. The Spanish sovereigns, as we shall see, constituted themselves the guardians of Catholic orthodoxy, and put forth all their strength to uproot the reformed faith not only in their own domains

but also in other lands. Their strenuous efforts to reëstablish the old religious unity caused them to become most important instruments of the Catholic Restoration.

711. The Hundred Years of Religious Wars. — The action taken by the Council of Trent made impossible a reconciliation between the two parties. The middle of the sixteenth century had not yet been reached before the increasing bitterness of their controversy led to an appeal to force. Then followed a hundred years of religious wars. During this time neither party laid aside the sword. The Schmalkaldic War in Germany between Charles V and the Protestant princes, the fierce struggle in the Netherlands between Philip II of Spain and his revolted subjects, the Huguenot wars in France, the launching of the Spanish Armada against Protestant England, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, — all these were simply different acts of the long and terrible drama.

In the chapters immediately following this we shall trace in broad outline the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the rival creeds in the leading European countries. To what we have here said concerning the beginnings of the Revolution we will in a closing paragraph add only a single word touching its general results.

712. Outcome of the Revolt. — The outcome of the Protestant Revolution was, very broadly stated, the separation from the Catholic Church of North Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, and Scotland, along with parts of Switzerland and of the Netherlands, — in the main, nations of Teutonic race. The great Romance nations, namely, France, Spain, and Italy, together with South Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Ireland, adhered to the ancient Church, or, if for a period shaken in their loyalty, ultimately returned to their old allegiance.

This severance by the northern nations of the bonds that formerly united them to the ecclesiastical empire of Rome meant a transfer of their allegiance from the *Church* to the *Bible*. The decrees of popes and the decisions of Church councils were no longer to be regarded as having divine and binding force; the Scriptures alone were to be held as possessing divine and infallible

authority, and, theoretically, this rule and standard of faith and practice each individual was to interpret for himself.

Thus one half of Western Christendom was lost to the Roman Church. Yet notwithstanding this loss, notwithstanding the earlier loss of the eastern part of Christendom (sec. 500), and notwithstanding the fact that its temporal power has been entirely taken from it, the Papacy still remains, as Macaulay says, "not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour." The Pope is to-day the supreme head of a Church that, in the words of the brilliant writer just quoted, "was great and respected before Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished in Antioch, when idols were still worshiped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

Selections from the Sources. — *First Principles of the Reformation* (ed. by Wace and Buchheim). Read Luther's "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation." The address makes a vivid revelation, not only of the religious situation in Germany at this time, but also of the character of the man who here makes himself the spokesman of the German nation. WHITCOMB, *Literary Source-Book of the German Renaissance. Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 6, "Period of the Early Reformation in Germany"; and vol. iii, No. 3, "Period of the Later Reformation." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chaps. xxiv–xxvi.

Secondary Works. — BEARD, C., *Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany* (to 1520). KÖSTLIN, J., *Life of Luther*. EMERTON, E., *Desiderius Erasmus*. For a wider survey, from the Protestant point of view, of the reform movement: FISHER, G. P., *The Reformation;* HÄUSSER, L., *The Period of the Reformation;* and SEEBOHM, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*. For the history of the movement from the Catholic side: SPALDING, M. J., *The History of the Protestant Reformation;* and ALZOG, *Universal Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 1–460. HENDERSON, E. F., *A Short History of Germany*, vol. i, chaps. x–xvi. JANSSEN, J., *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, vols. iii and iv. *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, chap. xix, and vol. ii, chaps. iv–viii. WHITCOMB, M., *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 33–64. ROBINSON, J. H., *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, chaps. xxv and xxvi. FROUDE, J. A., *Lectures on the Council of Trent*. HUGHES, T., *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*. SYMONDS, J. A., *The Catholic Reaction*, vol. i.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. John Reuchlin. 2. Melanchthon. 3. Calvin and Servetus. 4. Carlo Borromeo. 5. Ignatius of Loyola.

CHAPTER LVI

THE ASCENDANCY OF SPAIN; HER RELATION TO THE CATHOLIC REACTION

I. Reign of the Emperor Charles V (1519–1556)

713. Charles' Dominions. — In the year 1500 there was born in the city of Ghent, in the Netherlands, a prince who was destined to play a great part in the history of the sixteenth century. This was Charles, son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, — later to be known to fame as Emperor Charles V.

Charles was "the converging point and heir of four great royal lines, which had become united by a series of happy matrimonial alliances." These were the houses of Austria, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon. Before Charles had completed his nineteenth year there were heaped upon his head, through the removal by death of his ancestors, the crowns of the four dynasties.

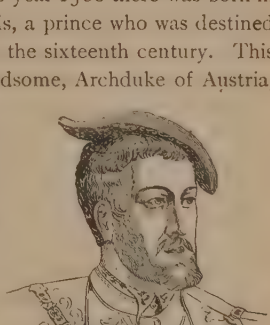


Fig. 131. — Emperor Charles V
(After a painting by *Holbein*)

But great as was the number of the hereditary crowns of the young prince, there was straightway added to them (in 1519), by the vote of the Electors of Germany, the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. After this election he was known as *Emperor Charles V;* hitherto he had borne the title of *Carlos I* of Spain.

714. The Balance of Power is disturbed by Spain. — During a great part of the modern age a doctrine known as the balance of

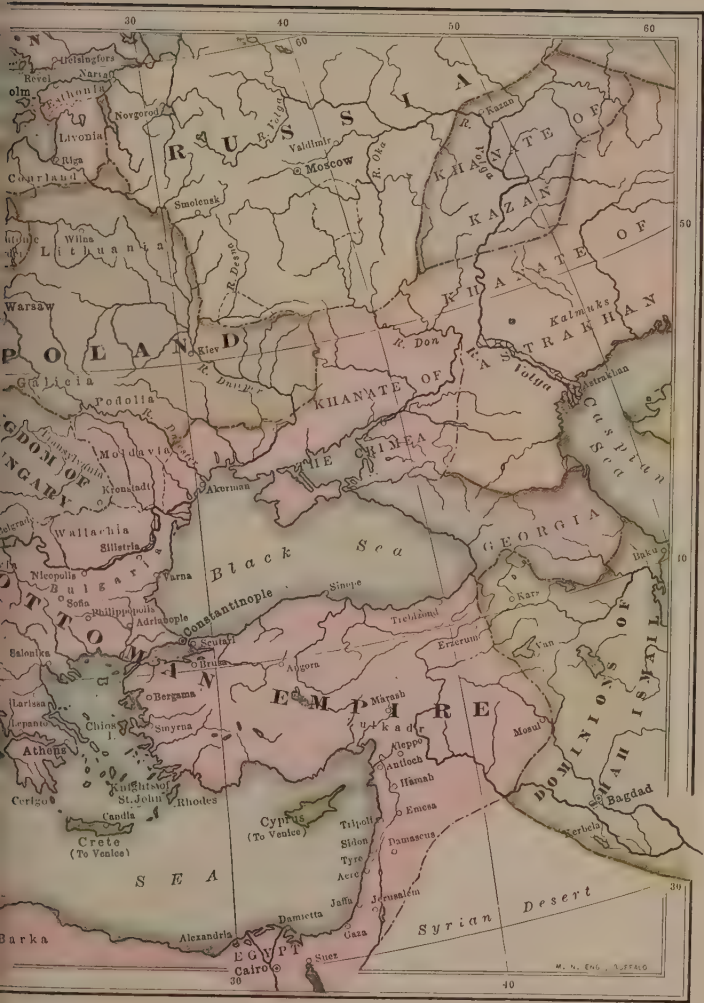
power has lain at the bottom of much European diplomacy. It has been the concern of statesmen to see to it that no one of the nations should acquire an overweight of power or influence, and thereby endanger the independence of the others. But in spite of this vigilance there has been a constant tendency to a disturbance of the equilibrium of the European system of states through the overgrowth of this or that member of it. Thus in the seventeenth century France under Louis XIV, and then again in the early years of the nineteenth century under Napoleon, acquired such an ascendancy as to imperil the liberties of the continent. The alliances formed and wars fought to prevent such disturbances of the balance of power or to restore the equilibrium already impaired, make up a great part of the political history of Europe in modern times.

Now in the sixteenth century it was the overshadowing greatness of Spain that aroused the fears of her neighbors and very largely determined the policies and actions of these states. Here we have the key to much of the political history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V and of that of his son and successor on the Spanish throne, Philip II.

715. Charles and the Reformation. — But important as is the political side of Charles' reign, it is his relation to the Lutheran movement which constitutes for us the significant feature of his life and work. Fortunately for the Catholic Church, the young Emperor placed himself at the head of the Catholic party, and not only during his own reign employed the strength and resources of his empire in extirpating the heresy of the reformers, but also transmitted this policy to his successors upon the Spanish throne.

716. His Two Chief Enemies. — Had Charles been free from the outset to devote all his energies to the work of suppressing the Lutheran heresy, it is difficult to see what could have saved the reform doctrines within his dominions from extirpation. But, fortunately for the cause of the reformers, Charles' attention, during all the first part of his reign, was drawn away from the serious consideration of Church questions by the attacks upon his dominions of two of the most powerful monarchs of the times, —

EUROPE
AT THE ACCESSION OF THE EMPEROR
CHARLES V
1519
Boundary of Empire thus:
0 50 100 200 300 400
Scale of Miles.
Longitude West 0
Longitude East 10 from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bay of Biscay
North Sea
MEDITERRANEAN
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
THE EMPIRE
DENMARK
NORWAY
Hebrides Islands
Orkney Is.
Edinburgh
Dublin
London
Paris
Madrid
Lisbon
Corsica (To Genoa)
Sardinia (To Spain)
Majorca
Minorca
Rome
Naples
Sicily (To Spain)
Malta (To Spain)
Berlin
Vienna
Copenhagen
Hamburg
Bremen
Frankfort
Augsburg
Munich
Bern
Milan
Venice
Florence
Genoa
Marseilles
Toulon
Barcelona
Valencia
Algiers
Oran
Tunis
Tripoli
Palermo
Messina
Naples
Brundusium
Ravenna
Bologna
Trent
Tyrol
Buda
Bergen
Stockholm
Lubeck
Munster
Magdeburg
Wittenberg
Saxony
Prague
Bohemia
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Strasburg
Metz
Rheims
Orleans
Tours
Poitiers
Rochelle
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Perpignan
Narbonne
Montauban
Avignon
Lyons
Grenoble
Turin
Piedmont
Savoy
Switzerland
Burgundy
Flanders
Brussels
Ghent
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Cologne
Mayence
Treves
Calais
Dover
Dunkirk
Boulogne
Brest
Nantes
Angouleme
Bayonne
Leon
Burgos
Navarre
Valladolid
Salamanca
Saragossa
Toledo
Cordova
Murcia
Granada
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Malaga
Tangier
Carthagena
Tarragona
Pamplona
Santander
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
Algarve
Gaeta
Benevento
Otranto
Reggio
Syracuse
Messina
Tripoli
Gerba (Turkish)
Kairawan
Bona
Biserta
Algiers
Pashalik of Algiers (Turkish)
Barbary
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Cadiz
Seville
Granada
Murcia
Carthagena
Valencia
Majorca
Minorca
Barcelona
Tarragona
Pamplona
Bayonne
Rochelle
Nantes
Brest
Calais
Dover
Dunkirk
Boulogne
Rouen
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Poitiers
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Perpignan
Narbonne
Montauban
Avignon
Lyons
Grenoble
Turin
Piedmont
Savoy
Switzerland
Burgundy
Flanders
Brussels
Ghent
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Cologne
Mayence
Treves
Metz
Rheims
Strasburg
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Prague
Bohemia
Saxony
Wittenberg
Magdeburg
Munster
Bremen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Stockholm
Bergen
Norway
Denmark
Copenhagen
Vienna
Buda
Bern
Milan
Venice
Florence
Genoa
Rome
Naples
Brundusium
Otranto
Reggio
Syracuse
Messina
Palermo
Sicily (To Spain)
Malta (To Spain)



RUSSIA
POLAND
KHANATE OF KAZAN
KHANATE OF ASTRAKHAN
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
GEORGIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
DOMINIONS OF MAH ISMAIL
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Syrian Desert
SEA
Helsingfors
Revel
Narva
Esthonia
Novgorod
Livonia
Riga
Courland
Smolensk
Vaidimir
Moscow
R. Volga
R. Oka
R. Kazan
R. Volga
Wilna
Lithuania
Warsaw
R. Desna
Kiev
R. Don
R. Volga
Kalmuks
Astrakhan
Galicia
Podolia
R. Dnieper
R. Dniester
Moldavia
Transylvania
Kronstadt
Akerman
Wallachia
Silistria
Nicopolis
Bulgaria
Varna
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Scutari
Brusa
Sinope
Trebizond
Erzerum
Karz
Van
Baku
Salonika
Angora
Bergama
Larissa
Lepanto
Chios
Smyrna
Athens
Knightsof St. John
Rhodes
Cerigo
Candia
Crete (To Venice)
Cyprus (To Venice)
Marash
Aleppo
Antioch
Hamah
Emesa
Tripoli
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
Damascus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Gaza
Damietta
Alexandria
EGYPT
Cairo
Suez
Mosul
Bagdad
Kerbela
Barka
30
40
50
60

Francis I (1515–1547) of France, and Solyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), Sultan of Turkey. Time and again, when Charles was inclined to proceed to severe measures against the Protestant princes of Germany, the threatening movements of one or both of these enemies, at times acting in concert and alliance, forced him to postpone his proposed crusade against heretics for a campaign against foreign foes.

717. Rivalry and Wars between Charles and Francis (1521–1544). — Francis I was the rival of Charles in the contest for the imperial dignity. When the Electors of Germany conferred the title upon the Spanish monarch, Francis was sorely disappointed, and during all the remainder of his reign kept up a jealous and almost incessant warfare with Charles, whose enormous possessions now nearly surrounded the French kingdom.[1] Italy was the field of much of the fighting, as the securing of dominion in that peninsula was a chief aim of each of the rivals.

718. Results of the Wars between Francis and Charles. — The direct and indirect consequences of the protracted combat between Francis and Charles were many and far-reaching.

First, Protestantism was given time to intrench itself so firmly in North Germany and in other countries as to render ineffectual all later efforts for its destruction.

Second, by preventing united action on the part of the Christian princes, these quarrels were the occasion of the severe losses which Christendom during this period suffered at the hands of the Ottoman Turks. Hungary was ravaged with fire and sword, Rhodes was captured, and the Mediterranean made almost a Turkish lake.

1 Before entering upon war with Charles, Francis cast about for an ally. The young king of England, Henry VIII, seemed the most desirable friend. He accordingly invited Henry to a conference in France, at which was to be considered the matter of an alliance against the Emperor. The two kings, each attended by a magnificent train of courtiers, met near Calais (1520). The meeting is known in history as "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," because of the prodigal richness of the costumes and appointments of the chiefs and their attendants. "Many," says a contemporary writer, "bore thither their mills, their forests, and their meadows on their backs." Nothing came of the interview, and Charles finally won Henry over to his side.

Third, these wars, having Italy as their chief theater, were a frightful scourge to that land and blighted there all the fair promises of the Renaissance; but at the same time the storm wafted the precious seeds of the revived arts and letters beyond the mountains into France and other northern lands. The French Renaissance dates from these Italian wars.

719. Persecution of the Waldenses by Francis (1545). — The cessation of the wars between Francis and Charles left each free to give his attention to his heretical subjects. And both had work enough on hand; for while the king and the Emperor had been fighting each other, the doctrines of the reformers had been spreading rapidly in all directions and among all classes.

The severest blow dealt the heretics of his kingdom by Francis fell upon the Vaudois, or Waldenses, the inhabitants of a number of hamlets in the Alpine regions of Piedmont and Provence. These people during the later mediæval time had fallen into what the Church regarded as heretical ways, and just now they were mingling with their own heresies those of the Protestant reformers. Thousands were put to death by the sword, and thousands more were burned at the stake. At a later time other persecutions fell upon them, until finally only a miserable remnant, who found an asylum among the mountains, were left to hand down their faith to modern times.

720. Charles' Wars with the Protestant German Princes. — Charles, on his part, turned his attention to the reformers in Germany. Inspired by religious motives and convictions, and apprehensive, further, of the effect upon his authority in Germany of the growth there of such an empire within an empire as the Protestant princes and free cities — now united in a union known as the Schmalkaldic League — were becoming, he resolved to crush the reform movement by force.

Accordingly, in the very year that Luther died (1546), the Emperor, aided by the German Catholics, attacked the Protestant league. He was at first successful, but in the end the war proved the most disastrous and humiliating to him of any in which he had engaged. Severe defeats of his armies finally constrained him

to give up his undertaking to make all his German subjects think alike in matters of religion.

721. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). — In the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, convened in 1555 to compose the distracted affairs of the German states, it was arranged and agreed that every prince should be allowed to choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession,[2] and should have the right to make his religion the religion of his people.

To this article, however, the Diet made one important exception. The Catholics insisted that *ecclesiastical* princes, i.e. bishops and abbots, on becoming Protestants, should give up their offices and revenues; and this important clause, under the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was finally made a part of the treaty.

It is important that this Treaty of Augsburg should be kept carefully in mind, for the reason that it was through violations of its articles by both parties that the way was paved for the terrible Thirty Years' War (Chapter LX).

722. His Abdication. — While the Diet of Augsburg was arranging the religious peace the Emperor Charles was enacting the part of a second Diocletian. There had long been forming in his mind the purpose of spending his last days in monastic seclusion. The disappointing issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany, the weight of advancing years, together with menacing troubles which began "to thicken like dark clouds about the evening of his reign," now led the Emperor to carry this resolution into effect. Accordingly he abdicated in favor of his son Philip the crown of the Netherlands (1555), and that of Spain and its colonies (1556), and then retired to the monastery of Yuste, situated in a secluded region in Western Spain.

There is a tradition which tells how Charles, after vainly endeavoring to make some clocks that he had about him at Yuste run together, made the following reflection: "How foolish I have

[2] The Augsburg Confession was the formula of belief of the adherents of Luther. It was drawn up by the scholar Melanchthon and laid before the Imperial Diet assembled at Augsburg by Charles V in 1530. It formed the basis of the Lutheran Church.

been to think I could make all men believe alike about religion, when here I cannot make even two clocks keep the same time."

This story is probably mythical. Charles seems never to have doubted either the practicability or the policy of securing uniformity of belief by force. While in retirement at Yuste he expressed the deepest regret that he did not burn Luther at Worms. He was constantly urging Philip to use greater severity in dealing with his heretic subjects.

II. Spain under Philip II (1556–1598)

723. Philip's Character and his Principles of Government. — Philip, unlike his father, was a representative Spaniard. He embodied in himself the traits, ideals, and aspirations of the Spanish race, just as Luther typified and embodied those of the German race. His mind was the mind, his conscience was the conscience, of the Spanish people. Like the true Spaniard, Philip possessed a deeply religious nature. One of his instruments of government was the Inquisition. He employed it in the suppression of heresy, not simply because he was a sincere Catholic and believed that heresy was willful sin and should be sternly dealt with, but also because heresy, in his view, was rebellion against the state.

Philip possessed unusual administrative ability. He was an incessant worker and busied himself with the endless details of government. He did everything himself. His secretaries were mere clerks. He even regulated, or tried to regulate, the private affairs of his subjects, — told them how to dress, when they might use carriages, and how and where to educate their children. Under this system there was in the kingdom but one brain to plan and one will to direct. All local freedom and all individual enterprise were crushed out. This fatally centralized system of absolute government Philip bequeathed to his successors, and thus contributed greatly to determine the unhappy destiny of the Spanish people.

As the most important matters of Philip's reign — namely, his war against the revolted Netherlands and his attempt upon

England with his "Invincible Armada" — belong properly to the respective histories of England and the Netherlands, and will be treated of in connection with the affairs of those countries, we shall give here very little space to the history of the period.

724. Philip's Crusade against the Moriscos (1570–1571). — It will be recalled that upon the conquest of Granada in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moors were assured protection in all civil rights and granted religious freedom. But the Emperor Charles V broke faith with them and compelled them to embrace Christianity. They submitted to baptism, and outwardly conformed to the requirements of the Church, but secretly they held to their own faith.

Philip conceived it to be his duty to impose upon the Moriscos — thus they were called after their conversion — conditions that should thoroughly obliterate all traces of their ancient faith and manners. So he issued a decree that they should no longer wear their native garb or use their native tongue, and that they should give their children Christian names and send them to Christian schools. A determined revolt followed.

The uprising was suppressed with cruel severity, and then, because there was danger that if left in these coast regions they might open the gates of the country to the Moslems of the Mediterranean, an order was issued which condemned all the Moriscos of Granada to deportation to districts in the center and the north of the peninsula. The order was relentlessly carried out.

725. Defeat of the Turkish Fleet at Lepanto (1571). — Philip rendered at least one great service to Christian civilization at large. This he did by helping to stay the progress of the Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean. They had captured the important island of Cyprus and had assaulted the Hospitalers at Malta. All Christendom was becoming alarmed. An alliance was formed, embracing the Pope, the Venetians, and Philip II. An immense fleet was equipped and put under the command of Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother.

The Christian fleet met the Turkish squadron in the Gulf of Lepanto, on the western coast of Greece. The battle was unequaled by anything the Mediterranean had seen since the naval encounters

of the Romans and Carthaginians in the First Punic War. The Ottoman fleet was almost totally destroyed. Thousands of Christian captives, who were found chained to the oars of the Turkish galleys, were liberated. All Christendom rejoiced as when Jerusalem was captured by the first crusaders.

The battle of Lepanto holds an important place in history, because it marks the turning point of the long struggle between the Mohammedans and Christians, which had now been going on for nearly one thousand years. The Ottoman Turks, though they afterwards made progress in some quarters, never recovered the prestige they lost in that disaster, and their power thenceforward steadily declined.

726. The Death of Philip (1598). — In the year 1588 Philip made his memorable attempt with the so-called "Invincible Armada" upon England, at this time the stronghold of Protestantism. As we shall see a little later, he failed utterly in the undertaking. Ten years after this death ended his reign.

727. Later Events: the Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–1610); **Loss of the Netherlands.** — From the death of Philip II Spain declined in power, reputation, and influence. This was due very largely to the bigotry and tyranny of her rulers. Thus under Philip III (1598–1621) a severe loss, one from which they never recovered, was inflicted upon the manufactures and other industries of the country by the expulsion of the Moriscos.

Philip II, as just related, had deported the whole Morisco population of Granada to inland provinces. Now all Spain was to be cleared absolutely of the "evil race." Philip really believed that this driving out of the misbelievers would be a service pleasing to God, even as was the driving out by the Hebrews of the Canaanites from Palestine. But he was actuated also by other motives in expelling the unhappy Moriscos. They were accused, and not without ground, so desperate had persecution rendered them, of plotting with their co-religionists for the invasion of Spain, and thus endangering the peace and unity of the land.

Accordingly during the years 1609 and 1610 all persons of Moorish descent — more than half a million of the most

intelligent, skillful, and industrious inhabitants of the peninsula — were driven into exile, chiefly to North Africa. The empty dwellings and neglected fields of once populous and gardenlike provinces told how fatal a blow Spain had inflicted upon herself. She had secured religious unity, — but at a great price.

At the very moment that Spain was being so deeply wounded in the peninsula she received an incurable hurt in her outside possessions. In the Truce of 1609 (sec. 770) she was forced virtually to recognize the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, whose revolt against the tyranny of Philip II has been mentioned. In the secession of these provinces Spain lost her most valuable dependency, and now disappears as a power of the first rank from the stage of history.

Even the very brief review which we have made of her sixteenth-century history will not fail to have revealed at least two of the main causes of her failure and quick decadence; first, a false imperial policy in Europe which involved her in endless and fruitless wars; and, second, political despotism and religious intolerance.

Selections from the Sources. — *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iii, No. 3, "Period of the Later Reformation"; contains short selections bearing on several of the matters covered by this chapter.

Secondary Works. — ROBERTSON, W., *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, 3 vols. PRESCOTT, W. H., *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, 3 vols.; this and the preceding work by Robertson are reckoned among the classics of historical literature. ARMSTRONG, E., *The Emperor Charles V*, 2 vols. STIRLING-MAXWELL, W., *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*. HUME, M. A. S., *The Spanish People*, chaps. ix–xi; *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*; and *Philip II of Spain*. LEA, H. C., *The Moriscos of Spain: their Conversion and Expulsion*. STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Portugal*, chap. xiii; for Portugal's "Sixty Years' Captivity" to Spain.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Field of the Cloth of Gold. 2. Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Turks (1529). 3. The sack of Rome in 1527. 4. The Waldenses. 5. The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.

CHAPTER LVII

THE TUDORS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION (1485–1603)

I. Introductory

728. The Tudor Period. — The Tudor period[1] was an eventful and stirring time for the English people. It witnessed among them great progress in art, science, and trade, and a literary outburst such as the world had not seen since the best days of Athens. But the great event of the period was the Reformation. It was under the sovereigns of this house that England was severed from papal Rome and Protestantism became firmly established in the island. To tell how these things were effected will be our chief aim in the present chapter.

729. The English Reformation first a Revolt and then a Reform. — The Reformation in England was, more distinctly than elsewhere, a double movement. First, England was separated violently from the ecclesiastical empire of Rome, but without any essential change being made in creed or form of worship. This was accomplished under Henry VIII. Second, the English Church, thus rendered independent of Rome, gradually changed its teachings and ritual. This was effected chiefly under Edward VI. So the movement was first a *revolt* and then a *reform*.

730. The Oxford Humanist Reformers. — The soil in England was, in a considerable measure, prepared for the seed of the Reformation by the labors of the humanists (sec. 671). Among them three men, Colet, Erasmus, and More, stand preëminent as promoters of the New Learning.

John Colet (1466–1519) was leader and master of the little band. His generous enthusiasm was kindled in Italy. It was an

[1] The Tudor sovereigns were Henry VII (1485–1509), Henry VIII (1509–1547), Edward VI (1547–1553), Mary (1553–1558), and Elizabeth (1558–1603).

important event in the history of the Reformation when Colet crossed the Alps to learn Greek at the feet of the Greek exiles; for on his return to England he brought back with him not only an increased love for the classical learning but a fervent zeal for religious reform, inspired, perhaps, by the stirring eloquence of Savonarola.

Desiderius Erasmus (1467?–1536) of Rotterdam went to England to learn Greek. There he came into close friendship with Colet, More, and other lovers of learning, with whom he declared he could have been happy in Scythia. He was the leader of the humanistic movement in the North, as Petrarch was the father of the movement in the South. His celebrated satire entitled *Moriæ Encomium*, or "Praise of Folly" (1509), was directed against the foibles of all classes of society, but particularly against the sins of "unholy men in holy orders." A little later (in 1516) Erasmus published his *Novum Instrumentum*, the Greek text of the New Testament with a Latin version. These publications must be given a prominent place among the agencies which prepared the minds and hearts of the northern peoples for the Reformation.

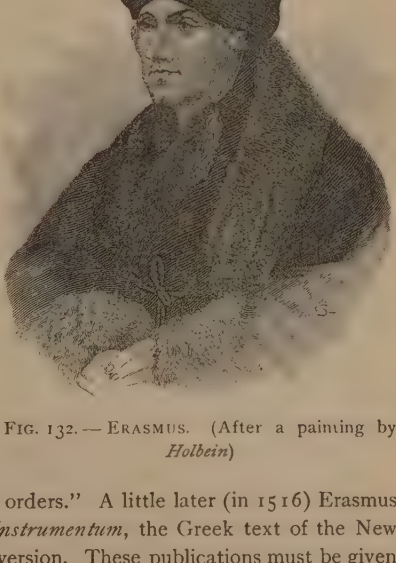


FIG. 132. — ERASMUS. (After a painting by *Holbein*)

Thomas More (1478–1535) was declared by Colet to be the sole genius in all England. He was a man with whom men were said to "fall in love." As the author of *Utopia* he is, perhaps,

after Erasmus, the best known of all the humanists of the North. He was drawn, or rather forced, into political life, and of him and his writings we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, in connection with the reign of Henry VIII (sec. 743).

Than this early Oxford movement, nothing better illustrates the relation of the humanistic revival in the North to the religious reform. Here the humanist was the reformer. But the Oxford reformers, it should be carefully noted, were not Protestant reformers. They believed in the divine character of the papal supremacy. They wished indeed to reform the Papacy, but not to destroy it. They did not wish to see the mediæval unity of Christendom broken. They had no quarrel with the creed of the Catholic Church. Erasmus denounced the doctrines of Luther, and More died a martyr's death rather than deny the papal supremacy.

II. The Reign of Henry VII (1485–1509)

731. Benevolences. — The besetting sins of Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, were avarice and a love of despotic rule. One device adopted by the king for wringing money from his wealthy subjects was what were euphemistically termed "Benevolences." Magna Carta forbade the king to impose taxes without the consent of the Common Council. But Henry did not like to convene Parliament, as he wished to rule like the kings of the Continent, guided simply by his own free will. So benevolences were made to take the place of regular taxes. These were nothing more nor less than gifts extorted from the well-to-do by moral pressure.

One of Henry's ministers, Cardinal Morton, was particularly successful in his appeals for gifts of this kind. To those who lived splendidly he would say that it was very evident they were quite able to make a generous donation to their sovereign; while to others who lived in a narrow and pinched way he would represent that their economical mode of life must have made them wealthy. This teasing dilemma received the name of "Morton's fork."

732. Maritime Discoveries. — It was during this reign that great geographical discoveries enlarged the boundaries of the

world. Soon after Columbus had announced to Europe the existence of land to the west, Henry commissioned John Cabot, a Venetian navigator doing business in England, and his sons to make explorations in the western seas. In his westward voyage Cabot ran against the American continent somewhere in the vicinity of Newfoundland, and took possession of the country in the name of the English sovereign (1497). Upon this discovery and other alleged explorations of John Cabot and his son Sebastian the English based their claim to the whole of the American coast from Labrador down to Florida. This claim included the best part of North America, — what was destined to be the third and most spacious home of the Anglo-Saxon race.

III. England severed from the Papacy by Henry VIII (1509–1547)

733. Cardinal Wolsey. — Henry VII died in 1509, leaving the throne to his son Henry, an energetic and headstrong youth of eighteen years. We must here at the opening of the young king's reign [2] introduce his greatest minister, Thomas Wolsey (1475?–1530). This man was one of the most remarkable characters of his generation, — "probably the greatest political genius," says Bishop Creighton, "whom England has ever produced." He was, as Holinshed characterizes him, "very eloquent and full of wit; but passingly ambitious." Henry made him Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of the realm; the Pope made him a cardinal, and afterwards papal legate in England. He was now virtually at the head of affairs in both State and Church.

734. Henry as "Defender of the Faith." — It was in the eighth year of Henry VIII's reign that Martin Luther tacked upon the

[2] In 1512, joining what was known as the Holy League, — a union against the French king, of which the Pope was the head, — Henry made his first campaign in France. While Henry was across the Channel, James IV of Scotland thought to give aid to the French king by invading England. The Scottish army was met by the English force at Flodden, beneath the Cheviot Hills, and completely overwhelmed (1513). King James was killed, and the flower of the Scottish nobility was left dead upon the field. It was the most terrible disaster that had ever befallen the Scottish nation. Scott's poem *Marmion, a Tale of Flodden Field*, commemorates the battle.

door of the Wittenberg church his famous ninety-five theses. England was stirred with the rest of Western Christendom. When, a little later, Luther attacked directly the papal power, Henry wrote a Latin treatise refuting the arguments of the audacious monk. The Pope, Leo X, rewarded Henry's Catholic zeal by conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith" (1521). This title was retained by Henry after the separation of

FIG. 133. — HENRY VIII. (After a painting by *Holbein*).

England from the papal see, and is borne by his latest successor to-day, although he is "defender" of quite a different faith from that in the defense of which Henry first earned the title.

735. **Henry seeks a Divorce from Catherine.** — We have now to relate some circumstances which very soon changed Henry from a zealous supporter of the Papacy into a bitter enemy. Henry's marriage — he married Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur — had been prompted by policy and not by love.

Of the five children born of the union, all had died save a sickly daughter named Mary. In these successive afflictions Henry saw or feigned to see a sign of Heaven's displeasure because he had taken to wife the widow of his brother.

And now a new circumstance arose, if it had not existed for some time previous to this. Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and vivacious maid of honor in the queen's household. This new affection so quickened the king's conscience that he soon became fully convinced that it was his duty to put Catherine aside. Accordingly Henry asked the Pope, Clement VII, to grant him a divorce. Clement gave no immediate decision, but after about two years' delay ordered Henry and Catherine both to appear before him at Rome.

736. The Fall of Wolsey; his Death (1530). — Henry's patience was now completely exhausted. Becoming persuaded that Wolsey was not exerting himself as he might to secure the divorce, he banished him from court. The hatred of Anne Boleyn and of others pursued the fallen minister. Finally he was arrested on the preposterous charge of high treason. While on his way to London the unhappy minister, broken in spirit and in health, was prostrated by a fatal fever. As he lay dying in the arms of the kind monks of Leicester Abbey, he uttered these self-censuring words: "Had I served my God as diligently as I have served my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

Wolsey had indeed sunk his priestly office in that of the statesman, and as a statesman he had often stifled the scruples of conscience in obedience to the king's unholy wishes and commands.

737. Thomas Cromwell. — After the disgrace of Wolsey an attendant of his named Thomas Cromwell rapidly assumed in Henry's regard the place from which the cardinal had fallen. For the space of ten years this strong but unscrupulous man shaped the policy of Henry's government. The period during which his power was supreme has been called the English Reign of Terror. The executioner's ax was often wet with the blood of those who stood in his way, or who in any manner incurred his or the king's displeasure.

It was to the bold suggestions of this man that Henry now listened. Cromwell's advice to the king was to waste no more time in negotiating with the Pope, but at once to renounce his jurisdiction, proclaim himself supreme head of the Church in England, and then get a decree of divorce from his own courts.

738. **First Acts in the Breach with Rome** (1533–1534). — The advice of Cromwell was acted upon, and by a series of steps England was swiftly carried out from under the authority of the Roman see. Henry first virtually cut the Gordian knot by a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding a papal decree threatening him with excommunication should he dare to do so. Thomas Cranmer, a friend whom Henry had made Archbishop of Canterbury, now formed a court, tried the case, and of course declared the king's marriage with Catherine null and void.

The following year (1534) Henry procured from Parliament the passage of the important Act of Annates, which forbade absolutely the payment to Rome of the first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, and ordered that these should henceforth be paid to the English crown.

739. **The Act of Supremacy** (1534). — At Rome the acts of Henry and his Parliament were denounced as acts of impious usurpation. The Pope issued a bull excommunicating Henry and relieving his subjects from their allegiance.

Henry now took the final and decisive step. He got from Parliament the celebrated Act of Supremacy (1534). This statute made Henry "the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England," vesting in him absolute control of its offices and affairs and turning into his hands the revenue which had hitherto flowed into Rome's treasury. A denial of the title given the king by the statute was made high treason.

Such a break with the past met of course with much disapproval, and many persons were put to death under the statute. The most illustrious victims of this tyranny were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who for several years was one of Henry's chief councilors. The execution of Thomas More particularly created widespread condemnation and dismay. Erasmus

wrote to a friend, "What a man has England and what a friend have I lost!"

740. **The Suppression of the Monasteries** (1536–1539). — The suppression of the monasteries was one of Henry's early acts as the supreme head of the Church in England. He resolved upon their destruction because, in the first place, he coveted their wealth, which at this time included probably one fifth of the lands of the realm. Further, the monks were openly or secretly opposed to Henry's claims of supremacy in religious matters; and this naturally caused him to regard them with jealousy and disfavor.

In order to make the act of suppression appear as reasonable as possible, it was planned to make the charge of immorality its ostensible ground. Accordingly two royal commissioners were appointed to inspect the monasteries and make a report upon what they might see and learn. If we may believe the report, some of the smaller houses were conducted in a most shameful manner. The larger houses, however, were fairly free from faults. Many of them served as schools, hospitals, and inns, and all distributed alms to the poor who knocked at their gates.

But the undoubted usefulness and irreproachable character of these larger foundations did not avail to avert ruin from them also. During the years from 1537 to 1539 all were dissolved, their possessors generally surrendering the property voluntarily into the hands of the king lest a worse thing than the loss of their houses should come upon them. Altogether there were six hundred and forty-five monasteries broken up. The monastic buildings were generally dismantled, every scrap of iron or lead being torn from them, and their unprotected walls left to sink into picturesque ivy-clad ruins.

A portion of the vast wealth which came into Henry's hands through all these confiscations was used in founding schools and colleges and for other public purposes; but by far the greater portion of the landed property was sold at merely nominal prices or given outright to the favorites of the king. Many of the leading English families of to-day trace the titles of their estates from

these confiscated lands of the religious houses. Thus a new aristocracy was raised up whose interests led them to oppose any return to Rome; for in such an event their estates were liable, of course, to be restored to the monasteries.

741. **Act to secure Uniformity of Belief** (1539). — In the same year that Parliament gave into Henry's hands the last of the property of the monastic orders, it passed a bill called an Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions. By this statute the teachings of the old Church respecting the real presence in the Eucharist, the celibacy of the priesthood, confession to a priest, and other tenets were approved as agreeable to the laws of God, and it was made a crime for any person to hold, to teach, or to practice opinions opposed to any of these dogmas.

What the Church in England should be called under Henry it would be hard to say. It was not Protestant; and it was just as far from being truly Catholic. That it was distinctively neither the one nor the other is shown by the character of the persecutions that took place. Catholics and Protestants alike were harassed and put to death. Thus on one occasion three Catholics who denied that the king was the rightful head of the Church and three Protestants who disputed the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist were dragged on the same sled to the place of execution.

742. **Henry's Death and Character; his Work.** — Henry died in 1547. Very diverse views of his character have been held. He was admittedly meddlesome, cruel, arbitrary, and selfish. Even if the English people are indebted to him for their national independent Church, still they owe him for this no gratitude; for what he did here proceeded primarily from the most ignoble impulses and motives.

In another sphere, however, Henry accomplished a work which entitles him to the grateful remembrance of a people who pride themselves on their mastery of the sea. He had the vision to discern that England's dominion must be sought not on the European Continent but on the ocean. Hence he took a deep interest in naval affairs. At a time when the Continental sovereigns were

creating standing armies, he, as it has been put, created for England a "standing navy." He brought to perfection the sailing warship and gave it precedence over the oared vessel, which up to this time had held the chief place in the world's war navies. Thus under Henry the English navy, in the words of an eminent naval authority, "was becoming an entirely new thing, a thing the world had never seen before." The change was somewhat like that effected when the steamship replaced the sailing vessel.

743. **Literature under Henry VIII; More's *Utopia*.** — The most prominent literary figure of this period is Sir Thomas More. The work upon which his fame as a writer mainly rests is his *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," a romance like Plato's *Republic* or Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. It pictures an imaginary kingdom away on an island in the New World, then just discovered, where the laws, manners, and customs of the people were represented as being ideally perfect. It was the wretchedness of the lower classes, the religious intolerance, the despotic government of the times which inspired the *Utopia*. "No such cry of pity for the poor," says Green, "had been heard since the days of Piers Plowman." But More's was not simply such a cry of despair as was that of Langland. He saw a better future; and with a view of reforming them, pointed out the existing evils in society. He did this by telling how things were in "Nowhere," — how the houses and grounds were all inviting, the streets broad and clean; how everybody was taught to read and write, and no one obliged to work more than six hours a day; how drinking houses, brawls, and wars were unknown; how in this happy republic every person had a part in the government, and was allowed to follow what religion he chose.

In this wise way More suggested improvements in social, political, and religious matters. He did not expect, however, that Henry would follow all his suggestions, for he closes his account of the Utopians with this admission: "I confess that many things in the commonwealth of Utopia I rather *wish* than *hope* to see adopted in our own."

IV. Changes in Doctrine and Ritual under Edward VI (1547–1553)

744. Changes in the Religion. — In accordance with the provisions of a Succession Act passed in Henry's reign, his only son, Edward, succeeded him. The young king was carefully taught the doctrines of the reformers, and many changes were made in the creed and service of the English Church, which carried it farther away from the Church of Rome. It is these changes in the religion that constitute the matters most worthy of our attention.

Under the new régime all pictures and crosses were cleared from the churches; the use of tapers, holy water, and incense was discontinued; the veneration of the Virgin and the keeping of saints' days were prohibited; belief in purgatory was denounced, and prayers for the dead were interdicted; the real or bodily presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament was denied; the prohibition against the marriage of the clergy was annulled; and the services of the Church, which hitherto — save as to some portion of them during the last three years of Henry's reign — had been conducted in Latin, were ordered to be said in the language of the people.

In order that the provision last mentioned might be effectually carried out, the *English Book of Common Prayer* was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer. This book, which was in the main simply a translation of the old Latin *Missal* and *Breviary*, with the subsequent change of a word here and a passage there to keep it in accord with the growing new doctrines, is the same that is used in the Anglican Church at the present time.

In 1552 were published the famous Forty-two Articles of Religion, which formed a compendious creed of the reformed faith. These articles, reduced finally to thirty-nine, form the present standard of faith and doctrine in the Church of England.

745. Persecutions to secure Uniformity. — These sweeping changes and innovations in the old creed and in the services of the Church would have worked little hardship or wrong had only everybody, as in More's happy republic, been left free to favor

and follow what religion he would. But unfortunately it was only away in "Nowhere" that men were allowed perfect freedom of conscience and worship. The idea of toleration had not yet dawned upon the world, save in the happier moments of some such generous and wide-horizoned soul as his that conceived the *Utopia*.

By royal edict all preachers and teachers were forced to sign the Forty-two Articles; and severe laws, known as Acts for the Uniformity of Service, punished with severe penalties any departure from the forms of the new prayer book. Many persons during the reign were imprisoned for refusing to conform to the new worship; while two at least were given to the flames as "heretics and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer." Even the Princess Mary, who remained a conscientious adherent of the old faith, was harassed and persecuted because she would have the Catholic service in her own private chapel.

V. Reaction under Mary (1553–1558)

746. Accession of Mary; Reconciliation with Rome (1554). — Upon the death of Edward his sister Mary came to the throne. Soon after her accession she was married to Philip II of Spain. This marriage had been planned by Philip's father, the Emperor Charles V, in the hope that thereby England might become actually or in effect a part of the Spanish empire.

The majority of the English prelates had never in their hearts approved the recent ecclesiastical changes. Their zeal for the ancient Church, allied with Mary's, now quickly brought about the full reëstablishment of the Catholic worship throughout the realm. Parliament voted that the nation should return to its obedience to the papal see; and then the members of both Houses fell upon their knees to receive at the hands of the papal legate absolution from the sin of heresy and schism. The sincerity of their repentance was attested by their repeal of all the acts by which the new worship had been set up in the land. The joy at Rome was unbounded. The prodigal had returned to his father's house.

But not quite everything done by the reformers was undone. Parliament refused to restore the confiscated Church lands, which was very natural, as much of this property was now in the hands of the lords and commoners. Mary, however, in her zeal for the ancient faith, restored a great part of the property still in the possession of the crown, and refounded many of the ruined monasteries and abbeys.

747. **The Martyrs: Latimer and Ridley** (1555), **and Cranmer** (1556). — With the reëstablishment of the Catholic worship, the Protestants in their turn were subjected to persecution. Altogether, between two and three hundred persons suffered death during this reign on account of their religion. The three most eminent martyrs were Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. Latimer and Ridley were burned at the same stake. As the torch was applied to the fagots, the aged Latimer — he was seventy years old — encouraged his companion with these memorable words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Mary should not be judged harshly for the part she took in the persecutions that disfigured her reign. It was not her fault, but the fault of the age, that these things were done. Punishment of heresy was then regarded, by almost all Catholics and Protestants alike, as a duty which could be neglected by those in authority only at the peril of Heaven's displeasure.

VI. Final Establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth (1558–1603)

748. **The Queen.** — Elizabeth, who was twenty-five years of age when the death of Mary called her to the throne, was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. She seems to have inherited the characteristics of both parents; hence perhaps the inconsistencies of her disposition. She possessed a masculine intellect, a strong will, admirable judgment, and great political tact. It was these qualities which rendered her reign the strongest and most

illustrious in the record of England's sovereigns, and raised the nation from a position of comparative insignificance to a foremost place among the states of Europe.

Elizabeth never married, notwithstanding Parliament was constantly urging her to do so, and suitors, among whom was Philip II of Spain, were as numerous as those who sought the hand of Penelope. She declared — very late in her reign, however — that on her coronation day she was married to the English realm, and that she would have no other husband. She remained to the end the "fair Vestal throned by the West."

FIG. 134. — QUEEN ELIZABETH. (The Ermine Portrait, from the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield House)

749. Her Ministers. — One secret of the strength and popularity of Elizabeth's government was the admirable judgment she exercised in her choice of advisers. The courtiers with whom she crowded her receptions might be frivolous persons; but about her council board she gathered the wisest men of the realm. And yet Elizabeth's government was really her own. We now know that her advisers did not have as much to do with shaping the policies of the reign as was formerly believed.

The most eminent of the queen's ministers was Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), a man of great sagacity and ceaseless industry. He stood at the head of the queen's council for forty years. His son Robert, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Francis Walsingham were also prominent among the queen's advisers.

750. Reëstablishment of the Reformed Church. — As Mary undid the work in religion of Henry and Edward, so now her work was undone by Elizabeth. Elizabeth favored the reformed faith rather from policy than from conviction. It was to the Protestants alone that she could look for support; her title to the crown was denied by every true Catholic in the realm, for she was the child of that marriage which the Pope had forbidden under pain of the penalties of the Church.

The religious houses which had been refounded by Mary were again dissolved, and Parliament by the two important Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (1559) reëstablished the independence of the Church of England. The Act of Supremacy required all the clergy, and every person holding office under the crown, to take an oath declaring the queen to be the supreme governor of the realm in all spiritual as well as in all temporal things. For refusing to deny the supremacy of the Pope many Catholics during Elizabeth's reign suffered death, and many more endured within the Tower the worse horrors of the rack.

The Act of Uniformity forbade any clergyman to use any but the Anglican liturgy, and required every person to attend the Established Church on Sunday and other holy days. The persecutions which arose under this law caused many Catholics to seek freedom of worship in other countries.

751. The Protestant Nonconformists; Puritans and Separatists. — The Catholics were not the only persons among Elizabeth's subjects who were opposed to the Anglican worship. There were Protestant nonconformists — the Puritans and Separatists — who troubled her almost as much as the Catholics.

The Puritans were so named because they desired a *purer* form of worship than the Anglican. The term was applied to them in derision; but the sterling character of those thus designated at

length turned the epithet of reproach into a badge of honorable distinction. They did not withdraw from the Established Church, but remaining within its pale labored to reform it and to shape its discipline to their notions. These Puritans were destined to play a prominent part in the later affairs of England.

The Separatists were still more zealous reformers than the Puritans. In their hatred of everything that bore any resemblance to the Catholic worship, they flung away the surplice and the prayer book, severed all connection with the Established Church, and refused to have anything to do with it. Under the Act of Uniformity they were persecuted with great severity, so that multitudes were led to seek an asylum upon the Continent. It was from among these exiles gathered in Holland that a little later came the passengers of the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*, — the Pilgrim Fathers, who laid the foundations of civil liberty in the New World.

752. **Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.** — A large part of the history of Elizabeth's reign is intertwined with the story of her cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the "modern Helen," "the most beautiful, the weakest, the most attractive, and most attracted of women." She was the daughter of James V of Scotland, and to her *in right of birth* — according to all Catholics, who denied the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn — belonged the English crown next after Mary Tudor.

Upon the death, in 1560, of her husband, Francis II of France, Mary gave up life at the French court and returned to her native land. She was now in her nineteenth year. The subtle charm of her beauty seems to have bewitched all who came into her presence, save the more zealous of the reformers, who could never forget that their young sovereign was a Catholic. The stern old John Knox made her life miserable. He called her a "Moabite," and other opprobrious names, till she wept from sheer vexation.

Other things now conspired with Mary's hated religion to alienate entirely the love of her people. Her second husband, Lord Darnley, was murdered. The queen was suspected of having some guilty knowledge of the affair. She was imprisoned and forced to abdicate in favor of her infant son James.

Escaping from prison, Mary fled into England (1568). Here she threw herself upon the generosity of her cousin Elizabeth, and entreated aid in recovering her throne. But the part which she was generally believed to have had in the murder of her husband, her disturbing claims to the English throne, and the fact that she was a Catholic all conspired to determine her fate. She was placed in confinement, and for nineteen years remained a prisoner. During all this time Mary was the center of innumerable plots on the part of the Catholics, which aimed at setting her upon the English throne. The Pope, Pius V, aided these conspirators by a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their allegiance (1570). Finally a carefully laid conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne was unearthed. The Spanish king, Philip II, was implicated. He wrote, "The affair is so much in God's service that it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins be an impediment thereto."

Mary was tried for complicity in the plot, was declared guilty, and, after some hesitation, feigned or otherwise, on the part of Elizabeth, was ordered to the block (1587). Even after Elizabeth had signed the warrant for her execution she attempted to evade responsibility in the matter by causing a suggestion to be made to Mary's jailers that they should kill her secretly.

753. **The "Invincible Armada"; "Britain's Salamis"** (1588).—The execution of Mary Stuart led immediately to the memorable attempt against England by the Spanish Armada. Before her death the Queen of Scots had by will disinherited her son and bequeathed to Philip II of Spain her claims to the English crown. To enforce these rights, to avenge the death of Mary, to punish Elizabeth for aiding his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, and to deal a fatal blow to the Reformation in Europe by crushing the Protestants of England, Philip resolved upon making a tremendous effort for the conquest of the heretical island. Vast preparations were made for carrying out the project. Great fleets were gathered in the harbors of Spain, and a large army was assembled in the Netherlands to coöperate with the naval armament.

Pope Sixtus V encouraged Philip in the enterprise, which was thus rendered a sort of crusade. At last the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and thirty ships, the largest naval armament that had ever appeared upon the Atlantic, and boastfully called the "Invincible Armada," set sail from Lisbon for the Channel. The approaching danger produced a perfect fever of excitement in England. Never did Roman citizens rise more splendidly to

FIG. 135. — SPANISH AND ENGLISH WAR VESSELS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. (From an engraving)

avert some terrible peril threatening the republic than the English people now arose as a single man to defend their island realm against the revengeful project of Spain. The imminent danger served to unite all classes, the gentry and the yeomanry, Protestants and Catholics. The latter might intrigue to set a Mary Stuart on the English throne, but they were not ready to betray their land into the hands of the hated Spaniards.

On July 19, 1588, the Armada was first descried by the watchmen on the English cliffs. It swept up the Channel in the form of a great crescent, seven miles in width from tip to tip of horn. The English ships, about eighty in number, whose light structure

and swift movements, together with the superior gunnery of their sailors, gave them a great advantage over the clumsy Spanish galleons, almost immediately began to impede their advance, and for seven days incessantly harassed the Armada. One night, as the damaged fleet lay off the harbor of Calais, the English sent fire ships among the vessels, whereby a number were destroyed and a panic created among the others. A determined attack the next day by Howard, Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour inflicted a still severer loss upon the fleet.

The Spaniards, thinking now of nothing save escape, spread their sails in flight, proposing to get away by sailing northward around the British Isles. But the storms of the northern seas dashed many of the remaining ships to pieces on the Scottish and the Irish shores. Barely one third of the ships of the Armada ever reëntered the harbors whence they sailed. When intelligence of the woeful disaster was carried to the imperturbable Philip, he simply said, "God's will be done; I sent my fleet to fight against the English, not against the elements."

Well may the great fight in the Channel which shattered the Armada be called "Britain's Salamis"; for like Athens' Salamis it revealed the weakness and proclaimed the downfall of a vast despotic empire, while at the same time it disclosed the strength and announced the rise of a new free state destined to a great future. But the destruction of the Armada concerned other than purely English and Spanish interests. It marked the turning point in the great duel between Catholicism and Protestantism. It not only decided that England was to remain Protestant, but it foreshadowed the independence of the Protestant Netherlands, and assured, or at least greatly helped to assure, the future of Protestantism in Scandinavia and in North Germany.

754. **Maritime and Colonial Enterprises.** — The crippling of the naval power of Spain left England mistress of the seas. The little island realm now entered upon the most splendid period of her history. These truly were "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." The English people, stirred by recent events, seemed to burn with a feverish impatience for maritime adventure and glory. Many

a story of the daring exploits of English sea rovers during the reign of Elizabeth seems like a repetition of some tale of the old Vikings.

Especially deserving of mention among the enterprises of these stirring and romantic times are the undertakings and adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?–1618). Several expeditions were sent out by him for the purpose of making explorations and forming settlements in the New World. One of these, which explored the central coasts of North America, returned with such glowing accounts of the beauty and richness of the land visited, that, in honor of the virgin queen, it was named *Virginia*.

Raleigh attempted to establish colonies in the new land (1585–1590), but the settlements were unsuccessful. The settlers, however, when they returned home, carried back with them the tobacco plant, and introduced into England the habit of smoking it. It was at this time also that the potato, a native product of the New World, was brought to Ireland. These together with maize, or Indian corn, were the chief return the New World made to the Old for the great number of domesticated plants and grains which it received from thence.

755. The Queen's Death. — The closing days of Elizabeth's reign were to her personally dark and gloomy. She seemed to be burdened with a secret grief[8] as well as by the growing infirmities of age. She died March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign. With her ended the Tudor line of English sovereigns.

Literature of the Elizabethan Era

756. Influences Favorable to Literature. — The years covered by the reign of Elizabeth constitute one of the most momentous periods in history. It was the age when Europe was most deeply stirred by the Reformation. It was, too, a period of marvelous physical and intellectual expansion and growth. The discoveries of Columbus and others had created a New World. The Renaissance had re-created the Old World, — had revealed an unsuspected

[8] In 1601 she sent to the block her chief favorite, the Earl of Essex, who had been found guilty of treason.

treasure in the civilizations of the past. Thus everything conspired to quicken men's intellect and stimulate their imagination.

An age of such activity and achievement almost of necessity gives birth to a strong and vigorous literature. And thus is explained, in part at least, how during this period the English people — for no people of Europe felt more deeply the stir and movement of the times, nor helped more to create this same stir and movement, than the English nation — should have developed a literature of such originality and richness and strength as to make it the prized inheritance of all the world.

To make special mention of all the great writers who adorned the Elizabethan era would carry us quite beyond the limits of our book. Having said something of the influence under which they wrote, we will simply add that this age was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon.[4]

Selections from the Sources. — MORE'S *Utopia* is the choicest literary product of the early revival of learning in England. The student should not fail to read it carefully. It lights up at once the social, the political, and the religious world of the time (cf. sec. 743). For a great variety of illustrative material, turn to ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 213–326; HENDERSON, *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 1–32; and KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. viii–x. In PAYNE, *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen* (First Series, Oxford, 1893), read "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake," pp. 196–229. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 135–152 and 186–193.

Secondary Works. — SEEBOHM, F., *The Oxford Reformers*. A volume of rare freshness and charm on the fellow-work and influence of the Oxford reformers, — Colet, Erasmus, and More. *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, chap. xiv. GREEN, J. R., *Short History of the English People*, chaps. vi and vii. FROUDE, J. A., *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century* and *The Spanish Story of the Armada*. GASQUET, F. A., *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 2 vols., and *The Eve of the Reformation*. These are the works of an eminent Catholic scholar. CREIGHTON, M., *Queen Elizabeth* and *Cardinal Wolsey*. BEESLY, E. S., *Queen Elizabeth*. For concise narrations of the events dealt with in this chapter, see GARDINER'S, MONTGOMERY'S, TERRY'S, COMAN and KENDALL'S, ANDREWS', and CHEYNEY'S text-books on English history. And for biographical information, turn to the excellent articles in the English *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Topic for Class Report. — Sir Thomas More and his romance *Utopia*.

[4] William Shakespeare (1564–1616); Edmund Spenser (1552?–1599); Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Shakespeare and Bacon, it will be noticed, outlived Elizabeth.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS: RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

(1572–1609)

757. The Country. — The name Netherlands (lowlands) was formerly applied to all that district in the northwest of Europe, much of it sunk below the level of the sea, now occupied by the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium. A large part of this region is simply the delta accumulations of the Rhine and other rivers emptying into the North Sea. Originally it was often overflowed by its streams and inundated by the ocean.

But this unpromising morass, protected at last by heavy dikes seaward against the invasions of the ocean, and by great embankments inland against the overflow of its streams, was destined to become the site of the most potent cities of Europe, and the seat of one of the foremost commonwealths of modern times. No country in Europe made greater progress in civilization during the mediæval era than the Netherlands. At the opening of the sixteenth century they contained a crowded and busy population of three million souls. The ancient marshes had been transformed into carefully kept gardens and orchards. The walled cities numbered between two and three hundred. Antwerp rivaled even the greatest of the Italian cities. "I was sad when I saw Antwerp," writes a Venetian ambassador, "for I saw Venice surpassed."

758. The Low Countries under Charles V (1515–1555). — The Netherlands were part of those possessions over which the Emperor Charles V ruled by hereditary right. Towards the close of his reign he set up here the Inquisition with the object of suppressing the heresy of the reformers. Many persons perished at the stake and upon the scaffold, or were strangled, or buried

alive.[1] But when Charles retired to the monastery at Yuste the reformed doctrines were, notwithstanding all his efforts, far more widely spread and deeply rooted in the Netherlands than when he entered upon their extirpation by fire and sword.

759. Accession of Philip II. — In 1555, in the presence of an august and princely assembly at Brussels, Charles V abdicated the crown whose weight he could no longer bear, and placed it upon the head of his son Philip. What sort of man this son was we have already learned (sec. 723).

Philip remained in the Netherlands four years, employing much of his time in devising means to root out the heresy of Protestantism. In 1559 he set sail for Spain, never to return. His arrival in the peninsula was celebrated by an *auto de fe* at Valladolid, festivities which ended in the burning of thirteen persons whom the Inquisition had condemned as heretics. It was not delight at the sight of suffering that led Philip on his home-coming to be a spectator at these awful solemnities. He doubtless wished through his presence to give sanction to the work of the Holy Office, and to impress all with the fact that unity of religion in Spain, as the necessary basis of peace and unity in the state, would be maintained by him at any and every cost.

760. "Long live the Beggars!" — Upon his departure from the Netherlands, Philip intrusted the government to his half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, as regent. Under the administration of Margaret (1559–1567) the persecution of the Protestants went on with renewed bitterness. At last the nobles leagued together and resolved to petition the regent for a redress of grievances. When the duchess learned that the petitioners were about to wait upon her, she displayed great agitation. Thereupon one of her councilors exclaimed, "What, madam! afraid of these beggars?"

The expression was carried to the nobles, who were assembled at a banquet. Straightway one of their number suspended a beggar's

[1] Charles' persecutions covered the years from 1521 to 1555. The number of martyrs during these years has been greatly exaggerated; it was put as high as one hundred thousand by the celebrated Dutch jurist, Grotius (d. 1645). Blok believes the number actually suffering the death penalty was less than one thousand. See his *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. ii, p. 317.

wallet from his neck and, filling a wooden bowl with wine, proposed the toast, "Long live the beggars!" The name was tumultuously adopted and became the party designation of the patriot Netherlanders during their long struggle with the Spanish power.

761. The Iconoclasts (1566). — The only reply of the government to the petition of the nobles for a mitigation of the severity of the edicts concerning heresy was a decree termed the Moderation, which substituted hanging for burning in the case of condemned heretics.

The pent-up indignation of the people at length burst forth in uncontrollable fury. They gathered in great mobs and proceeded to demolish every image they could find in the churches throughout the country. The monasteries, too, were sacked, their libraries burned, and the inmates driven from their cloisters. The tempest destroyed innumerable art treasures, which have been as sincerely mourned by the lovers of the beautiful as the burned rolls of the Alexandrian library have been lamented by the lovers of learning.

762. The Duke of Alva and the "Council of Blood" (1567). — The year following this outbreak Philip sent to the Netherlands a veteran Spanish army, "one of the most perfect engines of war ever seen in any age," headed by the Duke of Alva, a man after Philip's own heart, deceitful, fanatical, and merciless.

Alva was one of the ablest generals of the age, and the intelligence of his coming threw the provinces into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. Those who could do so hastened to get out of the country. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, one of the leading noblemen of the Lowlands, fled to Germany, where he began to gather an army of volunteers for the struggle which he now saw to be inevitable.

Egmont and Hoorn, Catholic noblemen [2] of high rank and great distinction, were treacherously seized, cast into prison, and soon afterwards beheaded. The duchess was relieved of the government, which was committed to the firmer hands of Alva, who, to

[2] Many Catholics sympathized at first with the Protestants and acted with them, because they felt that Philip's acts were in direct violation of the chartered rights and privileges of the cities and provinces of the Netherlands.

aid him in the management of affairs, organized a most iniquitous tribunal, known in history as the "Council of Blood."

The Inquisition was now reëstablished, and a perfect reign of terror began. The number of Alva's victims during his short rule — he is said to have boasted that he had put to death over eighteen thousand — might almost persuade us that he had deliberately purposed the extermination of the people of the Netherlands.

763. William of Orange (the Silent). — The eyes of all patriot Netherlanders were now turned to the Prince of Orange as their only deliverer. The prince was a deeply religious man, and believed himself called of Heaven to the work of rescuing his country from Spanish tyranny. Up to this time he had been a Catholic, having been brought up as a page in the household of the Emperor Charles V. He now embraced Protestantism; but both as a Catholic and as a Protestant he opposed persecution on account of religious belief.

FIG. 136. — WILLIAM OF ORANGE (THE SILENT). (After a painting by *Mierevelt*, Amsterdam)

William of Orange, like our own Washington, was a statesman rather than a soldier; yet even as a leader in war he evinced talent of a high order. The Spanish armies were commanded successively by the most experienced and distinguished generals of Europe; but the prince coped ably with them all, and in the masterly service which he rendered his country earned the title of "the Founder of Dutch Liberties."

764. The Capture of Briel (1572); the Beginning of the Sea Power of the Dutch. — It was the nature of their country, half land, half water, which enabled the Dutch to make such a

prolonged and finally successful resistance to the power of Spain. The Dutch triumphed because the sea helped them. The influence that this element was to exert upon the struggle was foreshadowed early in the conflict by a celebrated exploit of Dutch seamen.

The circumstances of this exploit were these. Almost at the outset of the war the Prince of Orange had commissioned some sailors as privateers to prey upon Spanish ships and to harass the coast towns which favored the enemy. Soon the sea was swarming with these privateers, — Water Beggars, they were called, — who, out of reach of restraint, became veritable freebooters, and revived the days and emulated the deeds of the Saxon corsairs who a thousand years before had put out from these same or neighboring creeks and lagoons.

One day a squadron of twenty or more ships of these buccaneers made a descent upon the port of Briel (or Brill) in Holland, seized the place, and held it for the Prince of Orange. It was a small affair in itself, somewhat like the affair at Lexington in the American Revolution, but it stirred wonderfully the people of the Lowlands. Straightway other places opened their gates to the Water Beggars, and thus the rebellion speedily gained a secure basis for regular naval operations. It was the real beginning of the great sea power of the future Dutch Republic, which for two hundred years was to be a potent force in history.

Having now gained some idea of the causes of the revolt and the nature of the struggle, we must hurry on to the issue of the matter. In so doing we shall pass unnoticed many sieges and battles, negotiations and treaties.[8]

765. **"The Spanish Fury"; the Pacification of Ghent** (1576). — The year 1576 was marked by a revolt of the Spanish soldiers on account of their not receiving their pay, the costly war having drained Philip's treasury. The mutinous army marched through the land, pillaging city after city and paying themselves with the spoils. The beautiful city of Antwerp was ruined. The atrocities

[8] Read in Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* the siege and sack of Haarlem and the relief of Leyden.

committed by the frenzied soldiers caused the outbreak to be called the "Spanish Fury."

The terrible state of affairs led to an alliance between Holland and Zealand and the other fifteen provinces of the Netherlands, known in history as the Pacification of Ghent (1576). The resistance to the Spanish crown had thus far been carried on without concerted action among the several states.

766. The Union of Utrecht (1579). — With the Spanish forces under the lead first of Don John of Austria, the hero victor of Lepanto (sec. 725), and afterwards of Prince Alexander of Parma, a commander of most distinguished ability, the war now went on with increased vigor, fortune, with many vacillations, inclining to the side of the Spaniards. Disaffection arose among the Netherlanders, the outcome of which was the separation of the northern and southern provinces. The seven Protestant states of the North, the chief of which were Holland and Zealand, by the Treaty of Utrecht (1579), drew together in a permanent confederation, known as the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange as stadtholder. In this league was laid the foundation of the renowned Dutch Republic.

The ten Catholic provinces of the South, although they continued their contest with Philip a little longer, ultimately submitted to Spanish tyranny. Portions of these provinces were eventually absorbed by France, while the remainder after varied fortunes finally became the present kingdom of Belgium. With their history we shall have no further concern at present, but turn now to follow the fortunes of the rising republic of the North.

767. The "Ban" and the "Apology" (1580–1581). — William of Orange was, of course, the animating spirit of the confederacy formed by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the eyes of Philip and his viceroys he appeared the sole obstacle in the way of the pacification of the provinces and their return to obedience. In vain had Philip sent against him the ablest and most distinguished commanders of the age; in vain had he endeavored to detach him from the cause of his country by magnificent bribes of titles, offices, and fortune.

Philip now resolved to employ public assassination[4] for the removal of the invincible general and the incorruptible patriot. He published a ban against the prince, declaring him an outlaw and "the chief disturber of all Christendom and especially of these Netherlands," and offering any one who would deliver him into his hands "dead or alive" pardon for any crime he might have committed, a title of nobility, and twenty-five thousand crowns in gold or in lands.

The prince responded to the infamous edict by a remarkable paper entitled "The Apology of the Prince of Orange," the most terrible arraignment of tyranny that was ever penned. The "Apology" was scattered throughout Europe, and everywhere produced a profound impression.

768. **The Declaration of Independence** (July 26, 1581). — The United Provinces had not yet formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish crown. They now deposed Philip as their sovereign, broke in pieces his seal, and put forth to the world their memorable Declaration of Independence, a document as sacred to the Dutch as the Declaration of 1776 is to Americans.

The preamble contains these words: "Whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects, to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them; [therefore] when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer

[4] We use the expression "public assassination" in order to indicate a change in Philip's methods. He had all along tried to get rid of the prince by private or secret assassination. Now his edict of outlawry makes the proposed assassination avowedly a public or governmental affair. To comprehend this proceeding we must bear in mind that in the sixteenth century assassination was not looked upon with that utter abhorrence with which we rightly regard it; in the language of the historian Lingard, it was then "one of the recognized weapons of constitutional power." In the petty states of Italy it was a weapon resorted to almost universally, and seemingly without any compunctions of conscience, and even in the North many of the rulers at one time and another had recourse to it. Compare secs. 752, 777, and 788.

a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects . . . may not only disallow his authority but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defense."

This language was a wholly new dialect to the ears of Philip and of princes like him. They had never heard anything like it before uttered in such tones by a whole people. But it was a language destined to spread wonderfully and to become very common. We shall hear it often enough a little later in the era of the Political Revolution. It will become familiar speech in England, in America, in France, — almost everywhere.

769. **Assassination of the Prince of Orange.** — "The ban soon bore fruit." Upon the 10th day of July, 1584, after five previous unsuccessful attempts had been made upon his life, the Prince of Orange was fatally shot by an assassin named Balthasar Gérard. Philip approved the murder as "an exploit of supreme value to Christendom." The murderer was put to death with hideous torture, but his heirs received the promised reward, being endowed with certain of the estates of the prince and honored by elevation to the rank of the Spanish nobility.

770. **Progress of the War; the Truce of 1609.** — Severe as was the blow sustained by the Dutch patriots in the death of the Prince of Orange, they did not lose heart, but continued the struggle with the most admirable courage and steadfastness. Prince Maurice, a mere youth of seventeen years, the second son of William, was chosen stadtholder in his place, and he proved himself a worthy son of the great chief and patriot.

The war now went on with unabated fury. France as well as England became involved, both fighting against Philip, who was now laying claims to the crowns of both countries. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 marked the turning point of the struggle, yet not the end of it. Europe finally grew weary of the seemingly interminable struggle,[5] and the Spanish commanders becoming convinced that it was impossible to reduce the Dutch rebels to obedience by force of arms, negotiations were entered

[5] In 1598 peace was made between Spain and France, and then in 1604 between Spain and England.

into which issued in the celebrated Truce of 1609. This truce was in reality an acknowledgment by Spain of the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, although the Spanish king was so unwilling to admit the fact of his inability to reduce the rebel states to submission that the treaty was termed simply "a truce for twelve years." Spain did not formally acknowledge their independence until forty years afterwards, in the Peace of Westphalia, at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648).

771. **Influence of the Establishment of the Dutch Republic upon both the Religious and the Political Revolution.** — The successful issue of the revolt in the Netherlands meant much for the cause of the reformers. The Protestant Lowlands formed a sort of strategic point in the great fight between Catholicism and Protestantism. The loss of this ground might have proved fatal to the Protestant cause.

The establishment of the Dutch Republic had also great significance for the Political Revolution. In the seventeenth century it was Holland that was the foremost champion of the cause of political freedom against Bourbon despotism. It was a worthy descendant of William the Silent who, at one of the most critical moments of English history, when Englishmen were struggling doubtfully against Stuart tyranny, came to their help and rescued English liberties from the peril in which they lay (sec. 845).

Selections from the Sources. — *Old South Leaflets*, No. 72, "The Dutch Declaration of Independence"; No. 69, "The Description of the New Netherlands." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 171–179.

Secondary Works. — MOTLEY, J. L., *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols., and *History of the United Netherlands*, 4 vols. These histories by Motley are classical, but they lack in judicial spirit. They should be read in connection with BLOK, J. P., *History of the People of the Netherlands*, 3 vols. YOUNG, A., *History of the Netherlands*. HARRISON, F., *William the Silent*. PUTNAM, R., *William the Silent*, 2 vols. For New Netherlands, consult FISKE, J., *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The protective waterworks of the Low Countries. 2. How William of Orange acquired his title of "the Silent." 3. The siege and relief of Leyden. 4. The New Netherlands.

CHAPTER LIX

THE HUGUENOT WARS IN FRANCE

(1562–1629)

772. The Reformation in France. — Before Luther posted his ninety-five theses at Wittenberg there had appeared in the University of Paris and elsewhere in France men who from the study of the Scriptures had come to entertain opinions very like those of the German reformer. The movement thus begun received a fresh impulse from the uprising in Germany under Luther. The new doctrines found adherents especially among the lesser nobility and the burgher class, and struck deep root in the south, — the region of the old Albigensian heresy.

773. King Francis II, Catherine de' Medici, and the Guises. — The Valois[1] king, Francis II, began his reign in 1559. His wife was the young and fascinating Mary Stuart of Scotland. Francis was a weak-minded boy of sixteen years. The power behind the throne was the chiefs of the family of the Guises, who were zealous Catholics, and the king's mother, Catherine de' Medici.

Catherine was an Italian. She seems to have been almost or quite destitute of religious convictions of any kind. She was determined to rule, and this she did by holding the balance of power between the two religious parties. When it suited her purpose, she favored the Protestants; and when it suited her purpose better, she favored the Catholics. Through her counsels and policies she contributed largely to make France wretched through the reigns of her three sons, and to bring her house to a miserable end.

774. The Huguenot[2] Leaders: the Bourbon Princes and Admiral Coligny. — Opposed to the Guises were the Bourbon princes,

[1] The Valois kings (compare sec. 641, n. 9) of the sixteenth century were Louis XII (1498–1515), Francis I (1515–1547), Henry II (1547–1559), Francis II (1559–1560), Charles IX (1560–1574), and Henry III (1574–1589). Henry IV, the successor of Henry III, was the first of the Bourbons.

[2] This word is probably from the German *Eidgenossen*, meaning "oath comrades."

Antony, king of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé. Next after the brothers of Francis II, they were heirs to the French throne.

Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, was "the military hero of the French Reformation." Early in life he had embraced the doctrines of the reformers, and remained to the last the trusted and consistent, though ill-starred, champion of the Protestants. His is the most heroic figure that emerges from the unutterable confusion of the times.

The foregoing notice of parties and their chiefs will suffice to render intelligible the events which we have now to narrate.

775. **The Massacre of Vassy** (1562). — After the short reign of Francis II (1559–1560) his brother Charles came to the throne as Charles IX. He was only ten years of age, so the queen mother assumed the government in his name. Pursuing her favorite maxim to rule by setting one party as a counterpoise to the other, she gave the Bourbon princes a place in the government, and also by a royal edict gave the Huguenots a limited toleration and forbade their further persecution.

It was the violation by the adherents of the Duke of Guise of this edict of toleration that finally caused the growing animosities of the two parties to break out in civil war. While passing through the country with a body of armed attendants, at a small place called Vassy the duke came upon a company of Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. His retainers first insulted and then attacked them, killing about forty of the company and wounding many more.

Under the lead of Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, the Huguenots now rose throughout France. Philip II of Spain sent an army to aid the Catholics, while Elizabeth of England extended help to the Huguenots. For the lifetime of a generation France was distressed, almost without respite, by bitter internecine strife.

776. **The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day** (August 24, 1572). — Eight years after the massacre of Vassy, Catherine de' Medici, as a means of cementing a treaty which had been arranged between the two parties, proposed that the Princess Margaret,

the sister of Charles IX, should be given in marriage to Henry of Bourbon, the new young king of Navarre. The announcement of the proposed alliance caused great rejoicing among Catholics and Protestants alike, and the chiefs of both parties crowded to Paris to attend the wedding.

Before the festivities which followed the nuptial ceremonies were over, the world was shocked by one of the most awful crimes recorded in history, — the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day. The circumstances which led to this fearful tragedy were these. Among the Protestant nobles who came up to Paris to attend the wedding was Admiral Coligny. Jealous of his influence over her son, Catherine resolved upon the death of the admiral. The attempt miscarried, Coligny receiving only a slight wound from the assassin's ball. The Huguenots rallied about their wounded chief with loud threats of revenge. Catherine, driven on by insane fear, now determined upon the death of all the Huguenots in Paris as the only measure of safety. By the 23d of August the plans for the massacre were all arranged. On the evening of that day Catherine went to her son and represented to him that the Huguenots had formed a plot for the assassination of the royal family and the leaders of the Catholic party, and that the utter ruin of their house and cause could be averted only by the immediate destruction of the Protestants within the city walls. The order for the massacre was then laid before him for his signature. The weak-minded king shrank in terror from the deed, and at first refused to sign the decree; but overcome at last by the representations of his mother, he exclaimed, "I consent, provided not one Huguenot be left alive in France to reproach me with the deed."

A little past the hour of midnight on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572), at a preconcerted signal, — the tolling of a bell, — the massacre began. Coligny was one of the first victims. For three days and nights the massacre went on within the city. The number of victims in Paris is variously estimated at from one thousand to ten thousand. With the capital cleared of Huguenots, orders were issued to the principal cities of France to purge

themselves in like manner of heretics. In many places the decree was disobeyed; but in others the orders were carried out, and frightful massacres took place. The number of victims throughout the country is unknown; estimates differ widely, running from two thousand to a hundred thousand.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day raised a cry of execration in almost every part of the civilized world, among Catholics and Protestants alike. Philip II, however, is said to have received the news with unfeigned joy; while Pope Gregory XIII caused a *Te Deum*, in commemoration of the event, to be sung in the church of St. Mark in Rome. Respecting this it should in justice be said that Catholic writers maintain that the Pope acted under a misconception of the facts, it having been represented to him that the massacre resulted from a thwarted plot of the Huguenots against the royal family of France and the Catholic Church.

777. **Reign of Henry III** (1574–1589). — Instead of exterminating heresy in France, the massacre only served to rouse the Huguenots to a more determined defense of their faith. Throughout the last two years of the reign of Charles IX and the fifteen succeeding years of the reign of his brother Henry III the country was in a state of turmoil and war. Finally, in 1589, the king, who jealous of the growing power and popularity of the Duke of Guise had caused him to be assassinated, was himself struck down by the avenging dagger of a Dominican monk. With him ended the House of Valois.

778. **Accession of Henry IV** (1589). — Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, who for many years had been the most prominent leader of the Huguenots, now came to the throne as the first of the Bourbon kings. His accession lifted into prominence one of the most celebrated royal houses in European history. The political story of France, and indeed of Europe, from this time on to the French Revolution, and for some time after that, is in great part the story of the House of Bourbon.

Henry did not secure without a struggle the crown that was his by right. The nation, still mainly Catholic, was not ready to acquiesce in the accession to the French throne of a Protestant

prince. The Catholics declared for Cardinal Bourbon, Henry's uncle, and France was thus kept in the whirl of civil war.

779. **Henry turns Catholic** (1593). — After the war had gone on for about four years the quarrel was closed, for the time being, by Henry's becoming a Catholic. Mingled motives led Henry to do this. He was personally liked, even by the Catholic chiefs, and he was well aware that it was only his Huguenot faith that prevented their being his hearty supporters. Hence duty and policy seemed to concur in urging him to remove the sole obstacle in the way of their ready loyalty, and thus to bring peace and quiet to distracted France.

780. **The Edict of Nantes** (1598). — As soon as Henry had become the fully acknowledged king of France, he gave himself to the work of composing the affairs of his kingdom. The most noteworthy of the measures he adopted to this end was the publication of the celebrated Edict of Nantes (April 13, 1598). By this decree the Huguenots were secured perfect freedom of conscience and practical freedom of worship. All public offices and employments were opened to them the same as to Catholics. Moreover, they were allowed to retain possession of a number of fortified towns as pledges of good faith and as places of defense. Among these places was the important city of La Rochelle.

The granting of this edict is memorable for the reason that it was the first formal recognition by a great European state of the principle of religious toleration and equality. Here, for the first time since the triumph of Christianity over paganism in the Roman Empire, a great nation makes a serious effort to try to get along with two creeds in the state. It was almost a century before even England went as far in the way of granting freedom of conscience and of worship.

781. **Character of Henry IV's Reign; his Plans and Death.** — With the temporary hushing of the long-continued quarrels of the Catholics and Protestants, France entered upon such a period of prosperity as she had not known for many years. Henry's paternal solicitude for his humblest subjects secured for him the title of Father of his People. In devising and carrying

out his measures of reform, the king was aided by one of the most prudent and sagacious advisers that ever strengthened the hands of a prince, — the illustrious Duke of Sully (1560–1641).

Towards the close of his reign Henry, feeling strong in his resources and secure in his power, began to revolve in his mind vast projects for the aggrandizement of France and the weakening of her old enemy, the House of Hapsburg, in both its branches.[8] He was making great preparations for war, when the dagger of a fanatic named Ravaillac cut short his life and plans (1610).

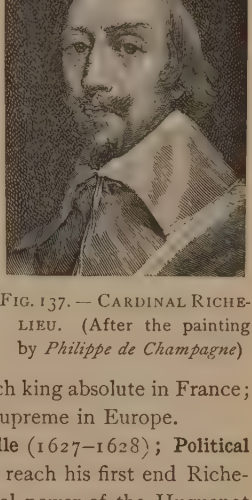


FIG. 137. — CARDINAL RICHELIEU. (After the painting by *Philippe de Champagne*)

782. Louis XIII (1610–1643); Cardinal Richelieu and his Policy. — The reign of Henry's son and successor, Louis XIII, was rendered notable by the ability of his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), the Wolsey of France, one of the most remarkable characters of the seventeenth century. For the space of eighteen years this ecclesiastic was the actual sovereign of France, and swayed the destinies not only of that country but, it might almost be said, those of Europe as well.

Richelieu's policy was twofold: first, to render the authority of the French king absolute in France; second, to make the power of France supreme in Europe.

783. Siege and Capture of La Rochelle (1627–1628); Political Power of the Huguenots broken. — To reach his first end Richelieu resolved to break down the political power of the Huguenot chiefs, who, "Protestants first and Frenchmen afterwards," were constantly challenging the royal authority and threatening the

[8] In connection with his designs against the House of Hapsburg, Henry is represented in Sully's *Memoirs* as having had in mind a most magnificent scheme, — the organization of all the Christian states of Europe into a great confederation or commonwealth, and the abolition of war by the creation of an international peace tribunal. This scheme is known as the "Grand Design."

dismemberment of France. Accordingly he led in person an army to the siege of La Rochelle, which the Huguenots were planning to make the capital of an independent Protestant commonwealth. After a gallant resistance of more than a year the city was compelled to open its gates (1628).

The Huguenots maintained the struggle a few months longer in the south of France, but were finally everywhere reduced to submission. The result of the war was the complete destruction of the political power of the French Protestants. A treaty of peace called the Edict of Grace (1629) left them, however, freedom of worship, according to the provisions of the Edict of Nantes. This treaty properly marks the close of the religious wars which had now distressed France, intermittently, for two generations.

784. Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War. — When Cardinal Richelieu came to the head of affairs in France there was going on in Germany the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Although Richelieu had just crushed French Protestantism, he now gave assistance to the Protestant German princes because their success meant the division of Germany and the humiliation of Austria. Richelieu did not live to see the end either of the Thirty Years' War or of that which he had begun with Spain; but his policy, carried out by others, finally resulted, as we shall learn hereafter, in the humiliation of both branches of the House of Hapsburg and the lifting of France to the first place among the powers of Europe.

Selections from the Sources. — DUKE OF SULLY, *Memoirs* (Bohn). For a short account of the contents of this work, consult *Historical Sources in Schools* (Report to the New England History Teachers' Association, pp. 99–102). *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iii, No. 3, extracts under "The Reformation in France." ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 179–185.

Secondary Works. — BAIRD, H. M., *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre* and *Theodore Beza*. BESANT, W., *Gaspard de Coligny*. WILLERT, P. F., *Henry of Navarre*. HASSALL, A., *The French People*, chaps. x and xi. LODGE, R., *Richelieu*. PARKMAN, F., *Pioneers of France in the New World*; for the Huguenots in Florida and Brazil, and Champlain and his associates. See also FISKE, J., *New England and New France*, chaps. i–iii.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Catherine de' Medici. 2. Admiral Coligny and his project of French settlements in Brazil and Florida. 3. The Duke of Sully. 4. The "Grand Design."

CHAPTER LX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

(1618–1648)

785. Nature and Causes of the War. — The long and calamitous Thirty Years' War was the last great combat between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe. It started as a struggle between the Protestant and Catholic princes of Germany, but gradually involved almost all the states of the continent, degenerating at last into a shameful and heartless struggle for power and territory.

The real cause of the war was the enmity existing between the German Protestants and Catholics. But if a more specific cause be sought, it will be found in the character of the articles of the celebrated Religious Peace of Augsburg (sec. 721). The Catholics and Protestants did not interpret alike the provisions of that compromise treaty. Each party by its encroachments gave the other occasion for complaint. The Protestants at length formed for their mutual protection a league called the Evangelical Union (1608). In opposition to the Union, the Catholics formed a confederation known as the Holy League (1609). All Germany was thus prepared to burst into the flames of a religious war.

786. The Bohemian Period of the War (1618–1623). — The flames that were to desolate Germany for a generation were first kindled in Bohemia, where were still smoldering embers of the Hussite wars, which two centuries before had desolated that land (sec. 659). The Protestants there rose in revolt against their Catholic king, Ferdinand,[1] elected a new Protestant king,[2] and drove out the Jesuits. The war had scarcely opened when, the imperial office falling vacant, Ferdinand was elected Emperor.

[1] Ferdinand was the head of the House of Hapsburg, which family had long held the throne of Bohemia. After his election to the imperial office, mentioned a little farther on in the text, his title became Emperor Ferdinand II (1619–1637).

[2] Frederick V, Elector Palatine, son-in-law of James I of England.

With the power he now wielded, together with the help he received from the Catholic League, it was not a difficult matter for him to quell the Protestant insurrection in his royal dominions. The leaders of the revolt were executed and the reformed faith in Bohemia was almost uprooted.

787. **The Danish Period** (1625–1629). — The situation of affairs at this moment in Germany, with a zealous and powerful Catholic, inclined and prepared to follow in the footsteps of Charles V, at the head of the Germanic body, filled not only the Protestant princes of Germany but all the Protestant powers of the North with the greatest alarm. Christian IV, king of Denmark, supported by England and the Dutch Netherlands, threw himself into the struggle as the champion of German Protestantism. What is known as the Danish period of the war now begins (1625).

The war, in the main, proved disastrous to the Protestant allies,[3] and Christian IV was finally constrained to make peace with the Emperor (Peace of Lübeck, 1629) and retire from the struggle.

788. **The Swedish Period** (1630–1635): **Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly — and Wallenstein again.** — At this moment of seeming triumph Ferdinand was impelled by rising discontent and jealousies to dismiss from his service his most efficient general, Wallenstein. Only a few months before this, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, with a veteran and enthusiastic army of sixteen thousand Swedes, had appeared in North Germany as the champion of the dispirited and leaderless Protestants. Various motives had concurred in leading him thus to intervene in the struggle. He was urged to this course by his strong Protestant convictions and sympathies. Furthermore, the progress of the imperial arms in North Germany was imperiling Swedish interests in the Baltic, and threatening to establish the supremacy of the Austrian Hapsburgs over what was regarded by the sovereigns of Sweden as a Swedish lake.

The Protestant princes' jealousy and distrust of the Swede Gustavus now contributed to a most terrible disaster. At this

[3] Among the important episodes of the war were the defeat of the king of Denmark by Tilly at Lutter (1626), and the unsuccessful siege of Stralsund by Wallenstein (1628).

moment Tilly, leader of the forces of the Holy League, was besieging the Protestant city of Magdeburg. But the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, from whom the city should have received help, would not, or at least did not, coöperate with Gustavus in raising the siege. In a short time the city was taken by storm and given up to sack and pillage. Thousands of the inhabitants perished miserably. Tilly wrote to Ferdinand that since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem such a victory had never been seen.

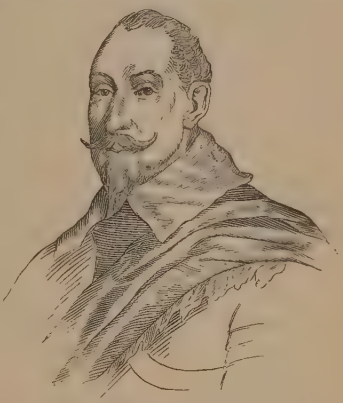


FIG. 138.—GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. (From a painting by *Vandyke*)

The cruel fate of Magdeburg excited the alarm of the Protestant princes. The Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony now united their forces with those of the Swedish king. Tilly was twice defeated, and in his last battle fatally wounded (1632). In the death of Tilly, Ferdinand lost his most trustworthy general.

The imperial cause appeared desperate. There was but one man in Germany who could turn the tide of victory that was running so strongly in favor of the Swedish monarch. That man was Wallenstein, and to him the Emperor now turned. Wallenstein agreed to raise an army, provided his control of it should be absolute. Ferdinand was constrained to grant all that his old general demanded. Wallenstein now raised his standard, to which rallied the adventurers not only of Germany but of all Europe as well.

With an army of forty thousand men obedient to his commands, Wallenstein risked a battle with the Swedes on the memorable field of Lützen, in Saxony. The Swedes won the day, but lost their leader and sovereign (1632).

We may sum up the results of Gustavus Adolphus' intervention in the Thirty Years' War in these words of the historian Gindely: "He averted the overthrow with which Protestantism was threatened in Germany."

Notwithstanding the death of their great king and commander, the Swedes did not withdraw from the war. Hence the struggle went on, the advantage being for the most part with the Protestant allies. Ferdinand, at just this time, was embarrassed by the suspicious movements of his general, Wallenstein. Becoming convinced that he was meditating the betrayal of the imperial cause, the Emperor caused him to be assassinated (1634). This event marks very nearly the end of the Swedish period of the war.

789. **The Swedish-French Period** (1635–1648). — Had it not been for the selfish and ambitious interference of France, the woeful war which had now desolated Germany for half a generation might here have come to an end, for both sides were weary of it. But Richelieu was not willing that the war should end until the House of Austria was completely humbled. Accordingly he encouraged the Swedish chancellor Oxenstiern, as he had Gustavus, to carry on the war, promising him the aid of the French armies.

The war thus lost in large part its original character of a contention between the Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany, and became a political struggle between the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, in which the former was fighting for existence, the latter for national aggrandizement.

And so the miserable war went on year after year. It had become a heartless and conscienceless struggle for spoils. The Swedes fought to fasten their hold upon the mouths of the German rivers, the French to secure a grasp upon the Rhine lands. The earlier actors in the drama at length passed from the scene, but their parts were carried on by others.

790. **The Peace of Westphalia** (1648). — The war was finally ended by the celebrated Peace of Westphalia. The chief articles of this important peace may be made to fall under two heads, — those relating to territorial boundaries and those respecting religion.

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Glasgow
Newcastle
Carlisle
Preston
York
ENGLAND
Liverpool
Manchester
Worcester
Oxford
Bristol
London
Portsmouth
Plymouth
Gloucester
Heligoland
NORWAY
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiansand
Skagerrak
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Calmar
Gothland
Stockholm
Upsala
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Arnheim
Groningen
Hamburg
Bremen
Lubeck
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Berlin
Potsdam
Posen
Breslau
Dresden
Leipsic
Cassel
Frankfurt
Cologne
Mark
Clutterland
Westphalia
Hesse
Horshat
Trier
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Bavaria
Prague
Bohemia
Munich
Vienna
Austria
Salzburg
Tyrol
Switzerland
Bern
Geneva
Lyons
Savoy
Turin
Milan
Parma
Venice
Ferrara
Florence
Tuscany
Ancona
Spalato
(To Venice)
Rome
Naples
Bari
Otranto
Sardinia
(To Spain)
Cagliari
Corsica
(To Genoa)
Bastia
Ajaccio
Sicily
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Palermo
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Reggio
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Bona
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Ceuta
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Tangier
(To Portugal)
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Malaga
Seville
Granada
Cartagena
Gibraltar
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
Barcelona
Tarragona
Madrid
Lisbon
Portugal
SPAIN
Toledo
Talavera
Almaraz
Cordova
Salamanca
Zamora
Valladolid
Leon
Vampluna
Santander
Corunna
St. Sebastian
Bordeaux
Bay of Biscay
La Rochelle
Nantes
Brest
St. Germain
Paris
Rouen
Rocroi
Amiens
Orleans
Richelieu
Bourges
Poitiers
Montpensier
Dijon
Besançon
Lyons
Toulouse
Montauban
Pau
Orange
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Roussillon
Languedoc
Guienne
Gascony
FRANCE
Channel
Guernsey
Jersey
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea
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after the
PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
1648
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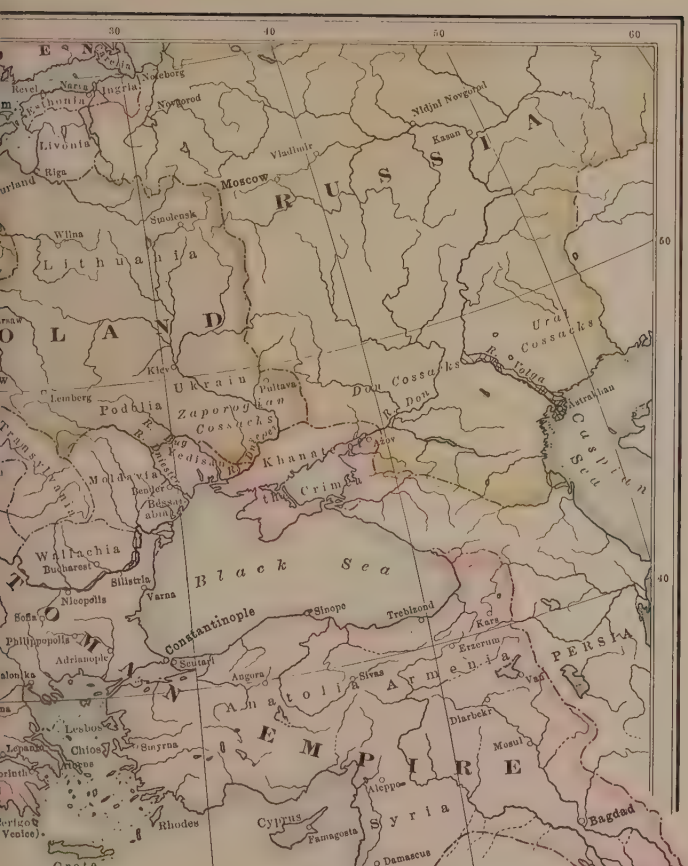
Scale of Miles.
Longitude West 0
Longitude East 10 from Greenwich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Nidjni Novgorod
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RUSSIA
Smolensk
Wilna
Lithuania
Kiev
Ukrain
Poltava
Don Cossacks
Ural Cossacks
Astrakan
Caspian Sea
Podolia
Zaporogian Cossacks
Khana
Crimea
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Wallachia
Bucharest
Silistria
Black Sea
Varna
Nicopolis
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
Trebisond
Kars
Erzerum
Persia
Scutari
Angora
Sivas
Armenia
Van
Amatolia
Diarbekir
Mosul
Lesbos
Chios
Smyrna
Aleppo
Cyprus
Famagosta
Syria
Bagdad
Rhodes
Damascus
Crete
(To Venice)
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Damietta
Alexandria
Egypt
Suez
Cairo
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As to the first, these cut short in three directions the actual or nominal limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were severed from it; for though both of these countries had been for a long time practically independent of the Empire, this independence had never been acknowledged in any formal way. France gained lands which gave her a foothold on the Rhine and an open door into Germany, — a door which remained open until 1871, when Germany pushed France back from the river and closed and safeguarded the door.

Sweden, already a great maritime power, was given territories in North Germany (Western Pomerania and other lands[4]) which gave her command of the mouths of three important German rivers, — the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser.

The changes within the Empire were many, and some of them important. Brandenburg especially, the nucleus of a future great state, received considerable additions of territory.

The articles respecting religion were even more important than those which established the metes and bounds of the different states. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were all put upon the same footing. Every prince, with some reservations, was to have the right to make his religion the religion of his people, and to banish all who refused to adopt the established creed; but such nonconformists were to have five years in which to emigrate.[5]

The different states of the Empire — they numbered over four hundred, counting the free imperial cities — were left almost wholly independent of the imperial authority. They were given the right to enter into alliances with one another and with foreign princes, but not, of course, against the Emperor or the Empire. This provision made the Empire merely a loose confederation.

These were some of the most important provisions of the noted Peace of Westphalia. For more than two centuries they formed the fundamental law of Germany.

[4] These lands still remained a part of the Germanic body, and the king of Sweden thus became a prince of the Empire and entitled to a seat in the German Diet.

[5] The history of the Palatinate illustrates the workings of this provision of the peace: in the space of sixty years the people of that principality were compelled by their successive rulers to change their religion four times. But this was an exceptional case.

791. **Effects of the War upon Germany.** — It is impossible to picture the wretched condition in which the Thirty Years' War left Germany. When the struggle began, the population of the country was thirty millions; when it ended, twelve millions. Two thirds of the personal property had been destroyed. Many of the once large and flourishing cities were reduced to "mere shells." The Duchy of Würtemberg, which had half a million of inhabitants at the commencement of the war, at its close had barely fifty thousand. The once powerful Hanseatic League was virtually broken up. On every hand were the charred remains of the hovels of the peasants and the palaces of the nobility. Vast districts lay waste without an inhabitant. The very soil in many regions had reverted to its primitive wildness. The lines of commerce were broken, and some trades and industries swept quite out of existence.

The effects upon the fine arts, upon science, learning, and morals, were even more lamentable. Painting, sculpture, and architecture had perished. The cities which had been the home of all these arts lay in ruins. Poetry had ceased to be cultivated. Education was neglected. Moral law was forgotten. Vice, nourished by the licentious atmosphere of the camp, reigned supreme. Thus civilization in Germany, which had begun to develop with so much promise, received a check from which it did not begin to recover, so benumbed were the very senses of men, for a generation and more.

792. **Conclusion.** — The Peace of Westphalia is a prominent landmark in universal history. It marks the end of the Reformation period and the beginning of that of the Political Revolution. Henceforth, speaking broadly, men will fight for constitutions, not for creeds. We shall find them more intent on questions of civil government and political rights than on questions of Church government and religious dogmas. We shall not often see one nation attacking another, or one party in a nation assaulting another party, on account of a difference in religious opinion.[6]

[6] The Puritan Revolution in England may look like a religious war, but we shall learn that it was primarily a political contest, — a struggle against despotism in the state.

But in setting the Peace of Westphalia to mark the end of the Era of Religious Wars we do not mean to convey the idea that men had come to embrace the beneficent doctrine of religious toleration. As a matter of fact, no real toleration had yet been reached, — nothing save the semblance of toleration. The long conflict of a century and more, and the vicissitudes of fortune, which to-day gave one party the power of the persecutor and to-morrow made the same sect the victims of persecution, had simply forced all to the practical conclusion that they must tolerate one another, — that one sect must not attempt to put another down by force. But it has required the broadening and liberalizing lessons of the two centuries and over that have since passed to bring men to see, even in part, that the thing they *must* do is the very thing they *ought* to do.

With this single word of caution we now pass to the study of the Era of the Political or Democratic Revolution, a period characterized in particular by the growth of divine-right kingship and by the great struggle between despotic and liberal principles of government.

Selections from the Sources. — The student will do well to begin his study of the Thirty Years' War by a careful reading of *Historical Leaflets* (Crozer Theological Seminary), No. 5, "The Peace of Augsburg." He will here learn how deep-seated and irreconcilable were the differences which divided the religious parties in Germany. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxix.

Secondary Works. — GINDELY, A., *History of the Thirty Years' War*, 2 vols.; the best history for English readers. Chaps. x and xi of vol. ii, bearing upon the peace negotiations, are of special interest. FLETCHER, C. R. L., *Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggle of Protestantism for Existence*. GARDINER, S. R., *The Thirty Years' War*. HENDERSON, E. F., *A Short History of Germany*, vol. i, chaps. xvii and xviii. BRYCE, J., *The Holy Roman Empire*, chaps. xviii and xix. FISHER, G. P., *History of the Reformation*, chap. xv, summarizes from the Protestant side the results of the Reformation; BALMES, J., *European Civilization; Protestantism and Catholicism compared*, and SPAULDING, M. J., *The History of the Protestant Reformation*, Parts I and II, contain discussions of the subject from the Catholic point of view.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Articles of the Peace of Augsburg, the violation of which caused trouble. 2. Wallenstein. 3. Tilly and the sack of Magdeburg. 4. Pictures of Germany at the end of the war.

FOURTH PERIOD — THE ERA OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

(From the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to the Twentieth Century)

I. THE AGE OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY: THE PRELUDE TO THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION (1648–1789)

CHAPTER LXI

INTRODUCTORY: THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS AND THE MAXIMS OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

793. The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings. — Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was widely held a theory of government which during that period probably had as great an influence upon the historical development in Europe as the theory of the Empire and the Papacy exerted during the Middle Ages. This theory is known as the Divine Right of Kings.

According to this theory the nation is a great family with the king as its divinely appointed head. The duty of the king is to govern like a father; the duty of the people is to obey their king even as children obey their parents. If the king does wrong, is cruel, unjust, this is simply the misfortune of his people; under no circumstances is it right for them to rebel against his authority, any more than for children to rise against their father. The king is responsible to God alone, and to God the people, quietly submissive, must leave the avenging of all their wrongs.[1]

"Kings are the ministers of God" — it is the eloquent Bossuet, the court chaplain of Louis XIV, who speaks — "and his

[1] All that the people can do when the king misuses his authority is to petition him "to amend his fault" — and "to pray to God."

vicegerents on the earth." "The throne of a king is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. . . . The person of kings is sacred, and it is sacrilege to harm them." "They are gods, and partake in some fashion of the divine independence." [2]

Before the close of the period upon which we here enter we shall see how this theory of the divine right of kings worked out in practice, — how dear it cost both kings and people, and how the people by the strong logic of revolution demonstrated that they have a divine and inalienable right to govern themselves.[3]

794. History of the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.— This theory that kings rule by divine right has a history well worth tracing. Among primitive peoples, like the early Greeks, we find the king ruling by divine right, — by right of his descent from the gods. In Egypt the Pharaoh was regarded as partaking of the divine nature. In ancient Judea the king was the Lord's anointed, and ruled as his vicegerent on earth. In the days of the Roman emperors their subjects, especially in the East, were prone to regard the head of the Empire as set apart from ordinary men. They built temples in honor of "the divine Cæsar."

But to trace the origin of the doctrine as applied to kings of modern times, we need not go farther back than to the establishment of the mediæval Papacy. The popes, as we have learned, ruled by what may be termed divine right. All acknowledged their office and authority to be of divine origin and appointment. But when the emperors of German origin got into controversy with the popes in regard to the relation of the imperial to the papal power, then it was that the supporters of the emperors framed the counter-theory of the divine origin of the imperial

[2] See Psalms lxxxii. 6.

[3] There was much in the history of the Middle Ages to convince men that absolute monarchy, if not a divinely appointed form of government, was at least the best form. Every other form had been tried and found wanting, having issued either in tyranny or in anarchy. Witness the intolerable oppression of the aristocratic government of the feudal lords; witness the tyranny of the theocratic government of the priesthood; witness the turbulence of society under the democratic régime of the Italian cities. Peace and security within the state had been secured only through the growth of the royal power. Hence the political axiom of this age, an age just escaping from feudal anarchy, was that of the Homeric Greeks, — "The rule of many is not a good thing; let there be one leader only, one king."

authority. Thus Dante in his *De Monarchia* maintains that the Emperor rules as much by divine right as does the Pope. Then later in the fourteenth century, after the Empire had been practically destroyed by the Papacy and the kings had taken up the fight against the papal see, their supporters naturally began to preach the doctrine of the divine nature of the royal authority. This was the starting point of the theory in its modern form.

When finally the Reformation came and with it even still keener strife between the lay rulers of the revolted nations and the Roman see, then the theory of the divine nature of the royal power received perforce a great expansion. For when the Pope excommunicated a heretic king and exhorted his subjects to take up arms against him, then the royalist writers and preachers proclaimed more loudly than ever the doctrine of the divine right of princes and the wickedness of disobedience and rebellion. Fostered in this way, the doctrine of the sacred character of kingship and the virtue of passive obedience in the subject struck deep and firm root.

795. Character of the Absolute Sovereigns and their Relation to the Democratic Revolution. — What use did the kings make of their vast and unlimited authority? As a class they made a betrayal of the great trust. Too many of them acted upon the maxim of Louis XIV of France, — "Self-aggrandizement is at once the noblest and the most agreeable occupation of kings." They seemed to think that their subjects were made for their use and that their kingdoms were their personal property. War became a royal pastime. A great part of the bloody wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which centuries may be regarded as covering roughly the age of absolute monarchy, were wars that originated in frivolous personal jealousies, in wicked royal ambitions, or in disputes respecting dynastic succession. So generally did the wars of this period spring from questions of the latter nature, that by some historians the age is called the Era of Dynastic Wars.[4]

[4] There is need of caution here, however. Not all the wars of this age were frivolous, artificial, or personal. There were, as we shall see, wars involving great issues

Now all this misuse of royal power, all these unholy wars with their trains of attendant evils, did much to discredit divine-right kingship and to bring in government by the people. "Bad kings help us," Emerson affirms, "if only they are bad enough." Many of the kings of this period were bad enough to be supremely helpful. It was during this age of the kings that the forces set loose by the Renaissance and the Reformation engendered the tempest which overwhelmed forever divine-right kingship and its gilded appendage of privileged aristocracy.

706. The Enlightened Despots. But not all the kings of this age were imbecile or wicked. There were among them many wise and benevolent rulers. Especially during the latter part of the eighteenth century did there appear monarchs known as the Enlightened Despots, who, under the influence of the teachings of French philosophy, came to entertain reasonable views of their duties and of their obligations to their subjects.

These sovereigns did not give up the idea that unlimited monarchy is the best form of government and that the people should have no part in public affairs. They sincerely believed that the power of the king should be unlimited, but they emphasized the doctrine that this power should be exercised solely in the interest of the people. Thus the idea of the royal power being a trust, the royal office a stewardship, was made prominent. The king became the servant of his people.

The great place which the rulers of this disposition held in the history of the century immediately preceding the French Revolution is indicated by these words of the historian Professor H. Morse Stephens: "The most characteristic feature in government of the eighteenth century," he says, "was the existence and the work of the Enlightened Despots."

and principles, — questions of systems of government and forms of civilization. The war in England between the Parliament and the king was the first act in the drama of the Political Revolution; and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was a struggle involving as momentous questions as were ever arbitrated by the sword. Commercial and colonial interests too were coming to be more generally the concern of governments, and some of the greatest wars of the eighteenth century had their origin in national jealousies touching trade and colonies.

Prominent among the sovereigns deemed worthy a place among the Enlightened Despots are Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Concerning them and their work we shall have something to say in the following chapters. It will suffice here if we simply observe that the issue of this great experiment in government illustrated anew what had been demonstrated by the rule of the Tyrants in the cities of ancient Greece, and by that of the Cæsars at Rome, — namely, that absolute power cannot safely be lodged in the hands of a single person. It is certain sooner or later to be misused.

As it has been well put, absolute power in a single person is a good thing when joined with perfect wisdom and perfect goodness. But unfortunately these qualifications of the ideal autocrat are seldom found united in the same individual, and still less seldom are they transmitted from father to son. It is at just this point that absolute hereditary monarchy, as a practical form of government, breaks down beyond hope and without remedy.

Selections from the Sources. — FILMER, *Patriarcha.* This work, which was first published in 1680, is the classical English treatise in exposition and defense of divine-right kingship. For a short selection from KING JAMES, *Law of Free Monarchies*, see LEE, *Source-Book*, pp. 337, 338.

Secondary Works. — FIGGIS, J. N., *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings;* an able and interesting discussion of the subject. GAIRDNER, J., and SPEDDING, J., *Studies in English History;* contains a valuable essay entitled, "The Divine Right of Kings: History of the Doctrine." This essay is a reprint of an article by Dr. Gairdner in *The Contemporary Review* for September, 1869. STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Syllabus of Lectures on Modern European History*, Lect. li, "The Enlightened Despots"; suggests important viewpoints.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Dante's argument in his *De Monarchia* for the supernatural character of the imperial office. 2. The reforms of the Enlightened Despots. See *Stephens.*

CHAPTER LXII

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

(1643–1715)

797. Louis XIV as the Typical Divine-Right King. — Louis XIV of France stands as the representative of divine-right monarchy. He shall himself expound to us his conception of government.[1] These are his words: "Kings are absolute lords; to them belongs naturally the full and free disposal of all the property of their subjects, whether they be churchmen or laymen." "For subjects to rise against their prince, however wicked and oppressive he may be, is always infinitely criminal. God, who has given kings to men, has willed that they should be revered as his lieutenants, and has reserved to himself alone the right to review their conduct. His will is that he who is born a subject should obey without question."

The doctrine here set forth Louis is said to have expressed in this terser form: *L'État c'est moi* (I am the State). He may never have uttered these exact words, but the famous epigram at least embodies perfectly his ideas of kingship. In his own view he was by divine commission the sole legislator, judge, and executive of the French nation.

This theory of government was indeed, as we have seen, no novel doctrine to the Europe of the seventeenth century; but Louis was such an ideal autocrat that somehow he made autocratic government attractive. Other rulers imitated him, and it became the prevailing theory that kings have a "divine right" to rule, and that the people should have no part at all in government.

[1] It should be noted that Louis' subjects, at least the great majority of them, also believed in government by one, — and not without reason. They had had sorry experience with government by many, under the régime of the nobles. Of government by all, by themselves, it was not possible for them to have any clear conception, if any conception at all. It needed a hundred years and more of autocratic misrule and oppression to call into existence that revolutionary idea.

798. The Administration of Mazarin (1643–1661). — The religious war in Germany was still in progress when, in 1643, Louis XIII died, leaving the vast authority which his great minister Cardinal Richelieu had done so much to consolidate, as an inheritance to his little son Louis, a child of five years.

During the prince's minority the government was in the hands of his mother, Anne of Austria, as regent. She chose as her chief minister an Italian ecclesiastic, Cardinal Mazarin, who in his administration of affairs followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, Richelieu, carrying out with great ability the policy of that minister (sec. 784). Before his death the House of Austria in both its branches had been humiliated and crippled, and the House of Bourbon was ready to assume the lead in European affairs.

FIG. 139. — LOUIS XIV. After a painting by *Philippe de Champagne*)

799. Louis XIV becomes his Own Prime Minister. — Mazarin died in 1661. Upon this event Louis, now twenty-three years of age, calling together the heads of the various departments of the government, said to them that in the future he should himself attend to affairs. He then charged the secretaries not to sign any paper, not even a passport, without his express commands.

From this time on for more than half a century Louis was his own prime minister. He gave personal attention to every matter, even the most trivial. Probably no wearer of a crown, Philip II of Spain possibly excepted, ever worked harder at "the trade of a king," as he himself designated his employment. He had able

men about him, but they planned and worked — and sometimes chafed — under his minute directions and tireless superintendence.

800. The Wars of Louis XIV. — During the period of his personal administration of the government Louis XIV was engaged in four great wars: (1) a war respecting the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668); (2) a war with the Protestant Netherlands (1672–1678); (3) the War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697); and (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). All these wars were, on the part of the French monarch, wars of conquest and aggression, or wars provoked by his ambitious and encroaching policy. The most inveterate enemy of Louis during all this period was the Dutch Republic, the representative and champion of liberty.

801. The War concerning the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668). — Upon the death in 1665 of Philip IV of Spain, Louis laid claim, in the name of his wife, to portions of the Spanish Netherlands and led an army into the country. The Hollanders were naturally alarmed, fearing that Louis would also want to annex their country to his dominions. Accordingly they effected what was called the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden, checked the French king in his career of conquest, and, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, forced him to give up much of the territory he had seized.

802. The War with the Protestant Netherlands (1672–1678). — The second war of the French king was against the United Netherlands. His attack upon this little state was prompted by a variety of motives. In the first place, the Hollanders' intervention in the preceding war had stirred his resentment. Then these Dutchmen represented everything to which he was opposed, — self-government, Protestantism, and free thought.

In this war Louis found himself confronted by the armies of half of Europe. For several years the struggle was waged on land and sea, — in the Netherlands, all along the Rhine, upon the English Channel, in the Mediterranean, and on the coasts of the New World. Finally an end was put to the war by the Peace of Nimeguen (1678). Louis gave up his conquests in Holland, but

kept a large number of towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, besides the free county of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) on his eastern frontier. Thus Louis came out of this tremendous struggle with enhanced reputation and fresh acquisitions of territory. People now began to call him the *Grand Monarch.*

803. Louis seizes the City of Strasburg (1681).—Ten years of comparative peace now followed for Western Europe. Among the many indefensible acts of Louis during this period there were two which deserve special notice, since, while marking the culmination of Louis' power and illustrating his arrogant and unjust use of that power, they also mark the turning point in his fortunes. The first of these was the seizure of the free city of Strasburg and a score of other important places on the left bank of the Rhine, belonging to the Empire. Strasburg was of supreme military importance to Louis on account of her strong fortifications, which rendered her mistress of the Rhine.

804. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).—The second act to which we refer was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the gracious decree by which Henry IV guaranteed religious freedom to the French Protestants (sec. 780). By this cruel measure all the Protestant churches were closed, and every Huguenot who refused to embrace the Catholic faith was outlawed. The persecution which the Huguenots had been enduring, and which was now greatly increased in violence, is known as the *Dragonnades*, from the circumstance that *dragoons* were quartered upon the Protestant families, with full permission to annoy and persecute them in every way "short of violation and death," to the end that the victims of these outrages might be constrained to recant, which multitudes did.

Under the fierce persecutions of the *Dragonnades* probably as many as three hundred thousand of the most skillful and industrious of the subjects of Louis were driven out of the kingdom. The effects upon France of this exodus were most disastrous. Several of the most important and flourishing of the French industries were ruined, while the manufacturing interests of other

countries, particularly those of the Protestant Netherlands, England, and Brandenburg, were correspondingly benefited by the energy, skill, and capital which the exiles carried to them. Many of the fugitive Huguenots sought refuge in America; and no other class of emigrants, save the Puritans of England, cast

> Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements
> That peopled the new world.[2]

805. The War of the Palatinate, or of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697). — The indirect results of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were quite as calamitous to France as were the direct results. The indignation that the measure awakened among the Protestant nations contributed to enable William III of the United Netherlands to organize a formidable confederacy against Louis, known as the League of Augsburg (1686).

Louis resolved to attack the confederates. Seeking a pretext for beginning hostilities, he laid claim to properties in the Palatinate, and hurried a large army into the country, which was quickly overrun. But being unable to hold the conquests he had made, Louis ordered that the country be laid waste. Among the places reduced to ruins were the historic towns of Heidelberg, Spires, and Worms. Even fruit trees, vines, and crops were destroyed. Upwards of a hundred thousand peasants were rendered homeless.

Another and more formidable coalition, known as the Grand Alliance, was now formed against Louis (1689). It embraced England, Holland, Sweden, Spain, Savoy, the Emperor, and several of the German princes. For ten years Europe was a great battle-field. It was very much such a struggle as that waged a century later by the allied monarchies of Europe against Napoleon, when they fought for the independence of the continent.

Both sides at length becoming weary of the contest and almost exhausted in resources, the struggle was closed by the Peace of Ryswick (1697). There was a mutual surrender of conquests made during the war, and Louis had also to give up many of the places he had seized before the beginning of the conflict.

[2] See Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*.

806. War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). — Barely three years had passed after the Peace of Ryswick before the great powers of Europe were involved in another war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession.

The proximate circumstances out of which this war grew were these. In 1700 the king of Spain, Charles II, the last male descendant in Spain of the great Emperor Charles V, died, leaving his crown — the disposition of which had been made a matter of endless discussion and infinite intrigue, for Charles was childless — to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. The duke, a mere lad of seventeen years, assumed the bequeathed crown with the title of Philip V, and thus became the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," is the way in which Louis is reported to have expressed his exultation over this virtual union of France and Spain.

The common danger led to the forming of a second Grand Alliance[8] against France, a main object of which was to eject Philip from the Spanish throne and to seat thereon Archduke Charles of Austria, the second son of the Emperor Leopold I. The two greatest generals of the allies were the Duke of Marlborough (John Churchill), the ablest commander, except Wellington perhaps, that England has ever produced, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was in the imperial service.

For thirteen years all Europe was shaken with war. During the progress of the struggle were fought some of the most memorable battles in European history, — Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, — in all of which the genius of Marlborough and the consummate skill of Prince Eugene won decisive victories for the allies.

In the year 1711, a vacancy having occurred in the imperial office, Archduke Charles was elected Emperor. This changed the whole aspect of the Spanish question, for now to place Charles upon the Spanish throne would be to give him a dangerous preponderance of power; would be, in fact, to reëstablish the great

[8] The alliance embraced at first England, the Protestant Netherlands, Austria, and other German states, and later was joined by Portugal and Savoy.

monarchy of Charles V. Consequently the Grand Alliance, already weakened from other causes, fell to pieces, and the war was ended by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714).

By the provisions of these treaties the Bourbon prince, Philip of Anjou, was left upon the Spanish throne, but on the condition that there should never be a union of the French and Spanish crowns upon the same head. His dominions also were pared away on every side. Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were ceded to England; Milan, Naples, the island of Sardinia, and the Catholic Netherlands were given to Austria; and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. Spain was thus shorn of nearly half her territories in Europe. France also suffered in her colonial possessions and claims, being forced to cede Nova Scotia (Acadia) to England and to admit the sovereignty of that country over Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory.

807. Death of the King (1715). — It was amidst troubles, perplexities, and afflictions that Louis XIV's long and eventful reign drew to a close. The heavy and constant taxes necessary to meet the expenses of his numerous wars and to maintain an extravagant court had bankrupted the country, and the cries of his wretched subjects, clamoring for bread, could not be shut out of the royal chamber. Death, too, had invaded the palace, striking down the Dauphin and also two grandsons of Louis, leaving as the nearest heir to the throne his great-grandson, a mere child. On the morning of Sept. 1, 1715, the Grand Monarch breathed his last, bequeathing to this boy of five years a kingdom burdened with debt and filled with misery and dangerous discontent.

808. The Court of Louis XIV. — The court of the Grand Monarch was the most extravagantly magnificent that Europe has ever seen. Never since Nero spread his Golden House over the burnt district of Rome and ensconcing himself amid its luxurious appointments exclaimed, "Now I am housed as a man ought to be," had prince or king so ostentatiously lavished upon himself the wealth of an empire. Louis had half a dozen palaces, the most costly of which was that at Versailles. Here he created, in what was originally a desert, a beautiful miniature universe of which

he was the center, the resplendent sun — he chose the sun as his emblem — around which all revolved and from which all received light and life. And here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in luxurious idleness at the expense of the people. One element of this enormous family was the great lords of the old feudal aristocracy. Dispossessed of their ancient power and wealth, they were content now to fill a place in the royal household, — to be the king's pensioners and the elegant embellishment of his court.

As can easily be imagined, the court life of this period was shamefully corrupt. Vice, however, was gilded. The most scandalous immoralities were made attractive by the glitter of superficial accomplishment and by exquisite suavity and polish of manner. But, notwithstanding its insincerity and immorality, the brilliancy of the court of Louis dazzled all Europe. The neighboring courts imitated its manners and emulated its extravagances. In all matters of taste and fashion France gave laws to the continent, and the French language became the court language of the civilized world.

809. Literature under Louis XIV. — Although Louis himself was not much of a scholar, he gave a most liberal encouragement to men of letters, thereby making his reign the Augustan Age of French literature. In this patronage Louis was not unselfish. He honored and befriended poets and writers of every class, because thus he extended the reputation of his court. These writers, pensioners of his bounty, filled all Europe with praises of the great king, and thus made the most ample and grateful return to Louis for his favor and liberality.

Almost every species of literature was cultivated by the French writers of this era, yet it was in the province of the drama that the most eminent names appeared. The three great names here are those of Corneille (1606–1684), Racine (1639–1699), and Molière [4] (1622–1673).

[4] Among other world-renowned French writers, philosophers, prelates, and orators who adorned the age of Louis XIV were Descartes (1596–1650), the Father of Modern

810. Relation of the Reign of Louis XIV to the Revolution of 1789. — "If it be asked," says the historian Von Holst, "who did the most towards the destruction of the ancient régime, the correct answer is, beyond all question, Louis XIV, its greatest representative." Louis discredited absolute monarchy by his shameful misuse of his unlimited power. His many wars and his extravagant expenditures on an idle and profligate court weighed France down with crushing and intolerable burdens. It was the vast mass of misery and suffering created by his acting on the monstrous doctrine that "the many are made for the use of one," that did much to prepare the minds and hearts of the French people for the great Revolution.

811. Decline of the French Monarchy under Louis XV (1715–1774). — The supremacy of the House of Bourbon passed away forever with Louis XIV. In passing from the reign of the Grand Monarch to that of his successor we pass from the strongest and outwardly most brilliant reign in French history to the weakest and most humiliating. Louis XV was a despot without possessing any of the possible virtues of a despot. During his reign the French nation made a swift descent towards the abyss of the Revolution of 1789.

For the first eight years of the reign affairs were in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, who was regent during the king's minority. He was a corrupt man, a man absolutely shameless in his vices. Probably Rome in the days of the worst Cæsars witnessed nothing in the way of reckless and riotous living to surpass what France witnessed under what is known as the Regency.

In 1723 the prince's minority ended and he assumed the government. The atmosphere in which he had been brought up had wholly corrupted a nature seemingly prone to evil. He was

Philosophy; Pascal (1623–1662), the prodigy in mathematics and the author of the famous *Provincial Letters;* La Bruyère (1645–1696), novelist and unrivaled depicter of character and manners; Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696), the brilliant letter writer, whose correspondence forms to-day a prized portion of French literature and constitutes a treasure of information for the court historian; Bossuet (1627–1704), the eloquent court preacher and champion of divine-right kingship; and Fénelon (1651–1715), the distinguished prelate and author of *The Adventures of Telemachus*, a disguised satire on the reign of Louis XIV.

completely under the influence of his mistresses, of whom the most notorious was Madame de Pompadour. The loves, the hates, and the caprices of this woman were for nineteen years a chief factor in the decision of the weightiest matters of war and of peace. The highest appointments in the army and the navy were dictated by her. For a long series of years she was practically the prime minister of France.

The conditions surrounding the throne being of this nature, it is not surprising that under Louis XV the influence, power, and prestige of France sensibly declined. She took part, indeed, but usually with injury to her military reputation, in all the wars of this period. The most important of these for France was the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), known in America as the French and Indian War, which resulted in the loss to France of Canada in the New World and of her Indian empire in the Old.

Selections from the Sources. — *Memoirs of the Duke of Saint-Simon* (trans. by Bayle St. John). Nowhere else can be found so lively and entertaining an account of life at court under Louis XIV and the Regency as here. For glimpses of other sides of the life of the times read the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*, accessible in different editions. These delightful letters cover the last half of the seventeenth century. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxxi.

Secondary Works. — For a comprehensive view of this period there is nothing superior to *The Age of Louis XIV*, 2 vols., and *The Decline of the French Monarchy*, 2 vols., — translations by Mary L. Booth of the corresponding parts of Henri Martin's *Histoire de France*. WAKEMAN, H. O., *Europe, 1598–1715*, chaps. vi, vii, and ix–xv. KITCHIN, G. W., *A History of France*, vol. iii. HASSALL, A., *The French People*, chaps. xii–xiv; and *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy*. PERKINS, J. B., *France under Mazarin*, vol. ii; *France under the Regency;* and *France under Louis XV*, 2 vols. These are all scholarly works of marked merit. WILLIAMS, H. N., *Madame de Pompadour*. For the history of the French in America during the age of Louis XIV, the reader will have recourse to FISKE, J., *New England and New France*, chap. iv; and to PARKMAN, F., *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Parliament of Paris. 2. Colbert. 3. New France under Louis XIV. 4. The Palace at Versailles. 5. Life at the court. 6. John Law and the Mississippi Bubble.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE STUARTS AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

(1603–1689)

I. The First Two Stuarts

Reign of James the First (1603–1625)

812. James' Idea of Kingship. — With the end of the Tudor line (sec. 755), James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, came to the English throne as James I of England. The accession of the House of Stuart brought England and Scotland under the same sovereign, but each country still retained its own legislature.

James, like the other Stuarts who followed him on the English throne, was a firm believer in the doctrine of the divine right of kings. He held that hereditary princes are the Lord's anointed, and that their authority can in no way be questioned or limited by people, priest, or Parliament. These are his own words: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with his will revealed in his word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that."

813. Contest between James and the Commons; the Great Protestation. — But the Commons of the English Parliament, and probably the majority of the English people, differed with their Stuart kings in their views concerning the nature of government, and particularly concerning the nature of the English government. In this difference of views lay hidden, as we shall learn, the germs of the Civil War and of all that grew out of it, — the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Revolution of 1688.

The chief matters of dispute between the king and the Commons were the limits of the authority of the former in matters touching legislation and taxation, and the nature and extent of the

privileges of the latter. As to the limits of the royal power, James acted as though his prerogatives were practically unbounded. He issued proclamations which in their scope were really laws, and then enforced these edicts by fines and imprisonment, as though they were regular statutes of Parliament. Moreover, taking advantage of some uncertainty in the law as regards the power of the king to collect customs at the ports of the realm, he laid new and unusual duties upon imports and exports. James' judges were servile enough to sustain him in this course, some of them going so far as to say in effect that "the seaports are the king's gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases."

As to the privileges of the Commons, that body insisted, among other things, upon their right to determine all cases of contested election of their members, and to debate freely all questions concerning the common weal, without being liable to prosecution or imprisonment for words spoken in the House. James denied that these privileges were matters of right pertaining to the Commons, and repeatedly intimated to them that it was only through his own gracious permission and the favor of his ancestors that they were allowed to exercise these liberties at all, and that if their conduct was not more circumspect and reverential he should take away their privileges entirely.

On one occasion, the Commons having ventured in debate upon certain matters of state which the king had forbidden them to meddle with, he, in reproving them, made a more express denial than ever of their rights and privileges, which caused them, in a burst of noble indignation, to spread upon their journal a brave protest, known as "The Great Protestation," which declared that "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and the Church of England . . . are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament" (1621).

When intelligence of this action was carried to the king he angrily adjourned Parliament, sent for the journal of the House,

and with his own hand struck out the obnoxious resolution. Then he dissolved Parliament, and even went so far as to imprison several of the members of the Commons. In these high-handed measures we get a glimpse of the Stuart theory of government, and see the way paved for the final break between king and people in the following reign.

814. Colonies and Trade Settlements. — The reign of James I is signalized by the commencement of that system of colonization which has resulted in the establishment of the English race in almost every quarter of the globe. In the year 1607 Jamestown, so named in honor of the king, was founded in Virginia. This was the first permanent English settlement within the limits of the United States. In 1620 some Separatists, or Pilgrims, who had found in Holland a temporary refuge from persecution, pushed across the Atlantic and, amidst heroic sufferings and unparalleled hardships, established the first settlement in New England and laid the foundations of civil liberty in the New World.

During this same reign the English also established themselves in the ancient land of India. In 1613 the East India Company established their first factory at Surat. This was the humble beginning of the great English Empire in the East.

815. Literature. — One of the most noteworthy literary labors of the reign under review was a new translation of the Bible, known as *King James' Version*, published in 1611. This version is the one in general use in the Protestant Church at the present day.

The most noted writers of James' reign were a bequest to it from the brilliant era of Elizabeth (sec. 756). Sir Walter Raleigh, the petted courtier of Elizabeth, fell on evil days after her death. On the charge of taking part in a conspiracy against the crown, he was sent to the Tower, where he was kept a prisoner for thirteen years. From the tedium of his long confinement he found relief in the composition of a *History of the World*. He was at last beheaded (1618).

The close of the life of the great philosopher Francis Bacon was scarcely less sad than that of Sir Walter Raleigh. He held the office of Lord Chancellor, and, yielding to the temptations of

the corrupt times upon which he had fallen, accepted fees from the suitors who brought cases before him. He was impeached, and was sentenced by the House of Lords to pay a heavy fine and to imprisonment in the Tower. But the king in pity released him from all the penalty and even conferred a pension upon him. He lived only five years after his fall and disgrace, dying in 1626.

Bacon must be given the first place among the philosophers of the English-speaking race. His system is known as the "Inductive Method of Philosophy." It insists upon experiment and a careful observation of facts as the only true means of arriving at a knowledge of the laws of nature.

Reign of Charles the First (1625–1649)

816. The Petition of Right (1628). — Charles I came to the throne with all his father's lofty notions about the divine right of kings. He made his own these words of Scripture: "Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou?"[1] Consequently the old contest between king and Parliament was straightway renewed. The first two Parliaments of his reign Charles dissolved speedily, because instead of voting supplies they persisted in investigating public grievances.

After the dissolution of his second Parliament, Charles endeavored to raise by means of benevolences (sec. 731) and forced loans the money he needed to carry on the government. But all his expedients failed to meet his needs, and he was forced to fall back upon Parliament. The Houses met and promised to grant him generous subsidies, provided he would approve a certain *Petition of Right* which they had drawn up. Next after Magna Carta this document is the most important in the constitutional history of England. Four abuses were provided against: (1) the raising of money by loans, benevolences, taxes, etc., without the consent of Parliament; (2) imprisonment without cause shown; (3) the quartering of soldiers in private houses, — a very vexatious thing; and (4) trial by martial law, that is, without jury.

[1] Ecclesiastes viii. 4; cited by Charles on his trial in 1649.

Charles was as reluctant to assent to the petition as King John was to assent to Magna Carta; but he was at length forced to give sanction to it by the use of the usual formula, "Let it be law as desired" (1628).

817. **Charles rules without Parliament** (1629–1640). — It soon became evident that Charles was utterly insincere when he gave his assent to the Petition of Right. He immediately violated its provisions in attempting to raise money by forbidden taxes and loans. For eleven years he ruled without Parliament, thus changing the government of England from a government by king, Lords, and Commons to what was in effect an absolute and irresponsible monarchy, like that of France or of Spain.

FIG. 140. — CHARLES I. (After a painting by *Vandyke*)

Prominent among Charles' most active agents were his ministers, Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom earned unenviable reputations through their industry and success in building up the absolute power of their master upon the ruins of the ancient institutions of English liberty.[2]

818. **John Hampden and Ship Money** (1637–1638). — Among the illegal taxes levied during this period of tyranny was a species known as "ship money," so called from the fact that in early times the kings, when the realm was in

[2] The high-handed and tyrannical proceedings of Charles and his agents were enforced by three iniquitous courts of usurped and arbitrary jurisdiction. These were known as the "Council of the North," the "Star Chamber," and the "High

danger, called upon the seaports and maritime counties to contribute ships and ship material for the public service. Charles and his agents, in looking this matter over, conceived the idea of extending this tax over the inland as well as the seaboard counties.

Among those who refused to pay the tax was a country gentleman named John Hampden. The case was tried in the Court of Exchequer, before all the twelve judges. Judgment was finally rendered in favor of the king, although five of the twelve judges stood for Hampden. The case was lost; but the people, who had been following the arguments, were fully persuaded that the decision went against Hampden simply for the reason that the judges stood in fear of the royal displeasure should they dare to decide the case adversely to the crown.

The arbitrary and despotic character which the government had now assumed in both civil and religious matters, and the hopelessness of relief or protection from the courts, caused thousands to seek in the New World that freedom and security which was denied them in the home land.

819. The Bishops' War (1639). — England was ready to rise in open revolt. Events in Scotland hastened the crisis. The king was attempting to impose the English liturgy (slightly modified) upon the Scotch Presbyterians. To the Scotch this seemed little short of a restoration of the "Popery" they had renounced. All classes, nobles and peasants alike, bound themselves by a solemn covenant to resist to the very last every attempt to make innovations in their religion.

The king resolved to crush the movement by force, but soon found that war could not be carried on without money, and was constrained to summon Parliament in hopes of obtaining a vote of supplies. Instead of making the king a grant of money, the Commons first gave their attention to the matter of grievances, whereupon Charles dissolved the Parliament. The Scottish forces

Commission Court." All of these courts sat without jury, and being composed of the creatures of the king, were of course his subservient instruments. Often their decisions were unjust and arbitrary, their punishments harsh and cruel.

crossed the border, and the king, helpless, with an empty treasury and a seditious army, was forced again to summon the two Houses.

820. **The Long Parliament.** — Under this call met on Nov. 3, 1640, the Parliament which, from the circumstance of its sitting for twelve years, and legally existing for nearly twenty, became known as the "Long Parliament." A small majority of the members of the Commons of this Parliament were stern and determined men, men who fully realized the danger in which the traditional liberties of Englishmen were set, and who were resolved to put a check to the despotic course of the king.

Almost the first act of the Commons was the impeachment of Strafford, as the most prominent instrument of the king's tyranny. He was finally condemned by a bill of attainder[3] and sent to the block.

To secure themselves against dissolution before their work was done, the Houses passed a bill which provided that they should not be adjourned or dissolved without their own consent.

821. **The Insurrection in Ireland** (1641). — The situation was critical; it was rendered still more so by an uprising in Ireland. The aim of the insurrection was to wipe out the colony of English and Scotch settlers in Ulster, planted in the reign of James I, and to bring to an end Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. Thousands of the English and Scotch settlers perished miserably. It was not long before an English Protestant army made savage reprisals (sec. 831).

822. **Charles' Attempt to seize the Five Members.** — An imprudent act on the part of Charles now precipitated the nation into the gulf of civil war, towards which events had been so rapidly drifting. With the design of overawing the Commons, the king

[3] A bill of attainder is an act passed like an ordinary statute of Parliament. Before Thomas Cromwell's time the accused had a right to be heard in his own defense. But Cromwell, to please his master Henry, brought it about that Parliament could venture to condemn a person without a hearing. It was poetic justice that made Cromwell himself a victim of this instrument of tyranny. Because of the misuse by the English Parliament of this power, the framers of the Constitution of the United States, in enumerating the powers of Congress, inserted this clause: "No bill of attainder . . . shall be passed."

made a charge of treason against five of the leading members, among whom were Hampden and Pym, and sent officers to effect their arrest; but the accused were not to be found. The next day Charles himself, accompanied by armed attendants, went to the House for the purpose of seizing the five members; but, having been forewarned of the king's intention, they had withdrawn from the hall. The king was not long in realizing the state of affairs, and with the observation, "I see the birds have flown," withdrew from the chamber.

Charles had taken a fatal step. The nation could not forgive the insult offered to its representatives. All London rose in arms. The king, frightened by the storm which his rashness had raised, fled from the city to York. From the flight of Charles from London may be dated the beginning of the civil war (Jan. 10, 1642).

The Civil War (1642–1649)

823. The Two Parties. — The country was now divided into two great parties. Those that enlisted under the king's standard — on whose side rallied, for the most part, the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy — were known as Royalists, or Cavaliers; while those that gathered about the Parliamentary banner, the townsmen and the yeomanry, were called Parliamentarians, or Roundheads, the latter term being applied to them because many of their number cropped their hair close to the head, simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long and flowing locks. The Cavaliers favored the Established Episcopal Church, while the Roundheads were Puritans. During the progress of the struggle the Presbyterians and Independents (later Congregationalists) became the leading factions in the Puritan party.

824. Oliver Cromwell and his "Ironsides." — The war had continued about three years when there came into prominence on the Parliamentary side a man of destiny, one of the great characters of history, — Oliver Cromwell. During the early campaigns of the war, as colonel of a troop of cavalry, he had exhibited his rare genius as an organizer and disciplinarian. His regiment became

famous under the name of "Cromwell's Ironsides." It was composed entirely of "men of religion." Swearing, drinking, and the usual vices of the camp were unknown among them. They advanced to the charge with the singing of psalms. During all the war the regiment was never once beaten.

825. The "Self-Denying Ordinance" and the "New Model" (1645). — The military operations of these earlier years of the war had revealed fatal defects in the Parliamentary army. One was that it was chiefly officered by persons who had received their commissions because of their social rank. The leaders in the Commons got rid of the titled inefficients by means of a measure known as the "Self-Denying Ordinance," which required that members of either House holding commands in the army should resign within forty days.

At the same time Parliament created a new army of twenty-one thousand men, called the "New Model." This differed from the earlier Parliamentary force as a regular army differs from militia. Sir Thomas Fairfax was created commander-in-chief, and Cromwell was made lieutenant-general, which gave him command of the horse.

Religious opinions had not been made a test for admission to the new army; but as a matter of fact its officers were for the most part Independents, and in the course of time the army through their influence became such a body of religious enthusiasts as the world had not seen since Godfrey led his crusaders to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher. A great part of the men were fervent, God-fearing, psalm-singing Puritans. When not fighting they studied the Bible, prayed, and sang hymns.

826. The Battle of Naseby (1645). — The temper of the "New Model" was soon tried in the battle of Naseby, the decisive engagement of the war. The Royalists were irretrievably beaten. Charles escaped from the field, and ultimately fled into Scotland, thinking that he might rely upon the loyalty of the Scots to the House of Stuart; but on his refusing to sign the Covenant and certain other articles, they gave him up to the English Parliament.

827. "**Pride's Purge**" (1648). — Now there were many in the Parliament who were in favor of restoring the king to his throne on the basis of conditions which he himself had proposed, that is to say, without requiring from him any sufficient guaranties that he would in the future rule in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the land. The Independents, that is to say Cromwell and the army, saw in this possibility the loss of all the fruits of victory. A high-handed measure was resolved upon, — the exclusion from the House of Commons of all those members who favored the restoration of Charles.

Accordingly an officer by the name of Pride was stationed at the door of the hall to exclude or to arrest the members obnoxious to the army. One hundred and forty-three members were thus kept from their seats, and the Commons became reduced to about fifty representatives. This performance was appropriately called "Pride's Purge." "The minority had now become the majority." But that is not an approved way of creating a majority.

828. **Trial and Execution of the King** (Jan. 30, 1649). — The Commons thus "purged" of the king's friends now passed a resolution for the immediate trial of Charles for treason. A High Court of Justice, comprising one hundred and thirty-five members, was organized, before which Charles was summoned. Appearing before the court, he denied its authority to try him, consistently maintaining that no earthly tribunal could rightly question his acts. But the trial went on, and before the close of a week he was condemned to be executed "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation."

In a few days the sentence was carried out. Charles bore himself in the presence of death with great composure and dignity. On the scaffold he spoke these words, the sincerity of which cannot be doubted: "For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government; . . . it is not in their having a share in the government; that is nothing pertaining to them."

II. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1649–1660)

829. Establishment of the Commonwealth. — A few weeks after the execution of Charles the Commons voted to abolish the office of king as "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people," and also to do away with the House of Lords as likewise "useless and dangerous to the people of England," and to establish a free state under the name of "The Commonwealth." The executive power was lodged in a Council of State, composed of forty-one persons. Of this body the eminent patriot Sir Henry Vane was the leading member. He was the real head of the government up to the establishment of the Protectorate in 1653.

830. Troubles of the Commonwealth. — The republic thus born of mingled religious and political enthusiasm was beset with dangers from the very first. The execution of Charles had alarmed every sovereign in Europe. Russia, France, and the Dutch Republic all refused to have any communication with the ambassadors of the Commonwealth. The Scots, who too late repented of having surrendered their sovereign into the hands of his enemies, now hastened to wipe out the stain of their disloyalty by proclaiming his son their king, with the title of Charles the Second. The Royalists in Ireland declared for the prince. In England itself the friends of the monarchy were active and threatening.

831. War with Ireland (1649–1652). — The Commonwealth, like the ancient republic of Rome, seemed to gather strength and energy from the very multitude of surrounding dangers. Cromwell was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and sent into that country to crush the Royalist party there. With his "Ironsides" he made quick and terrible work of the suppression of the Catholic Royalists. Having taken by storm the town of Drogheda, he massacred the entire garrison, consisting of three thousand men (1649). The capture of other towns was accompanied by massacres little less terrible. The following is his own account of the manner in which he dealt with the captured garrisons:

"When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes." Cromwell's savage cruelty in his dealings with the Irish is an indelible stain on his memory.

The Catholic Royalists having been defeated, the best lands of the island were confiscated and granted to English and Scotch settlers. This method of securing Protestant ascendancy in the island is what English history designates as the "Cromwellian settlement." The religious ferocity of this Puritan settlement of Ireland fanned fiercely the flame of hatred which earlier wrongs had kindled in the hearts of the Irish people against their English conquerors, — a flame which has not yet burned itself out.[4]

832. **War with Scotland** (1650–1651). — Cromwell was called out of Ireland by the Council to lead an army into Scotland. At Dunbar he met the Scottish army. Before the terrible onset of the fanatic Roundheads the Scots were scattered like chaff before the wind. Ten thousand were made prisoners, and all the camp train and artillery were captured (1650).

The following year, on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell gained another great victory over the Scottish army at Worcester, and all Scotland was soon after forced to submit to the authority of the Commonwealth.

833. **Cromwell ejects the Long Parliament** (1653). — The war in Scotland was followed by one with the Dutch. While this war was in progress Parliament came to an open quarrel with the army. Cromwell demanded of Parliament their dissolution, and the calling of a new body. This they refused; whereupon, taking with him a body of soldiers, Cromwell went to the House, and after listening impatiently for a while to the debate, suddenly sprang to his feet and with bitter reproaches exclaimed: "I will put an end to your prating. Get you gone; give place to better men. You are no Parliament. The Lord has done with you."

[4] Between the years 1641 and 1652 over half a million inhabitants of the island were destroyed or banished; Prendergast (*Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 177) affirms that during these years and those immediately following five sixths of the population perished. "A man might travel," he says, "for twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature."

At a prearranged signal his soldiers rushed in. The hall was cleared and the door locked.

In such summary manner the Long Parliament, or the "Rump Parliament," as it was called in derision after "Pride's Purge," was dissolved, after having sat for twelve years. So completely had the body lost the respect of all parties that scarcely a murmur was heard against the illegal and arbitrary mode of its dissolution.

834. **The "Little Parliament" and the Establishment of the Protectorate** (1653). — Cromwell now called together a new Parliament or more properly a convention, summoning, so far as he might, only religious, God-fearing men. The "Little Parliament," as sometimes called, consisted of one hundred and fifty-six members, mainly religious zealots, who spent much of their time in Scripture exegesis, prayer, and exhortation. Among them was a London leather merchant, named Praise-God Barebone, who was especially given to these exercises. The name amused the people, and as the exhorter was a fair representative of a considerable section of the convention, they nicknamed it "Barebone's Parliament," by which designation it has passed into history.

The "Little Parliament" sat only five months, and then, resigning all its authority into the hands of Cromwell, dissolved itself. A sort of constitution, called the "Instrument of Government," was now drawn up by a council of army officers and approved by Cromwell. This instrument, the first of written constitutions, provided for a Parliament consisting of a single House, a Council of State, and an executive or president serving for life and bearing the title of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Under this instrument Cromwell became Lord Protector for life.

835. **The Protectorate** (1653–1659). — Cromwell's power was now almost unlimited. He was virtually a dictator, for he had the power of the army behind him. The Protector summoned, winnowed, and dissolved Parliament at pleasure. He could get together no body of men who could or would work smoothly with him. "The Lord judge between me and you," were his words of dismissal to his last unmanageable and obstinate Parliament.

For five years Cromwell carried on the government practically alone. His rule was arbitrary but enlightened. He gave England the strongest government she had had since the days of Wolsey and of Elizabeth. His aim was "to make England great and to make her worthy of greatness." This worthiness he, zealous Puritan as he was, conceived could be acquired by England only as her affairs were conducted by godly men and in accord with the plain precepts of Scripture.

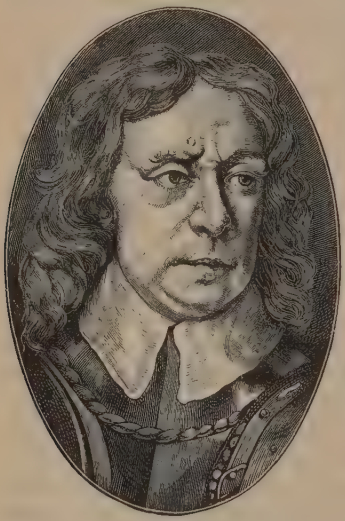


FIG. 141. — OLIVER CROMWELL. (After a portrait by *Samuel Cooper*)

Further, in Oliver's mind, the English nation could be God's own people and worthy of greatness only as England upheld the Protestant cause in Europe. Hence he became the protector of Protestantism wherever imperiled. He interposed successfully in behalf of the Huguenots in France, and secured for them a respite from harassment; he obliged the Duke of Savoy to cease his cruel persecution of the Vaudois; and caused the Pope to be informed that if the Protestants continued to be molested anywhere, — Cromwell laid the blame of everything done against Protestant interests at the door of the Papacy, — the roar of English guns would speedily awaken the echoes of St. Angelo.

836. **Cromwell's Death.** — Notwithstanding Cromwell was a man of immovable resolution and iron spirit, still he felt sorely the burdens of his government, and was deeply troubled by the anxieties of his position. In the midst of apparent success he was painfully conscious of utter failure. He had wished to establish a

constitutional government. Instead, he found himself a military usurper, whose title was simply the title of the sword. His government, we may believe, was as hateful to himself as to the great mass of the English people. He lived in constant fear of the dagger. With his constitution undermined by overwork and anxiety, fever attacked him, and with gloomy apprehensions as to the terrible dangers into which England might drift after his hand had fallen from the helm of affairs, he lay down to die, passing away on the day which he had always called his "fortunate day" — the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester (Sept. 3, 1658).

837. **Richard Cromwell** (1658–1659).—Cromwell with his dying breath — so it was given out — had designated his son Richard as his successor in the office of the Protectorate. Richard was exactly the opposite of his father, — timid, irresolute, and irreligious. The control of affairs that had taxed to the utmost the genius and resources of the father was altogether too great an undertaking for the incapacity and inexperience of the son. No one was quicker to realize this than Richard himself, and after a rule of a few months, yielding to the pressure of the army, he resigned his office.

838. **The Restoration** (1660). — For some months after the fall of the Protectorate the country trembled on the verge of anarchy. The gloomy outlook into the future and the unsatisfactory experiment of the Commonwealth caused the great mass of the English people earnestly to desire the restoration of the monarchy, — in truth, the majority of the nation had never desired its abolition. Charles Stuart, towards whom the tide of returning loyalty was running, was now in Holland. General Monk, the commander of the army in Scotland and the representative of Scottish sentiment, marched south to London and assumed virtual control of affairs. The Long Parliament, including the members ejected by Pride, now reassembled, and by resolution declared that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom the government is and ought to be by king, Lords, and Commons." An invitation was sent to Prince Charles to return to his people and take his place upon the throne of his ancestors.

Amid the wildest demonstrations of joy Charles stepped ashore on the island from which he had been for nine years an exile. As he observed the extensive preparations made for his reception, and received from all parties the warmest congratulations, he remarked with pleasant satire, "Surely it is my own fault that I have remained these years in exile from a country which is so glad to see me."

839. **Puritan Literature; it lights up the Religious Side of the English Revolution.** — No epoch in history receives a fresher illustration from the study of its literature than that of the Puritan Revolution. To neglect this, and yet hope to gain a true conception of that wonderful episode in the life of the English people by an examination of its outer events and incidents alone, would, as Green declares, be like trying to form an idea of the life and work of ancient Israel from *Kings* and *Chronicles*, without *Psalms* and *Prophets*. The true character of the English Revolution, especially upon its religious side, must be sought in the magnificent epic of Milton and the unequaled allegory of Bunyan.

Both of these great works, it is true, were written after the Restoration, but they were both inspired by that spirit which had struck down despotism and set up the Commonwealth. The epic was the work of a lonely, disappointed republican; the allegory, of a captive Puritan.

Milton (1608–1674) stands as the grandest representative of Puritanism. After the death of Charles I he wrote a famous work in Latin entitled *The Defense of the English People*, in which he justified the execution of the king. The Restoration forced him into retirement, and the last fourteen years of his life were passed apart from the world. It was during these years that, in loneliness and blindness, he composed the immortal poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The former is the "Epic of Puritanism." All that was truest and grandest in the Puritan character found expression in the moral elevation and religious fervor of this the greatest of Christian epics.

John Bunyan (1628–1688) was a Puritan nonconformist. After the Restoration he was imprisoned for twelve years in Bedford jail, on account of nonconformity to the established worship.

It was during this dreary confinement that he wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress*, the most admirable allegory in English literature. The habit of the Puritan, from constant study of the Bible, to employ in all forms of discourse its language and imagery, is best illustrated in the pages of this remarkable work. Here, as nowhere else, we learn what realities to the Puritan were the Bible representations of sin, repentance, and atonement, of heaven and hell.

III. The Restored Stuarts

Reign of Charles the Second (1660–1685)

840. Punishment of the Regicides. — The monarchy having been restored in the person of Charles II, Parliament extended a general pardon to all who had taken part in the late rebellion, except Sir Henry Vane and certain of the judges who had condemned Charles to the block. Thirteen of these were executed with revolting cruelty, their hearts and bowels being cut out of their living bodies. Others of the regicides were condemned to imprisonment for life. Vane was finally executed. Death had already removed the other great leaders of the rebellion, — Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, — beyond the reach of Royalist hate; so vengeance was taken upon their bodies. These were dragged from their tombs in Westminster Abbey, hauled to Tyburn, and there on the anniversary of Charles' execution were hanged, and afterwards beheaded (1661).

841. The Conventicle Act. — Early in the reign the services of the Anglican Church were restored by Parliament, and harsh laws were enacted against all nonconformists. Thus the Conventicle Act (1664) made it a crime for five persons or more, "over and above those of the same household," to gather in any house or in any place for worship, unless the service was conducted according to the forms of the Church of England.

842. The Covenanters. — In Scotland the attempt to suppress conventicles and introduce Episcopacy was stoutly resisted by the Covenanters (sec. 819), who insisted on their right to worship

God in their own way. They were therefore subjected to persecutions most cruel and unrelenting. They were hunted by English troopers over their native moors and among the wild recesses of their mountains, whither they secretly retired for prayer and worship. The tales of the sufferings of the Scotch Covenanters at the hands of the English Protestants form a most harrowing chapter of the records of the ages of religious persecution.

843. Charles' Intrigues with Louis XIV; "the Popish Plot" (1678). — Charles inclined to the Catholic worship, and wished to reëstablish the Catholic Church, because he thought it more favorable than the Anglican to such a scheme of government as he aimed to set up in England. To reach his end he entered into secret negotiations with Louis XIV of France. The excited state of the public mind, caused by rumors of the king's intrigues, led to a serious delusion and panic. A report was started that the Catholics had planned for England a St. Bartholomew. Each day the rumors of the conspiracy grew more wild and exaggerated. Informers sprang up on every hand, each with a more terrifying story than the preceding. Many Catholics, convicted solely on the testimony of perjured witnesses, became the unfortunate victims of the delusion and fraud.

Reign of James the Second (1685–1688)

844. James' Accession; his Despotic Course. — Charles was followed by his brother James, whose rule was destined to be short and troubled.[5] Like all the other Stuarts, James held exalted notions of the divine right of kings to rule as they please, and at once set about carrying out these ideas in a most reckless manner. Notwithstanding he had given solemn assurances that he would uphold the Anglican Church, he straightway set about the

[5] James was barely seated upon the throne before the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, raised the standard of rebellion. Terrible vengeance was wreaked upon all in any way connected with the movement. The notorious Chief Justice Jeffreys, in what were called the "Bloody Assizes," condemned to death 320 persons and sentenced 841 to transportation. Jeffreys conducted the so-called trials with incredible brutality. See Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History*, No. 81.

reëstablishment of the Catholic worship. He arbitrarily prorogued and dissolved Parliament. Like his brother Charles, he intrigued with Louis XIV against his own subjects. This despotic course of the king raised up enemies on all sides. No party or sect, save the most zealous Catholics, stood by him. The Tory gentry were in favor of royalty, indeed, but not of tyranny.

845. **The Revolution of 1688 and the Declaration of Rights.** — The crisis which it was easy to see was impending was hastened by the birth of a prince, as this cut off the hope of the nation that the crown upon James' death would descend to his Protestant daughter Mary, now wife of the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. The most active of the king's enemies therefore resolved to bring about at once what they had been inclined to wait to have accomplished by his death. They sent an invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over and take possession of the government, pledging him the united and hearty support of the English nation. William accepted the invitation and straightway began to gather his fleet and army for the enterprise.

The moment the ships of the Prince touched the shores of the island the army and people went over in a body to him. The king was absolutely deserted. Flight alone was left him. The queen was secretly embarked for France, where the king soon after joined her. The last act of the king before leaving England was to disband the army and fling the Great Seal into the Thames.

Almost the first act of the Prince was to issue a call for a convention to provide for the permanent settlement of the crown. This convention did not repeat the error of the Parliament that restored Charles II and give the crown to the Prince and Princess without proper guaranties for the conduct of the government according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. They drew up the celebrated Declaration of Rights, which plainly rehearsed all the old rights and liberties of Englishmen. William and Mary were required to accept this declaration, and to agree to rule in accordance with its provisions, whereupon they were declared King and Queen of England. In such manner was effected what is known in history as "the Glorious Revolution of 1688."

IV. Reign of William and Mary (1689–1702)

846. The Bill of Rights (Dec. 16, 1689). — The Revolution of 1688 and the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary mark an epoch in the constitutional history of England. It settled forever the long dispute between king and Parliament, — and settled it in favor of the latter. The Bill of Rights, which was substantially the articles of the Declaration of Rights framed into a law, and which was one of the earliest acts of the first Parliament under William and Mary, in effect "transferred sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons."

By shutting out James from the throne and bringing in William, and by the exclusion of Catholic heirs from the succession, it plainly announced that the kings of England derive their right and title to rule not from the accident of birth but from the will of the people, and that Parliament may depose any king, and, excluding from the throne his heirs, settle the crown anew in another family. This uprooted quite thoroughly the doctrine that princes have a divine and inalienable right to the throne of their ancestors, and when once seated on that throne rule simply as the vicegerents of God, above all human censure and control. We shall hear constantly less and less in England of this theory of government which for so long a time overshadowed and threatened the freedom of the English people.

The separate provisions of the bill, following closely the language of the Declaration, denied the dispensing power of the crown, — that is to say, the authority claimed by the Stuarts of annulling a law by a royal edict; forbade the king to levy taxes or to keep an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament; asserted the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances and freely to choose their representatives; reaffirmed, as one of the ancient privileges of both Houses, perfect freedom of debate; and demanded that Parliament be frequently assembled.

Mindful of the attempts of the later Stuarts to reëstablish the Catholic worship, the framers of the bill further declared that all persons holding communion with the Church of Rome or uniting

in marriage with a Catholic should be "forever incapable to possess, inherit, or enjoy the crown and government of the realm." Since the Revolution of 1688 no Catholic has worn the English crown.

All of these provisions now became inwrought into the English constitution, and from this time forward were recognized as part of the fundamental law of the realm.

847. Settlement of the Revenue. — The articles of the Bill of Rights were made effectual by appropriate legislation. One thing which had made the Tudors and Stuarts so independent of Parliament was the custom which prevailed of granting to each king, at the beginning of his reign, the ordinary revenue of the kingdom during his life. This income, with what could be raised by gifts, benevolences, monopolies, and similar expedients, had enabled despotically inclined sovereigns to administer the government and even to wage war without turning to Parliament. All this was now changed. Parliament, instead of granting William the revenue for life, restricted the grant to a single year, and made it a penal offense for the officers of the treasury to pay out money otherwise than ordered by Parliament.

We cannot overestimate the importance of this change in the English constitution. It is this control of the purse of the nation which has made the House of Commons — for all money bills must originate in the Lower House — the actual seat of government, constituting them the arbiters of peace and war.[6]

848. James attempts to recover the Throne: Battle of the Boyne (1690). — The first years of William's reign were disturbed by the efforts of James to regain the throne which he had abandoned. In these attempts he was aided by Louis XIV, and by the Jacobites,[7] the name given to the adherents of the exile king. The Irish

[6] The most important constitutional matter of William's reign after those mentioned in the text were the passage by Parliament of the Mutiny Bill, by which the command of the army was given to the king for one year only, and of the Act of Settlement (June 12, 1701), which was "an act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." The most important article of this act, after that determining the succession, was one providing that the judges should hold office during good behavior, not simply at the will of the king, as hitherto.

[7] From *Jacobus*, Latin for "James."

gave William the most trouble, but in the decisive battle of the Boyne he gained a great victory over them, and soon all Ireland acknowledged his authority.

849. Plans and Death of William. — The motive which had most strongly urged William to respond to the invitation of the English revolutionists to assume the crown of England was his desire to turn the arms and resources of that country against the great champion of despotism and the dangerous neighbor of his own native country, Louis XIV of France.

The conduct of Louis in lending aid to James in his attempt to regain his crown had so enraged the English that they were quite ready to support William in his wars against him, and so the English and Dutch sailors fought side by side against the common enemy in the War of the Palatinate (sec. 805). A short time after the close of that war broke out the War of the Spanish Succession (sec. 806). In the midst of preparations for this war William was fatally hurt by being thrown from his horse (1702).[8]

Selections from the Sources. — In opposition to FILMER, *Patriarcha* (see Sources for Chapter LXI), read MILTON, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. Of the utmost importance for the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth are *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle (ed. by S. C. Lomas). For additional material, see HENDERSON, *Side Lights on English History*, pp. 33–214; ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxx; and KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. xi–xv.

Secondary Works. — GARDINER, S. R., *History of England* (1603–1642), 10 vols.; *History of the Great Civil War*, 4 vols.; *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 4 vols.; *Oliver Cromwell* and *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*. Dr. Gardiner made this period especially his own. His works are of the highest authority and value. MACAULAY, T. B., *The History of England from the Accession of James II;* also his *Essays* on Milton and John Hampden. MORLEY, J., *Oliver Cromwell*. HARRISON, F., *Oliver Cromwell*. HALE, E., *The Fall of the Stuarts*. WAKEMAN, H. O., *The Church of the Puritans*. PRENDERGAST, J. P., *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. TREVELYAN, G. M., *England under the Stuarts*.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The character and traits of James I and his *Dæmonologie*. 2. The Plantation of Ulster in Ireland. 3. Milton's *Defense of the English People*. 4. The Great Plague. 5. Butler's *Hudibras*.

[8] Mary had died before William, and as they left no children, the crown descended to the Princess Anne, Mary's sister, the wife of Prince George of Denmark.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE RISE OF RUSSIA: PETER THE GREAT

(1682–1796)

850. General Remarks. — We left Russia at the close of the Middle Ages a semi-savage, semi-Asiatic power, so hemmed in by barbarian bands and hostile races as to be almost entirely cut off from intercourse with the civilized world (sec. 664). In the present chapter we shall tell how her isolation was broken, and how she was initiated as a member of the European family of nations. The main interest of our story will gather about Peter the Great, whose almost superhuman strength and energy it was that first lifted the great barbarian nation to a prominent place among the Western states.

851. Accession of Peter the Great (1682). — The royal line established in Russia by the old Norseman Rurik (sec. 538) ended in 1598. Then followed a period of confusion and of foreign invasion, known as the Troublous Times, after which a prince of the celebrated House of Romanoff came to the throne (1613). For more than half a century after the accession of the Romanoffs there is little either in the genius or in the deeds of any of the line calculated to draw our special attention. But towards the close of the seventeenth century there ascended the Russian throne "a man of miracles," — a man whose genius and energy and achievements instantly drew the gaze of his contemporaries, and who has elicited the admiration and wonder of all succeeding generations. This was Peter I, known as Peter the Great, one of the remarkable characters of history. He was but seventeen years of age when he assumed the full responsibilities of government.

852. The Conquest of Azof (1696). — At this time Russia possessed only one seaport, Archangel, on the White Sea, the harbor of which for a large part of the year is sealed against vessels by the

extreme cold of that high latitude. Russia, consequently, had no marine commerce; there was no word for *fleet* in the Russian language. Peter saw clearly that the most urgent need of his empire was outlets upon the sea. Hence his first aim was to wrest the Baltic shore from the grasp of Sweden, and the Euxine from the hands of the Turks.

FIG. 142.— PETER THE GREAT. (After a painting by *Karel de Moor*)

In 1695 Peter sailed down the Don and made an attack upon Azof, the key to the Black Sea, but was unsuccessful. The next year, however, repeating the attempt, he succeeded, and thus gained his first harbor on the south.

853. **Peter's Visit to the West** (1697–1698). — With a view to advancing his naval projects Peter about this time sent a large number of young Russian nobles to Italy, Holland, and England to acquire in those countries a knowledge of naval affairs, forbidding them to return before they had become good sailors.

Not satisfied with thus sending to foreign parts his young nobility, Peter formed the somewhat startling resolution of going abroad himself and learning the art of shipbuilding by personal experience in the dockyards of Holland. Accordingly, in the year 1697, leaving the government in the hands of three nobles, he

set out for the Netherlands. Arriving there, he proceeded to Zaandam, a place a short distance from Amsterdam. After a week's stay here, in order to escape the annoyance of the crowds, Peter left the place and went to the docks of the East India Company at Amsterdam. Here he worked for four months, being known among his fellow-workmen as Baas or Master Peter.

From Holland Master Peter went to England to study her superior naval establishment and to learn "the why" and "the wherefore." Here he was fittingly received by King William III, who had presented Peter while in Holland with a splendid yacht, and who now made his guest extremely happy by getting up for him a naval review. Returning from England to Holland, Peter went thence to Vienna, intending to visit Venice; but hearing of an insurrection at home, he set out in haste for Moscow.

854. **Peter disbands the Streltsi and creates a New Army after Western Models.** — The revolt which had hastened Peter's return from the West was an uprising among the Streltsi, a body of militia, numbering twenty or thirty thousand, who formed the nearest thing to a standing Russian army. In their ungovernable turbulence they remind us of the prætorians of the Roman emperors, or the janizaries of the later Turkish sultans. The present mutiny had been suppressed before Peter's arrival, so that there was nothing now remaining for him to do save to mete out punishment to the ringleaders, of whom a thousand or more were put to death with the cruelest tortures. Peter beheaded some of the wretches with his own hands, and compelled the nobles of his court also to help strike off the heads of the condemned. Nothing better illustrates the barbarism of the Russia of Peter's time than the fact that his acting thus as an executioner never shocked his subjects in the least.

This revolt settled Peter in his determination to rid himself altogether of the insolent and turbulent Streltsi. Their place was taken by a well-disciplined force trained according to the tactics of the Western nations.

855. **Peter's Other Reforms.** — The reorganization of the Russian military system was only one of the many reforms undertaken

by Peter. The variety of these was so great, and Peter's manner of effecting them so harsh and strenuous, that, as one has aptly expressed it, he fairly "knouted the Russians into civilization."

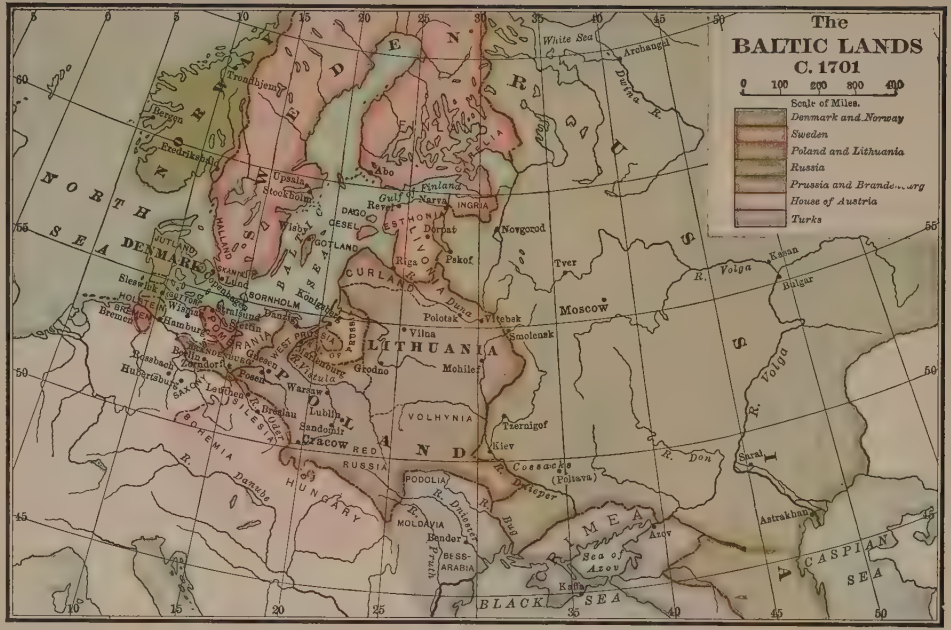
As outgrowths of what he had seen or heard or had had suggested to him on his foreign tour, Peter issued a new coinage, introduced schools, built factories, constructed roads and canals, established a postal system, opened mines, and framed laws modeled after those of the West.

Most important in its political as well as religious consequences was Peter's reform in the ecclesiastical system. At this time the Russian Church formed a sort of state within the state. The head of the Church, bearing the title of Patriarch, was a kind of Russian pope. Through his censorship of the temporal authority and his interference in matters secular he hampered and embarrassed the government. Peter put an end to this state of things. He abolished the patriarchate and in its place created an administrative body, appointed by himself and called the Holy Synod, to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the last restraint upon the authority of the Tsar was destroyed. The Russian government became an unlimited monarchy of the purest Oriental type.

856. Charles XII of Sweden; the Swedish Monarchy at his Accession. — Peter's history now becomes intertwined with that of a man quite as remarkable as himself, — Charles XII of Sweden. Sweden was at this time one of the great powers of Europe. The Baltic was virtually a Swedish lake, — the Mediterranean of an empire which aspired to be the mistress of the North.

But unfortunately Sweden could not maintain such a sea empire without hemming in and cramping in their normal development, territorial or commercial, various neighboring states, — in particular Russia, Poland, and Denmark. In this situation lay hidden the germ of the long and obstinate so named Swedish Wars, which were essentially a struggle for the control of the Baltic.

The accession to the throne in 1697 of the young and inexperienced Charles offered to the jealous enemies and watchful rivals of Sweden seemingly too good an opportunity to be lost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C. 1701
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Scale of Miles.
Denmark and Norway
Sweden
Poland and Lithuania
Russia
Prussia and Brandenburg
House of Austria
Turks
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
FINLAND
RUSSIA
POLAND
LITHUANIA
CURLAND
PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
VOLHYNIA
PODOLIA
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Baltic Sea
White Sea
Archangel
Trondhjem
Bergen
Frederikshald
Upsala
Stockholm
Abo
Narva
INGRIA
ESTHONIA
Dorpat
Novgorod
Wisby
GOTLAND
DAGO
OESEL
Riga
Pskof
Tver
Moscow
Kazan
R. Volga
Bulgar
Jutland
Fyen
Zealand
Skanör
Malmö
Copenhagen
Bornholm
Slesvig
Holstein
Brunswick
Hamburg
Wismar
Stralsund
Stettin
Danzig
Königsberg
Memel
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Vilna
Grodno
Mohilef
Warsaw
Posen
Breslau
Lublin
Sandomir
Cracow
Tzernigof
Kiev
Cossacks (Poltava)
R. Dnieper
R. Don
Saral
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Azov
Azov
Kaffa
BLACK SEA
R. Danube
R. Dniester
R. Bug
Pruth
Oldenburg
Bremen
Minden
Münden
Osnabrück
Münster
Wesel
Cleves
Nimeguen
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Leyden
Rotterdam
Arnheim
Embden
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Zwolle
Deventer
Lingen
Meppen
Rheine
Coesfeld
Dülmen
Lippstadt
Paderborn
Höxter
Corvey
Minden
Hanover
Celle
Lüneburg
Ratzeburg
Lübeck
Rostock
Wismar
Schwerin
Ludwigslust
Parchim
Neustrelitz
Stargard
Pasewalk
Prenzlau
Angermünde
Berlin
Potsdam
Brandenburg
Wittenberg
Torgau
Meissen
Dresden
Leipsic
Zeitz
Naumburg
Weissenfels
Merseburg
Halle
Magdeburg
Quedlinburg
Halberstadt
Wernigerode
Blankenburg
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Goslar
Hildesheim
Hameln
Nienburg
Verden
Bremen
Stade
Ritzebüttel
Cuxhaven
Emden
Aurich
Jever
Oldenburg
Delmenhorst
Vechta
Diepholz
Bramsche
Osnabrück
Iburg
Rheine
Lingen
Meppen
Papenburg
Leer
Norden
Wittmund
Esens
Carolinensiel
Jever
Varel
Rüstringen
Wilhelmshaven
Bremerhaven
Geestemünde
Bremervörde
Stade
Buxtehude
Harburg
Winsen
Celle
Uelzen
Lüneburg
Dannenberg
Gifhorn
Wolfsburg
Helmstedt
Schöningen
Königslutter
Wolfenbüttel
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Goslar
Seesen
Osterode
Clausthal
Zellerfeld
Andreasberg
Hildesheim
Alfeld
Gronau
Hameln
Springe
Pyrmont
Lemgo
Detmold
Blomberg
Horn
Lippstadt
Soest
Werl
Unna
Hamm
Lünen
Dortmund
Hörde
Bochum
Hattingen
Steinhude
Neustadt
Wunstorf
Hanover
Linden
Hanover
Peine
Hildesheim
Alfeld
Gronau
Elze
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for pushing her back into the northern peninsula. Accordingly three sovereigns, Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and Peter the Great of Russia, leagued against him for the purpose of appropriating such portions of his dominions as they severally coveted.

857. **The Battle of Narva** (1700). — But the conspirators had formed a wrong estimate of the young Swedish monarch. With a well-trained force — a veteran army that had not yet forgotten the discipline of the hero Gustavus Adolphus — Charles threw himself first upon the Danes, and in two weeks forced the Danish king to sue for peace; then he turned his little army of eight thousand men upon the Russian forces of twenty thousand, which were besieging the city of Narva, on the Gulf of Finland, and inflicted upon them a most ignominious defeat. The only comment of the imperturbable Peter upon the disaster was, "The Swedes will have the advantage of us at first, but they will teach us how to beat them."

858. **The Founding of St. Petersburg** (1703). — After chastising the Tsar at Narva, the Swedish king turned south and marched into Poland to punish Augustus for the part he had taken in the conspiracy against him. While Charles was busied in this quarter Peter was gradually making himself master of the Swedish lands on the Baltic, and upon a marshy island at the mouth of the Neva was laying the foundations of the city of Petersburg, which he proposed to make the western gateway of his empire. The spot selected by Peter as the site of his new capital was low and subject to inundation,[1] so that the labor required to make it fit for building purposes was simply enormous. The splendid capital stands to-day one of the most impressive monuments of the indomitable and despotic energy of Peter.

859. **Invasion of Russia by Charles XII; the Battle of Poltáva** (1709). — Having defeated the armies of King Augustus and given his crown to another, Charles was now ready to turn his

[1] In selecting such a marshy site for his capital Peter may have been aiming to reproduce Amsterdam, in which city he had spent so much of his time when abroad.

attention once more to the Tsar. With an army of barely forty thousand men he invaded Russia, and finally laid siege to the town of Poltáva. Peter marched to its relief, and the two armies met in decisive combat in front of the place. The Swedish army was virtually annihilated. Escaping from the field with a few followers, Charles fled southward and found an asylum in Turkey.[2]

860. Russia's Title to Baltic Land confirmed; Peter's Death. — In 1721 the Swedish Wars were brought to an end by the Peace of Nystad, which confirmed Russia's title to all the eastern Baltic lands that Peter had wrested from the Swedes. The undisputed possession of so large a strip of the Baltic seaboard vastly increased the importance and influence of Russia, which now assumed a place among the leading European powers.

Peter's eventful reign was now drawing to a close. Four years after the end of the Swedish Wars, being then in his fifty-fourth year, he died of a fever brought on by his excesses and careless exposures. Probably in the case of no other European nation has any single personality left so deep and abiding an impress upon the national life and history as Peter the Great left upon Russian society and Russian history. He planted throughout his vast empire the seeds of Western civilization, and by his giant strength lifted the great nation which destiny had placed in his hands out of Asiatic barbarism into the society of the European peoples.

861. Reign of Catherine the Great (1762–1796); the Partition of Poland. — From the death of Peter on to the close of the eighteenth century the Russian throne was held, the greater part of the time, by women, the most noted of whom was Catherine II, the Great, who was one of the most distinguished representatives of the so-called Enlightened Despots (sec. 796). But while a woman of great genius, she had most serious faults of character, being incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

[2] After spending five years among the Turks, during which time he acted in a manner which abundantly justified his title of the "Madman of the North," Charles returned to Sweden. Soon after his return he was killed in battle. At the time of his death Charles was only thirty-six years of age. Perhaps we can understand him best by regarding him, as his biographer Voltaire suggests, as an old Norse sea king born ten centuries after his time. He was indeed "the last of the Vikings."

Carrying out ably the policy of Peter the Great, Catherine extended vastly the limits of Russian dominion and opened the country even more thoroughly than he had done to the entrance of Western influences. Aside from internal reforms, one of the most noteworthy matters of Catherine's reign was her participation in the dismemberment of Poland, the partition of which state she planned in connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria. On the first division, which was made in 1772, the royal robbers each took a portion of the spoils.[3]

FIG. 143. — CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA. (After a portrait by *Rosselin*)

It is difficult to apportion the blame among the participators in this transaction. Maria Theresa seems to have been the only one connected with the iniquitous business who had any scruples of conscience respecting the act. She justly characterized the proposed partition as downright robbery, for a long time stood out against it, and yielded at last and took her

[3] The Polish constitution was a survival of the age of mediæval feudal anarchy. In the struggle here between the royal power and the feudal nobility the aristocracy had triumphed, and had reduced the kingly authority to the mere shadow of elective kingship. But it must be added that this anarchical state of the kingdom cannot be pleaded by the dismemberers of Poland in extenuation of their crime, for they in every possible way prevented all schemes of reform and fostered the anarchy because it served their interests and furthered their plans to do so. Besides, an admirable new constitution was drawn up for Poland in 1791, which would have made it a strong state had a chance been allowed.

portion only when she realized that she was powerless to prevent the others from carrying out the policy of dismemberment.

In 1793 a second partition was made, this time between Russia and Prussia; and then in 1795, after the suppression of a determined revolt of the Poles under the lead of the patriot Kosciuszko, a third and final division among the three powers completed the dismemberment of the unhappy state and erased its name from the map of Europe. This was the first instance in two hundred years of the destruction of a sovereign Christian state by sister states. Unfortunately the pages of the history of the following century were to be stained with the record of many similar acts of international brigandage, yet by none quite as wicked or as far-reaching in its regrettable consequences as was this assassination of Poland.

The territory gained by Russia in the dismemberment of Poland brought her western frontier close alongside the civilization of Central Europe. In Catherine's phrase, Poland had become her "door mat," upon which she stepped when visiting the West.

By the close of Catherine's reign Russia was one of the foremost powers of Europe, and was henceforward to have a voice in all matters of general European concern. She was destined to play an important part in the Napoleonic Wars and in the great struggle between the people and their despotic rulers, — a struggle already inaugurated on the Continent by the Revolutionists in France.

Selections from the Sources. — ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 301–312.

Secondary Works. — RAMBAUD, A., *History of Russia*, 3 vols. This is the best comprehensive history of Russia available in English. SCHUYLER, E., *Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia;* the best biography of the great Tsar. For a shorter, delightfully written life, see MOTLEY, J., *Peter the Great.* MORFILL, W. R., *Story of Russia*, chaps. v–ix, and *Story of Poland*, chap. xi; the last for the Partition of Poland. BAIN, R. N., *Charles XII.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Geography of the Russian Empire. 2. Ivan the Terrible. 3. Peter's boyhood. 4. The founding of St. Petersburg. 5. Peter and his son and heir, Alexis.

CHAPTER LXV

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA: FREDERICK THE GREAT (1740–1786)

862. The Beginnings of Prussia. — The foundation of the Prussian kingdom was laid in the beginning of the seventeenth century (in 1611) by the union of two small states south of the Baltic, one in Germany and one in Poland. These were the Electorate of Brandenburg and the Duchy of Prussia (sec. 582). Brandenburg had been gradually growing into prominence since the tenth century. Its ruler at this time was a prince of the noted House of Hohenzollern, and was one of the seven princes to whom belonged the right of electing the Emperor.

863. The Great Elector Frederick William (1640–1688). — Just before the close of the Thirty Years' War a strong man — Frederick William, better known as the "Great Elector" — came to the throne of the dual state. At the Peace of Westphalia he secured new territory, which greatly enhanced his power and prominence among the German princes.

The Great Elector ruled for nearly half a century, and left to his successor a strongly centralized authority. He was one of the most ideal representatives of the principle of absolute monarchy then so dominant. Like all absolute rulers, he placed his faith in soldiers, and laid the basis of the military power of Prussia by the creation of a standing army.

864. The Elector of Brandenburg acquires the Title of King. — Elector Frederick III (1688–1713), son of the Great Elector, was ambitious for the title of King, a dignity that the weight and influence won for the Prussian state by his father fairly justified him in seeking. He saw about him other princes less powerful than himself enjoying this dignity, and he too "would be a king and wear a crown." There were certain jealousies to be overcome, but finally it was arranged that he might assume the new

title and dignity *in the Duchy of Prussia*, which, unlike Brandenburg, was not included in the Empire. Accordingly, early in the year 1701, Frederick, amidst imposing ceremonies, was crowned and hailed as King at Königsberg. Hitherto he had been Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia; now he was Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia.

FIG. 144. — FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA. (From a photograph of the statue presented to the United States by Emperor William II, and unveiled at Washington, Nov. 19, 1904)

Thus was a new king born among the kings of Europe. The event is a landmark in German, and even in European, history. The cue of German history from this on is the growth of the power of the Prussian kings and their steady advance to imperial honors and to the control of the affairs of the German race.

865. Frederick William I (1713–1740). — The son and successor of the first Prussian king, known as Frederick William I, was a most extraordinary character. He was a strong, violent, brutal man, full of the strangest freaks. He had a mania for big soldiers. With infinite expense and trouble he gathered a regiment of the tallest men he could find, who were known as the "Potsdam Giants." Not only were the Goliaths of his own dominions impressed into the service, but tall men in all parts of Europe were coaxed and hired to join the regiment. No present was so acceptable to Frederick William as a tall grenadier.

Rough, brutal tyrant though he was, Frederick William was an able ruler. He did much to consolidate the power of Prussia, and at his death left to his successor a considerably extended dominion and a splendidly drilled army of eighty thousand men.

866. Accession of Frederick the Great (1740). — Frederick William was followed by his son Frederick II, to whom the world has agreed to give the title of Great. He was one of the few kings of whom it can be said that they were kings by right of genius as well as by right of birth. Around his name gather events of world-wide interest for forty-six years just preceding the French Revolution.

Frederick had a genius for war, and his father had prepared to his hand one of the most efficient instruments of that art since the time of the Roman legions. The two great wars in which Frederick was engaged, and which raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe, were the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

867. War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). — The very year that Frederick II ascended the Prussian throne the last of the direct male line of the Hapsburgs, the Emperor Charles VI, died. Now not long before his death Charles had bound all the leading powers of Europe to a sort of agreement called the Pragmatic Sanction, by the terms of which, in case he should leave no son, all his hereditary dominions should descend to his elder daughter, Maria Theresa. But no sooner was Charles dead than a number of princes each laid claim to all or to portions of the Hapsburg inheritance. Before any of these claimants, however, had begun hostilities, Frederick, — whose father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, — without any declaration of war, marched his army into Silesia and took forcible possession of that country. Frederick's act was an act of pure brigandage. He himself frankly tells posterity that the mixed motives under which he acted were a desire to augment his dominions, to render himself and Prussia respected in Europe, and to "acquire fame."

Almost all Europe was soon in arms. England, the Protestant Netherlands, and eventually Russia were drawn into the war as

allies of Maria Theresa. The theater of the struggle came to embrace India and the French and English colonies in the New World. Macaulay's well-known words picture the world-wide range of the conflagration which Frederick's act had kindled: "In order that he might rob a neighbor," he says, "whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

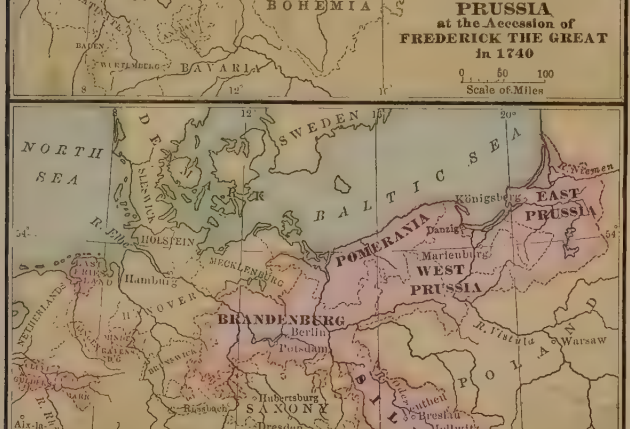
The war went on until 1748, when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Carlyle's summing up of the provisions of the various treaties of this peace can be easily remembered, and is not misleading as to the essentials: "To Frederick, Silesia; as to the rest, wholly as they were."

868. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763). — During the eight years of peace which now followed, Maria Theresa was busy forming a league of the chief European powers against the unscrupulous despoiler of her dominions. Russia, Sweden, many of the states of the Germanic body, and France all ultimately entered into an alliance with the queen. Frederick could at first find no ally save England, — towards the close of the war Russia came for a short time to his side, — so that he was left almost alone to fight the armies of half the Continent. Throughout the struggle Prussia was scarcely more than a "Spartan camp."

The long war is known in European history as the Seven Years' War. At the very outset it became mixed with what in American history is called the French and Indian War. For a time fortune was on Frederick's side. In the celebrated battles of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he defeated successively the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and startled all Europe into an acknowledgment of the fact that the armies of Prussia had at their head one of the greatest commanders of the world. His name became everywhere a household word, and everybody coupled with it the admiring epithet of Great.

But fortune finally deserted Frederick. In sustaining the unequal contest his dominions became drained of men, and inevitable ruin seemed to impend over his throne and kingdom. But just at this time a change by death in the government of Russia

NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
DENMARK
SCHLESWICK
HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
R. Niemen
Marienburg
Hamburg
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
Küstrin
R. Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
SAXONY
Dresden
Breslau
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
Prague
PALATINATE
BADEN
WURTEMBERG
BAVARIA
R. Rhine
R. Elbe
R. Oder
PRUSSIA
at the Accession of
FREDERICK THE GREAT
in 1740
0 50 100
Scale of Miles


NORTH SEA
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Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
R. Niemen
Danzig
Marienburg
WEST PRUSSIA
Hamburg
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
R. Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
Hubertsburg
SAXONY
Dresden
Breslau
Mollwitz
SILESIA
Aix-la-Chapelle
Frankfort
Prague
Kolin
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
PALATINATE
BADEN
WURTEMBERG
BAVARIA
Munich
R. Rhine
R. Elbe
R. Oder
PRUSSIA
at the Death of
FREDERICK THE GREAT
in 1786
0 50 100
Scale of Miles
THE M^CH. WORKS

put a new face upon affairs. In 1762 Empress Elizabeth of that country died, and Peter III, an ardent admirer of Frederick, came to the throne, and immediately transferred the armies of Russia from the side of the allies to that of Prussia. The alliance lasted only a few months, Peter being deposed and murdered by his wife, who now came to the throne as Catherine II. She adopted a neutral policy and recalled her armies; but the temporary alliance had given Frederick a decisive advantage, and the year following the defection of Russia, England and France were glad to give over the struggle and sign the Peace of Paris (1763). Shortly after this another peace (the Treaty of Hubertsburg) was arranged between Austria and Prussia, and one of the most terrible wars that had ever disturbed Europe was over. Silesia was left in the hands of Frederick.

The Seven Years' War was one of the decisive combats of history. Besides the Anglo-French question in India (sec. 876), it settled two questions of vast reach and significance. First, it settled, or at least put in the way of final settlement, the Austro-Prussian question, — the question as to whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in Germany. It made Prussia the equal of Austria and foreshadowed her ascendancy.

Second, it settled the Anglo-French question in America, a question like the Austro-Prussian question in Europe. It decided that North America should belong to the Protestant Anglo-Saxon, and not to the Catholic Latin, race.

869. Frederick as an Enlightened Despot. — In all matters concerning foreign states, expediency was Frederick's only guide; he did whatever he thought would aggrandize Prussia and glorify himself, without any regard to truth, honesty, or honor.[1] But for his guidance in his relations to his own people he had an admirable moral code. Duty was his watchword here. So just and exalted was his conception of his kingly office, and so worthy the use he made of it, that he has been assigned a first place among the Enlightened Despots of the eighteenth century. Professor Morse Stephens illustrates the difference between the

[1] For Frederick's part in the partition of Poland, see sec. 861.

despotism of Louis XIV and that of Frederick by thus setting in contrast their respective maxims: "Louis said, 'I am the State'; Frederick said, 'I am the first servant of the State.'"

During the intervals of peace between his great wars, and for the half of his reign which followed the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederick did indeed labor untiringly to develop the resources of his dominions and to promote the material welfare of his people. He dug canals, constructed roads, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture and manufactures, and improved in every possible way the administration of the government.

But Frederick's attention was not wholly engrossed with looking after the material well being of his subjects. He was a philosopher and believed himself to be a poet, and usually spent several hours each day in philosophical and literary pursuits. It has been said of him that "he divided with Voltaire the intellectual monarchy of the eighteenth century." He gathered about him a company selected from among the most distinguished authors, scientists, and philosophers of the age, among whom was his "cosovereign" Voltaire, whom Frederick coaxed to Berlin to add brilliancy to his court, and to criticise and correct his verses. Frederick felt very proud — for a time — of this acquisition, and rejoiced that to his other titles he could now add that of "the Possessor of Voltaire." But it was an ill-assorted friendship; the two "sovereigns" soon quarreled, and Voltaire was dismissed from court in disgrace.

It was on the eve of the French Revolution that Frederick died, in 1786. Carlyle calls him "the last of the kings." He was of course not the last in name, but there was none after him as great as he. Only three years after he had been laid in the tomb broke out the revolution which closed the Age of the Kings and ushered in the Age of the People.

870. **Summary: Prussia made a New Center of German Crystallization.** — This chapter may be summarized in this way. The all-important result of Frederick the Great's strong reign was the making of Prussia the equal of Austria, and thereby the laying of the basis of future German unity. Hitherto Germany had been

trying unsuccessfully to concentrate about Austria; now there was a new center of crystallization,—one which was destined to draw to itself the Protestant elements of German nationality.

The internal history of Germany from Frederick's reign on, if we leave out of consideration the period of Napoleon's domination, is very largely the story of the rivalry of these two powers, resulting in the final triumph of Prussia and the unification of Germany under her leadership, Austria with the mixed races under her rule being pushed out as entitled to no part in the affairs of the German fatherland. This story we shall tell in a later chapter.

Selections from the Sources.—*Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina* (Margravine of Baireuth, sister of Frederick the Great). These memoirs form one of the most graphic and piquant autobiographies ever written. They hold striking portraits of the author's savage father, Frederick William I, of her brother, to whom she was devotedly attached, and of many other distinguished contemporaries. But Wilhelmina's lively imagination and her mischievous if not malicious spirit caused her to overcolor and to exaggerate. Consequently the numerous portraits which she delights in sketching, while always interesting and often amusing, are not to be taken too seriously. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 315–328.

Secondary Works.—TUTTLE, H., *History of Prussia*, 4 vols. This work was unhappily interrupted at the year 1757 by the death of the author. It is the best history in English of the period covered. REDDAWAY, W. F., *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia*. CARLYLE, T., *History of Friedrich the Second*, 5 vols. This is one of Carlyle's masterpieces. Like his *French Revolution*, it will be best appreciated if read after some acquaintance with its subject has been gained from other sources. It deals almost exclusively with Frederick's twenty three years of war and utterly neglects or minimizes the twenty three of his reign which were years of peace. HASSALL, A., *The Balance of Power, 1715–1789*, chaps. vi–ix. LONGMAN, F. W., *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War*. BRIGHT, J. F., *Maria Theresa*. MACAULAY, T. B., *Essay on Frederick the Great*.

Topics for Class Reports.—1. The Teutonic Knights and the beginnings of Prussia. 2. Character of the father of Frederick the Great. 3. The Regiment of Giants. 4. The Empress Queen Maria Theresa. 5. Frederick the Great and Voltaire. 6. Frederick the Great as an enlightened despot.

CHAPTER LXVI

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. The Reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714)

871. The Formula for Eighteenth-Century English History. — "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia," says Professor Seeley, "is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century."

This expansion movement was simply the continuation of a trade and commercial development which had begun in the sixteenth century, and which had shaped large sections of the history of England by bringing her into sharp rivalry first with Spain and then with the Dutch Netherlands. Before the close of the seventeenth century England had practically triumphed over both these commercial rivals. Her great and dangerous rival in the eighteenth century was France. "The whole period," says Seeley, referring to the period between 1688 and 1815, "stands out as an age of gigantic rivalry between England and France, a kind of second Hundred Years' War."

To indicate from the viewpoint of English history the chief episodes in this great struggle between the two rivals for commercial and colonial supremacy will be our chief aim in the present chapter. We shall, however, in order to render more complete our sketch of this century of English history, touch upon some other matters of special interest, though these be connected in no direct manner with the dominant movement of the period.

872. War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). — The War of the Spanish Succession covered the whole of the reign of Queen Anne. Respecting the causes and results of this war, and of England's part in it, we have already spoken in connection with the reign of Louis XIV (sec. 806). Of what was there said

we need here recall only the enumeration of the territorial gains which the war brought to England; namely, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca in the Old World, and Nova Scotia together with a clear title to Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Territory in the New.

Thus as results of the first war of the eighteenth century England had got practical control of the Mediterranean, had made a beginning of wresting from France her possessions in the New World, and had gained mastery of the seas. "Before the war," says Mahan, "England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* sea power, without any second."

873. **Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland** (1707). — The most noteworthy matter in the domestic history of England during the reign of Queen Anne was the union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland. At this time England, dealing with Scotland as though it were a foreign state, shut out the Scotch traders not only from the English colonies but also from the English home market.

The feeling in Scotland against England became intense, and there were threats of breaking the dynastic ties which united the two countries. The English government, realizing the danger which lurked in the situation, — for the national sentiment in Scotland was still strong, — at last met the Scots in a spirit of reasonable compromise. It was agreed that the Parliaments of the two countries should be united, that perfect free trade should be established between them, and that all the English colonies should be open to Scotch traders. On this basis was brought about the union of the two realms into a single kingdom under the name of Great Britain (1707). From this time forward the two countries were represented by one Parliament sitting at Westminster.

The union was advantageous to both countries; for it was a union not simply of hands but of hearts. As to Scotland, her entrance into England's home and colonial markets resulted in a wonderful expansion of her energies and resources. Ten years after the union the first Scotch vessel intended for the transatlantic

trade was launched on the Clyde. The Clyde to-day is one of the greatest centers of the shipbuilding industry, and Glasgow is one of the largest and most important seaports of the world.

II. England under the Earlier Hanoverians[1]

874. The Sovereign's Loss of Political Influence; the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. — The first Hanoverian king, George I (1714–1727), was utterly ignorant of the language and the affairs of the people over whom he had been called to rule. On this account he was obliged to intrust to his ministers the practical administration of the government. The same was true in the case of George II. George III, having been born and educated in England, regained some of the old influence of former kings. But he was the last English sovereign who had any large personal influence in shaping governmental policies.

The power and patronage lost by the crown passed into the hands of the chief minister, popularly called the Prime Minister, or Premier, whose tenure of office was dependent not upon the good will of the sovereign but upon the support of the House of Commons. This transfer of power was not made all at once, but by the middle of the eighteenth century it was practically completed, although this fact was not always gracefully and promptly recognized by the crown. In the English government of to-day the Prime Minister is the actual and fully acknowledged executive. The king remains the titular sovereign, indeed, but all real power and patronage are in the hands of the Premier.

The first English Prime Minister in the modern sense was Sir Robert Walpole. He was at the head of the government, as the leader of the Whig party, for about twenty-one years (1721–1742).[2]

[1] The sovereigns of the House of Hanover are George I (1714–1727), George II (1727–1760), George III (1760–1820), George IV (1820–1830), William IV (1830–1837), Victoria (1837–1901), and Edward VII (1901–).

[2] To him has been attributed the cynical saying, "Every man has his price." But he did not utter this "famous slander on mankind." What he actually did say was, "All these men have their price," — referring to a group of his opponents. See Morley, *Walpole*, p. 127; and Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 399.

It was during the administration of Walpole that what is known as the Cabinet assumed substantially the form which it has at the present time. This body is practically a committee composed of members of Parliament, headed by the Prime Minister, and dependent for its existence upon the will of the House of Commons. The Premier and his colleagues stand and fall together. When the Cabinet can no longer command a majority in the Commons, its members resign, and a new Prime Minister, appointed nominally by the sovereign, but really by the party in control of the House of Commons, forms a new Cabinet.[3]

875. **The Religious Revival; the Rise of Methodism.** — It will be well for us here to turn aside from the political affairs of England and cast a glance upon the religious life of the time. In its spiritual and moral life the England of the earlier Hanoverians was the England of the restored Stuarts. Among the higher classes there was widespread infidelity; religion was a matter of jest and open scoff. The Church was dead; the higher clergy were neglectful of their duties. The lower classes were stolid, callous, and brutal. Drunkenness was almost universal among high and low. The nation was immersed in material pursuits, and was without thought or care for things ideal and spiritual.

Such a state of things in society as this has never failed to awaken in select souls a vehement protest. And it was so now. At Oxford, about the year 1730, a number of earnest young men, among whom we find John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, formed a little society, the object of which was mutual helpfulness in true Christian living. From their strict and methodical manner of life they were derisively nicknamed "Methodists."

This Oxford movement was the starting point of a remarkable religious revival. John Wesley was the organizer, Whitefield the orator, and Charles Wesley the poet of the movement.[4] They and their helpers reached the neglected masses through open-air

[3] The Cabinet is an essential feature of all modern self-governing states which have constitutions copied after the parliamentary system developed by the English.

[4] Charles Wesley wrote over six thousand hymns, many of which are still favorites in the hymnals of to-day.

meetings. They preached in the fields, at the street corners, beneath the trees, at the great mining camps. The effects of their fervid exhortations were often as startling as were those of the appeals of the preachers of the Crusades.

The leaders of the revival at first had no thought of establishing a Church distinct from the Anglican, but simply aimed at forming within the Established Church a society of earnest, devout workers, somewhat like that of the Christian Endeavor societies in our present churches. They were finally constrained, however, by petty persecution to go out from the established organization and form a Church of their own.

The revival, like the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century, left a deep impress upon the life of England. It is due largely to this movement that in true religious feeling, in social purity, in moral earnestness, in humanitarian sentiment, the England of to-day is separated by such a gulf from the England of the first two Georges.

876. **The Seven Years' War**[5] (1756–1763). — Just after the middle of the century there broke out between the French and the English colonists in America the so-called French and Indian War, which became blended with what in Europe is known as the Seven Years' War (sec. 868). At first the war went disastrously against the English, — Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne, upon the march to which he suffered his memorable defeat in the wilderness, being but one of several ill-starred English undertakings. In the Old World Minorca had been lost, and with it virtually the control of the Mediterranean. Never were Englishmen cast into deeper despair. Never had they so completely lost faith in themselves. The Earl of Chesterfield wrote: "We are undone both at home and abroad. . . . We are no longer a nation."

The gloom was at its deepest when the elder William Pitt (later Earl of Chatham), known as "the Great Commoner," came to the head of affairs in England. Pitt was one of the greatest men the English race has ever produced. Frederick the Great

[5] For the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), see sec. 867.

expressed his estimate of him in these words: "England has at last brought forth a man." Pitt exercised the full authority of Prime Minister — though he was not the nominal head of the ministry — from 1757 to 1761. These were great years in English history. It was like a return of Cromwell's rule.

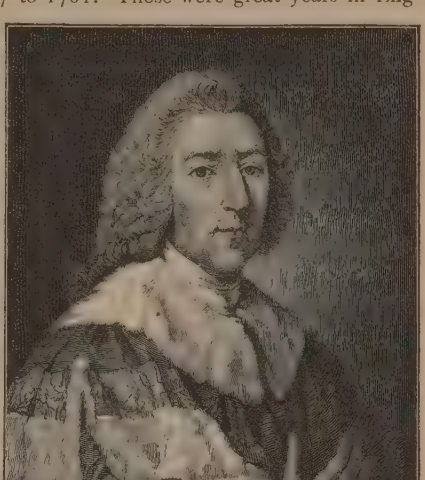

FIG. 145. — WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM
(After a portrait by *R. Brompton*)

The turning point in the war, so far as America was concerned, was the great victory gained by the English under the youthful Major General Wolfe over the French under Montcalm on the Heights of Quebec (1759). The victory gave England Quebec, the key to the situation in the New World.

In India also victory was declaring for the English in their struggle there with the French and their native allies. Two years before the battle of Quebec, Colonel Robert Clive, an officer in the employ of the English East India Company, with a force insignificant in numbers, in the memorable battle of Plassey (1757) had put to flight a native army of sixty thousand foot and horse, and had thus virtually laid, in the northeastern region of the peninsula, the basis of England's great Indian Empire.[6]

[6] The prelude to this battle was a terrible crime committed by Siraj-ud-Daula, viceroy of Bengal and other provinces. Moved by anger at the refusal of the English official to surrender certain fugitives, and urged on by French agents, the viceroy

The end came in 1763 with the Peace of Paris. France ceded to England Canada and all her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi River, save New Orleans and a little adjoining land (which, along with the French territory west of the Mississippi, had already been given to Spain), and two little islands in the neighborhood of Newfoundland, which she was allowed to retain to dry fish on. She also withdrew from India as a political rival of England. England's supremacy in the colonial world and her mastery of the sea were now firmly established. This position, notwithstanding severe losses of which we shall speak immediately, she has maintained up to the present day.

877. The American Revolution (1775–1783). — The French and Indian War was the prelude to the War of American Independence. The overthrow of the French power in America made the English colonists less dependent than hitherto upon the mother country, since this removed their only dangerous rival and enemy on the continent. Clear-sighted statesmen had predicted that when the colonists no longer needed England's help against the French they would sever the bonds uniting them to the home land, if at any time these bonds chafed them.

And very soon the bonds did chafe. A majority in Parliament, thinking that the colonists should help pay the expenses of colonial defense, insisted upon taxing them. The colonists maintained that they could be justly taxed only through their own legislative assemblies. The British government refusing to acknowledge this principle, the colonists took up arms in defense of those rights and liberties which their fathers had won with so hard a struggle from English kings on English soil.

France seized the opportunity presented by the war to avenge herself upon England for the loss of Canada, and gave aid to the colonists. Spain and Holland also were both drawn into the

attacked the English fort and factory at Calcutta, and having secured one hundred and forty-six prisoners, thrust them into a contracted guardroom which was provided with only two small grated windows, — what in the story of India is known as "the Black Hole of Calcutta." During the course of a sultry night all but twenty-three of the unfortunate prisoners died of suffocation. It was in response to the cry which arose for vengeance that Robert Clive was sent from Madras to succor Bengal.

struggle, fighting against their old-time rival and foe. The war was ended by the Peace of Paris (1783). England acknowledged the independence of the thirteen colonies, — and a Greater England began its separate career in the New World.

878. **Legislative Independence of Ireland** (1782). — While the war in America was going on, the Irish, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the English government, demanded legislative independence. Since the Norman period Ireland had had a Parliament of her own, but it was at this time subordinate to the English Parliament, which asserted the right to bind Ireland by its laws. This the Anglo-Irish patriots strenuously resisted and drew up a Declaration of Rights wherein they demanded the legislative independence of Ireland. Fear of a revolt led England to grant the demands of the patriots and acknowledge the independence of the Irish Parliament (1782).

879. **The Abolition of the Slave Trade.** — Intimately connected with the great religious revival led by the Wesleys and Whitefield were certain philanthropic movements which hold a prominent place in the history of the moral and social life not only of England but of humanity. The most noteworthy of these was that resulting in the abolition of the African slave trade.

In the eighteenth century England was the chief slave-trading nation in the world. There was at that time little or no moral disapproval of this iniquitous traffic. But one effect of the religious revival was the calling into existence of much genuine philanthropic feeling. This sentiment expressed itself in a movement for the abolition of the inhuman trade.

The leaders of the movement were Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833). Finally, in 1807, after twenty years of agitation, a law was passed abolishing the trade.[7] This signaled as great a moral victory as ever was won in the English Parliament, for it was the aroused moral sentiment

[7] Denmark had abolished the traffic in 1802. In the United States the importation of slaves was illegal after 1808. Before 1820 most civilized states had placed the trade under the ban.

of the nation which was the main force that carried the reform measure through the Houses.[8]

880. The Industrial Revolution. — We turn now from the political, religious, and moral realms to the industrial domain. In this sphere of English life the latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed a wonderful revolution. In order to get the right point of view here, it is necessary that we first note the remarkable fact that though civilization during historic times had made great advances on many lines and in many domains, still in the industrial realm it had remained almost stationary from the dawn of history. At the middle of the eighteenth century all the industrial arts were being carried on in practically the same way that they were followed six or seven thousand years before in ancient Egypt and Babylonia.

Suddenly all this was changed by a few inventions. About 1767 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny. From the beginning of history, indeed from a period lost in the obscurity of prehistoric times, all the thread used in weaving had been made by twisting each thread separately. The spinning jenny, when perfected, with a single attendant twisted hundreds of threads at once. Within twenty years from the time of this invention there were between four and five million spindles in use in England.

It was now possible to produce thread in unlimited quantities. The next thing needed was improved machinery for weaving it into cloth. This was soon provided by Cartwright's power loom (1785). The next requisite was motive power to run the new machinery. At just this time James Watt brought out his improvement of the steam engine (1785). In its ruder form it had been used in the mines; now it was introduced into the factories.

The primary forces of the great industrial revolution — the spinning jenny, the power loom, and the steam engine — were now at work. The application of the steam engine to transportation purposes gave the world the steam railroad and the steamship.

[8] Another important humanitarian movement of the century was that of prison reform. This was effected chiefly through the labors of a single person, the philanthropist John Howard (1726–1790), who devoted his life to effecting a reform in prison conditions and discipline.

These inventions in the industrial realm mark an epoch in the history of civilization. We have to go back to prehistoric times to find in this domain any inventions or discoveries like them in their import for human progress. There is nothing between Menes in Egypt and George III in England with which to compare them. The discovery of fire, the invention of metal tools, and the domestication of animals and plants (secs. 7–9), — these inventions and achievements of prehistoric man are alone worthy, in their effects upon human society, of being placed alongside them.

881. **Import to England of the Industrial Revolution.** — The great industrial revolution exerted a determining influence upon the course and issue of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic Wars which grew out of it. It armed England, through the wealth it created, for the great fight, and thus enabled her to play the important part she did in that period of titanic struggle. "It is our improved steam engine," says Lord Jeffrey in his eulogy of Watt (written in 1819), "which has fought the battles of Europe and exalted and sustained through the late tremendous contest the political greatness of our land." It was the steam engine which created the wealth which England used so lavishly in carrying on the fight against Napoleon, and which did more perhaps than any other force in giving direction to the course of events during the years of his domination.

882. **Conclusion.** — With the French Revolution we reach a period in which English history must be regarded from the viewpoint of France. Indeed, for the space of half a generation after the rise of Napoleon to power, all European history becomes largely biographical and centers about that unique personality. Consequently we shall drop the story of English history at this point and let it blend with the story of the Revolution and that of the Napoleonic Empire.

All that we need here notice is that the Napoleonic Wars, in their Anglo-French phase, were essentially a continuation — and the end — of the second Hundred Years' War between England and France. Napoleon, having seized supreme power in France, endeavored to destroy England's commercial supremacy and to

regain for France that position in the colonial world from which she had been thrust by England. But this tremendous struggle, like all the others in which England had engaged with her ancient foe, — save the one in which she lost her American colonies, — only resulted, as we shall see later, in bringing into her hands additional colonial possessions, and in placing her naval power and commercial supremacy on a firmer basis than ever before.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The "Assiento" and the slave trade in the seventeenth century. 2. The Scotch project of a Panama colony. 3. The South Sea Bubble. 4. The abolition of the slave trade. 5. John Howard and prison reform.

II. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

(1789–1815)

CHAPTER LXVII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(1789–1799)

I. Causes of the Revolution; the States-General of 1789

883. **Introductory.** — The French Revolution was the revolt of the French people against royal despotism and class privilege. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was the motto of the Revolution. In the name of these principles great crimes were indeed committed; but these excesses of the Revolution are not to be confounded with its true spirit and aims. The French people in 1789 contended for substantially the same principles that the English people defended in 1642 and 1688, and that the American colonists maintained in 1776. It is only as we view them in this light that we can feel a sympathetic interest in the men and events of this tumultuous period of French history.

884. **Causes of the Revolution.** — Chief among the causes of the French Revolution were the abuses and extravagances of the Bourbon monarchy, the unjust privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the higher clergy, the wretched condition of the poorer classes of the people, and the revolutionary character and spirit of French philosophy and literature. To these must be added, as a proximate cause, the influence of the American Revolution. We will speak briefly of these several matters.

885. **The Bourbon Monarchy.** — We simply repeat what we have already learned when we say that the authority of the French

crown under the Bourbons had become unbearably despotic and oppressive. The life and property of every person in France were at the arbitrary disposal of the king. Persons were thrown into prison without even knowing the offense for which they were arrested. The taxes were imposed by the authority of the king alone. They struck the poor rather than the rich, and, in consequence of a miserable and corrupt system of collection, not more than one half or two thirds of the money wrung from the taxpayers ever reached the royal treasury. The public money thus gathered was squandered in maintaining a court the scandalous extravagances and debaucheries of which would shame a Turkish sultan.

886. **The Nobility.** — The French nobility on the eve of the Revolution numbered probably between twenty and thirty thousand families. Although owning one fifth of the soil of France and exercising feudal rights over much of the land belonging to peasant proprietors, still these nobles paid scarcely any taxes.

The higher nobility were chiefly the pensioners of the king, the ornaments of his court, living in riotous luxury at Paris and Versailles. Stripped of their ancient power, they still retained all the old pride and arrogance of their order, and clung tenaciously to all their feudal privileges and exemptions.

887. **The Clergy.** — The higher clergy formed a decayed feudal hierarchy. A third of the lands of France was in their hands, and this immense property was almost wholly exempt from taxation. The bishops and abbots were usually drawn from the ranks of the nobility, being attracted to the service of the Church rather by its enormous revenues and the social distinction conferred by its offices than by the inducements of piety. They owed their position to royal appointment, and commonly spent their princely incomes in luxurious life at court.

The lower clergy, made up in the main of humble and devoted parish priests, were drawn largely from the peasant class, and shared their poverty. Their salaries were mere pittances compared with the princely incomes enjoyed by the bishops and abbots. They were naturally in sympathy with the lower classes to which by

birth they belonged, and shared their feelings of dislike towards the great prelates.

888. **The Commons, or Third Estate.** — Below the two privileged orders stood the nonprivileged commons, known as the *Tïers État*, or Third Estate. This class embraced all the nation aside from the nobility and the clergy, — that is to say, the great bulk of the population. It numbered probably about twenty-five million souls. The order was divided into two chief classes, namely, the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, and the peasantry.

The peasants constituted the great majority of the Third Estate. The condition of most of them could hardly have been worse. Especially vexatious were the old feudal regulations to which they were subjected in the cultivation of the soil. Thus they were forbidden to fence their fields for the protection of their crops, as the fences interfered with the lord's progress in the hunt; and they were even prohibited from cultivating their fields at certain seasons, as this disturbed the nesting partridges. Being kept in a state of abject poverty, a failure of their crops reduced the French tenants to absolute starvation. It was not an unusual thing to find women and children dead in the woods or along the roadways.

One who saw all this misery thus pictures the appearance of the peasantry: "One sees certain fierce animals, male and female, scattered through the fields; they are black, livid, and burned by the sun, and attached to the soil, which they dig up and stir with indomitable industry; they have what is like an articulate voice, and when they rise up on their feet they show a human face, — in truth they are human beings. They retire at night into dens, where they live on black bread and water and roots; they save other men the trouble of sowing and delving and harvesting, and hence deserve not to lack of this bread which they have sown." [1]

It is true that during the eighteenth century the condition of perhaps the majority of the French peasants had been much improved, and that on the eve of the Revolution their state was

[1] La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, "De l'Homme," § cxxviii.

much more tolerable than that of the peasantry in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Yet never had a more rebellious spirit stirred in the French peasantry than at just this time. And the reason of this was not because the system under which they lived was "more severe, but more odious" than ever before, — more odious because the peasant of 1789, being more intelligent, realized more keenly the wrongs he suffered, and knew better his rights as a man than did the ignorant, stolid peasant of the previous century.

889. **The Revolutionary Spirit of French Philosophy.** — French philosophy in the eighteenth century was skeptical and revolutionary. The names of the great writers Voltaire and Rousseau[2] suggest at once its tone and spirit. Voltaire (1694–1778) gave expression, forcible and striking, to what the people were vaguely thinking and feeling. He has been well called "the magician of the art of writing." He had a most marvelous faculty of condensing thought; putting whole philosophies in an epigram, he supplied the French people with proverbs for a century. His aim was to make justice and reason dominant in human affairs. He disbelieved in revealed religion;[3] he would have men follow simply their inner sense of what is right and reasonable. His writings stirred all Europe as well as all France, and did so much to prepare the minds and hearts of men for the Revolution that in one sense there was much truth in his

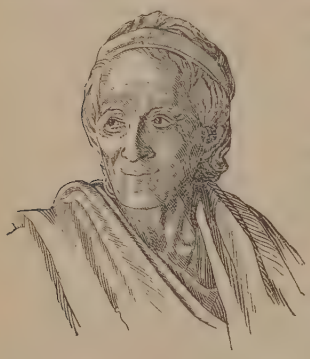

FIG. 146. — VOLTAIRE. (From a statue by *Houdon*)

[2] Other names are Montesquieu (1689–1755), whose most important work is entitled *The Spirit of Laws*, and Diderot (1713–1784) and D'Alembert (1717–1783), who were the chief of the so-called Encyclopedists, the compilers of an immense work in twenty-eight volumes.

[3] By some of Voltaire's disciples his doctrines were developed into atheism; but Voltaire himself was a deist, combating alike atheism and Christianity.

declaration, "I have accomplished more in my day than either Luther or Calvin."

Rousseau (1712–1778), like Voltaire, had neither faith nor hope in existing institutions. Society and government seemed to him contrivances designed by the strong for the enslavement of the weak: "Man was born free and is everywhere in chains" is the burden of his complaint. He would have men give up their artificial life in society and return to the simplicity of what he called "a state of nature." He declared that untutored tribes are happier than civilized men. He drew such an idyllic picture of the life of man in a state of nature that Voltaire, after reading his treatise thereon, wrote him that it filled him with a longing to go on all fours.

The tendency and effect of this skeptical philosophy was to create hatred and contempt for the institutions of both State and Church, and to foster discontent with the established order of things.

890. Influence of the American Revolution. — Not one of the least potent of the proximate causes of the French Revolution was the successful establishment of the American republic. The republican simplicity of the newborn state, contrasting so strongly with the extravagance and artificiality of the court at Versailles, elicited the unbounded admiration of the French people. In this young republic of the Western world they saw realized the Arcadia of their philosophy. It was no longer a dream. They themselves had helped to make it real. Here the rights of man had been recovered and vindicated. And now this liberty which the French people had helped the American colonists to secure, they were impatient to see France herself enjoy.

891. End of the Reign of Louis XV; "After us the Deluge." — The long-gathering tempest is now ready to break over France. Louis XV died in 1774. In the early part of his reign his subjects had affectionately called him "the Well-Beloved," but long before his death all their early love and admiration had been turned into hatred and contempt. Besides being despotically inclined, the king was indolent and scandalously profligate. During twenty

years of his reign, as we have already learned, he was wholly under the influence of the notorious Madame de Pompadour (sec. 811).

The inevitable issue of this orgy of folly and extravagance seems to have been clearly enough perceived by the chief actors in it, as is shown by that reckless phrase attributed to the king and his favorite, — "After us the Deluge." And after them the Deluge indeed did come. The near thunders of the approaching tempest could already be heard when Louis XV lay down to die.

892. **The Accession of Louis XVI** (1774); **Financial Troubles; the Meeting of the Notables** (1787). — Louis XV left the tottering throne to his grandson, Louis XVI, then only twenty years of age. He had recently been married to the beautiful and light-hearted Archduchess Marie Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the empress-queen Maria Theresa.

How to raise money was the urgent and anxious question with the government. France was on the verge of bankruptcy. The king called to his side successively Turgot, Necker, and other eminent statesmen as his ministers of finance; but their policies and remedies availed little or nothing. The traditions of the court and the heartless selfishness of the privileged classes rendered reform in taxation and efficient retrenchment impossible. The national debt grew constantly larger.

In 1787 the king summoned the Notables, a body composed chiefly of great lords and prelates, who had not been called to advise with the king since the year 1626. But miserable counselors were they all. Refusing to give up any of their feudal privileges, or to tax the property of their own orders that the enormous public burdens which were crushing the commons might be lightened, their coming together resulted in nothing.

893. **The Calling of the States-General; the Elections; the Cahiers.** — As a last resort it was resolved to summon the united wisdom of the nation, to call together the States-General, the almost-forgotten national assembly, composed of representatives of the three estates, — the nobility, the clergy, and the commons.

In December, 1788, the king by proclamation called upon the French people to elect deputies to this body, which had not met

to deliberate upon the affairs of France for a period of one hundred and seventy-five years. Divine-right royalty had seen no necessity hitherto of seeking counsel of the people.

In connection with the elections there had been made by the king's advisers a momentous decision, one which practically involved the fate of the monarchy. The commons had insisted upon being allowed double representation, that is, as many deputies as both the other orders, and they had been authorized to send up six hundred deputies, while the nobility and the clergy were each to have only three hundred representatives.

The electors had been instructed to draw up statements of grievances and suggestions of reform for the information and guidance of the States-General. These documents, which are known as *cahiers*, form a valuable record of the France of 1789, — of the grievances of the people and of their ideas of reform. One demand common to them all is that the nation through its representatives shall have part in the government. Those of the Third Estate call for the abolition of feudal rents and services, and for the equalization among the orders of the burdens of taxation. In a word, they were petitions for equality and justice.

894. The States-General changed into the National Assembly. — On the 5th of May, 1789, a memorable date, the deputies to the States-General met at Versailles. Thither the eyes of the nation were now turned in hope and expectancy. Surely if the redemption of France could be worked out by human wisdom it would now be effected. At the very outset a dispute arose between the privileged orders and the commons respecting the manner of voting. It had been the ancient custom of the body for each order to deliberate in its own hall, and for the vote upon all questions to be by orders.[4] But the commons now demanded that this old custom should be ignored, and that the voting should be by individuals; for should the vote be taken by orders, then their double representation would be a mere mockery, and the

[4] That is to say, the majority of the representatives of each order decided the vote for that order, and then two of these majority votes registered the decision of the whole body of deputies.

clergy and nobility by combining could always outvote them. For five weeks the quarrel kept everything in a deadlock.

Finally the commons took a decisive, revolutionary step. They declared themselves the National Assembly, and then invited the other two orders to join them in their deliberations, giving them to understand that if they did not choose to do so they should proceed to the consideration of public affairs without them.

King, nobles, and prelates were alarmed at the bold attitude assumed by the commons. The king, in helpless alarm, suspended the sitting of the rebellious deputies and guarded the door of their hall. But the commons, gathering in the tennis court, a great barnlike building, bound themselves by oath not to separate until they had framed a constitution for France.

Soon the commons were joined by a few of the nobility and a larger number of the deputies of the clergy. It looked as though the three orders were going to coalesce. The court party labored to prevent this. A royal sitting, or joint meeting of the three estates, was held. The king read a speech in which, assuming the tone of an English Stuart, he admonished the commons not to attack the privileges of the other orders, and then commanded the deputies of the three orders to retire to their separate halls. The clergy and the nobility obeyed. The commons kept their seats.

At this juncture the master of ceremonies somewhat pertly said to them, "You heard the king's command?" Thereupon Mirabeau, one of the leaders of the commons, a man of "Jupiter-like" mien and tone, turned upon the messenger with these memorable words: "Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the command of the people, and here we shall stay until driven out at the point of the bayonet." The poor official was so frightened at the terrible Mirabeau that he straightway sought the door, withdrawing from the assembly, however, backwards, as he had been wont to do in retiring from the presence of the king. His instincts were right. He was indeed in the presence of the sovereign, — the newborn sovereign of France.

The triumph of the Third Estate was soon complete. Realizing that it was futile and dangerous longer to oppose the will of

the commons, the king ordered those of the nobles and clergy who had not yet joined them to do so, and they obeyed. The States-General thus became in reality the National Assembly.

II. The National or Constituent Assembly
(June 17, 1789–Sept. 30, 1791)

895. Prominent Men in the Assembly. — Lamartine declares that the National Assembly was "the most imposing body of men that ever represented not only France but the human race." It was impressive not so much from the ability or genius of its individual members, though the picked men of France were here gathered, as through the tremendous interests it held in its hands. Yet there were in the Assembly a number of men whose names cannot be passed in silence.

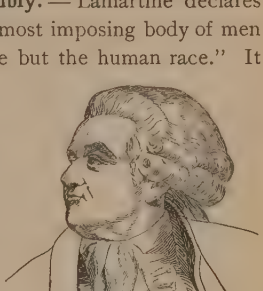

Fig. 147. — Mirabeau. (After a painting by *L. Massard*)

Among the nobility was the patriotic Lafayette, who had won the admiration of his countrymen by splendid services rendered the struggling republic in the New World. His influence at this time was probably greater than that of any other man.

Belonging by birth to the same order, but sitting now as a deputy of the commons, was Mirabeau, a large-headed, dissolute, unscrupulous man, an impetuous orator, the mouthpiece of the Revolution. But though violent in speech he was moderate in counsel. He wanted to right the wrongs of the people, yet without undermining the throne. He wanted reform but not revolution. He aspired to be a leader, but no one at first had confidence in him, such had been his past life. Arthur Young said of him, "His character is a dead weight upon him." Yet, notwithstanding his lack of private virtues, Mirabeau's qualities of leadership at length gained for him recognition, and he was at one time

president of the National Assembly. But his life of dissipation had undermined his constitution. He died in 1791, despairing of the future for France.

Still another eminent representative of the commons was Abbé Sieyès, a person of wonderful facility in framing constitutions. France will have much need of such talent, as we shall see. Sieyès had recently stirred all France by a remarkable pamphlet entitled *What is the Third Estate?* (*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?*) He answers, "Everything!" "What has it been hitherto?" "Nothing!" "What does it wish?" "To be something."

896. Origin of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris; the National Guards. — During all these weeks Paris was in a seething ferment. The municipal authorities showing themselves irresolute, the leading men of the different sections or wards of the city ousted them, and then, forming themselves into a sort of provisional city council, assumed the government of the capital. Thus came into existence the revolutionary Commune of Paris, a body whose power came to overshadow that of the National Assembly itself.

Under the direction of the self-constituted Commune the inhabitants of the capital now formed themselves into a sort of police force. Other cities throughout France imitated Paris and organized their militia. These hastily recruited popular bodies took the name of National Guards, and under that title were destined to act a most conspicuous part in the scenes of the Revolution.

897. Storming of the Bastille (July 14, 1789). — Thus all Paris was ready to burst into conflagration. The news of the dismissal by the king of Necker, a minister in whom the people had great confidence, kindled the inflammable mass. On the morning of July 14 a great mob assaulted the Bastille, the old state prison and, in the eyes of the people, the emblem of royal despotism. In a few hours the fortress was in the hands of the people. The curious crowds ransacked every corner of the grim old dungeon, liberating the seven prisoners they found in its gloomy cells. The governor and others of the defenders of the place were murdered, their heads placed at the end of pikes, and thus borne through the streets. The walls of the hated old prison were razed

to the ground. The key was sent by Lafayette to Washington "as a trophy of the spoils of despotism." In a letter accompanying the gift, Lafayette wrote: "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the key goes to the right place." [5]

The destruction by the Paris mob of the Bastille was the death knell not only of Bourbon despotism in France but of royal tyranny everywhere. The intelligence of the event was received with rejoicing in America and wherever the ideas and principles of self-government were entertained. When the news reached England, the great statesman Fox, perceiving its significance for liberty, exclaimed, "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!"

Louis XVI regarded the matter with different feelings. When news of the affair was carried to him at Versailles he exclaimed, "What, *Rebellion!*" "No, sire," was the response; "it is *Revolution*." The great French Revolution had indeed begun.

898. The Abolition of Privileges (August 4, 1789). — As the news of the storming of the Bastille spread through France the peasantry in many districts, following the example set them by the capital, destroyed the local bastilles and sacked and burned the castles of the nobles. The main object of the peasants was to destroy the title deeds in the archives of the manor houses, since it was by virtue of these charters that the lords exercised so many rights over the lands of the peasants and exacted so many teasing and iniquitous tolls and dues. This terrorism caused the beginning of what is known as the emigration of the nobles, that is, their flight beyond the frontiers of France.

The storm without hastened matters within the National Assembly at Versailles. The privileged orders now realized that, to save themselves from the fury of the masses, they must give up those vexatious feudal privileges which were a main cause of the sufferings and the anger of the people. Rising in the tribune, two liberal-minded members of the nobility represented that they were willing to renounce all their feudal rights and exemptions.

[5] The rusty relic may be seen to-day in a case at Mount Vernon.

A contagious enthusiasm was awakened by this act of patriotic generosity. The impulsiveness of the Gallic heart was never better illustrated. Nobles and priests, crowding to the tribune, strove with one another in generous rivalry to see who should make the greatest sacrifices in the surrender of rents, tolls, feudal dues, and gaming privileges. Thus in a single night much of the rubbish of the broken-down feudal system was cleared away.

899. **The Declaration of the Rights of Man** (August 26, 1789). — After the abolition of the feudal system the next work of the National Assembly was the drawing up of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. This was in imitation of what had been done by the American patriots.

The dominant notes of the Declaration were (1) the equality of men, — "Men are born and remain free and equal"; (2) the sovereignty of the people, — "All sovereignty resides essentially in the nation"; and (3) the impartial nature of law, — "Law is the expression of the general will . . . and should be the same for all."

900. **Nationalization of Church Property** (Nov. 2, 1789); **the Civil Constitution of the Clergy** (July 12, 1790). — Shortly after the promulgation of the Declaration of Rights, a Parisian mob fetched the king from Versailles to the capital. Their purpose in this was to hold him as a sort of hostage for the good conduct of the nobles and the foreign sovereigns while the new constitution was being prepared by the Assembly.

For two years following this there was a comparative lull in the storm of the Revolution. Meanwhile the National Assembly was making sweeping reforms both in State and Church. One of the most important of its measures and one far-reaching in its effects was the confiscation of the property of the Church. Altogether, property consisting largely of lands and worth it is estimated over a billion francs was by decree made the property of the nation.[6]

[6] It being found impossible to sell at once and at fair prices so large an amount of real estate, the Assembly, using the nationalized lands as security, issued against them currency notes, called *assignats*. As almost always happens in such cases, inflation of the currency resulted. Fresh issues of notes were made until they became quite worthless, as in the case of the Continental notes issued by the Continental Congress in the American War of Independence.

The nationalization of the property of the Church rendered it necessary that the nation should make some provision for the support of the clergy. This was done a little later by a decree known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which provided for the support of all ministers of religion by reasonable salaries paid by the nation. All the clergy, bishops, and parish priests alike were to be chosen by election, and all were to be required to take oath to support the new constitution.

Naturally this conversion of the Church in France into a State Church created a schism in the nation. Out of a hundred and thirty-four bishops only four would take the prescribed oath. From this time on a large section of the French clergy became the bitter enemies of the Revolution.

901. Flight and Arrest of the King (June 20, 1791). — The attempt of the king to make his way out of France and join the emigrant nobles now gave an entirely new turn to the course of the Revolution. Under cover of night the royal family in disguise left the Tuileries, and by post fled towards the frontier. When just a few hours more would have placed the fugitives in safety among friends, the Bourbon features of the king betrayed him, and the entire party was arrested and carried back to Paris.

The attempted flight of the royal family was a fatal blow to the monarchy. It deepened the growing distrust of the king. The people began to talk of a republic. The word was only whispered as yet; but it was not long before those who did not shout vociferously, "*Vive la République!*" were hurried to the guillotine.

902. The Clubs: Jacobins and Cordeliers. — In order to render intelligible the further course of the Revolution we must now speak of two clubs, or organizations, which came into prominence about this time, and which were destined to become more powerful than the Assembly itself, and to be the chief instruments in inaugurating the Reign of Terror. These were the societies of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers.[7] The objects of these clubs were to watch

[7] The Jacobins were so called from an old convent in which their first meetings were held; the Cordeliers were named after a Franciscan convent where they assembled.

for conspiracies of the Royalists and by constant agitation to keep alive the flame of the Revolution.

903. The New Constitution. — The work of the National Assembly was now drawing to a close. On the 14th of September, 1791, the new constitution framed by the body, which instrument made the government of France a constitutional monarchy, was solemnly ratified by the king. The National Assembly, having sat over two years, then adjourned. The first scene in the drama of the French Revolution was ended.

III. The Legislative Assembly

(Oct. 1, 1791–Sept. 19, 1792)

904. The Membership of the Assembly; the Constitutionalists and the Girondins. — The new constitution provided for a national legislature to be called the Legislative Assembly. This body was made up of several groups or parties, of which we need here notice only the Constitutionalists and the Girondins. The Constitutionalists, as their name implies, supported the new constitution, being in favor of a limited monarchy. The Girondins, so called from the department (the Gironde) whence their most noted leaders came, wanted to establish in France a federal republic like that just set up in the New World.

905. Beginning of War with the Old Monarchies (April 20, 1792). — The kings of Europe were watching with the utmost concern the course of events in France. They regarded the cause of Louis XVI as their own. If the French people should be allowed to overturn the throne of their hereditary sovereign, who any longer would have respect for the divine right of kings?

The warlike preparations of Austria, which had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia, awakened the apprehensions of the Revolutionists, and led the Legislative Assembly to declare war against that power. A little later the allied armies of the Austrians and Prussians crossed the frontiers of France. Thus was taken the first step in a series of wars which

were destined to last nearly a quarter of a century, and in which France almost single-handed was to struggle against the leagued powers of Europe and to illustrate the miracles possible to enthusiasm and genius.

906. The Massacre of the Swiss Guards (August 10, 1792). — The allies at first gained easy victories over the ill-disciplined forces of the Legislative Assembly, and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian army, advanced rapidly upon Paris. An insolent proclamation which this general now issued, wherein

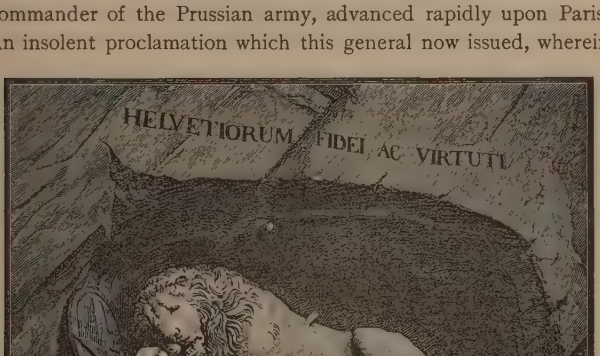

FIG. 148. — THE LION OF LUCERNE. (From a photograph)

This celebrated sculpture commemorates the loyalty and faithfulness of the Swiss Guards who gave their lives in defense of the royal palace at Paris, August 10, 1792. See p. 642, n. 9.

he ordered the French nation to submit to their king, and threatened the Parisians with the destruction of their city should any harm be done the royal family, drove the French people frantic with indignation and rage.

The first outbreak of the popular fury occurred in Paris. The mob of the capital was swollen by the arrival of bands of picked men from other parts of France. From the south came the "six

hundred Marseillais who knew how to die." They brought with them "a better contingent than ten thousand pikemen," — the Marseillaise Hymn, the martial song of the Revolution.[8]

On the morning of the 10th of August the hordes of the city were mustered. The Palace of the Tuileries, defended by several hundred Swiss soldiers, the remnant of the royal guard, was assaulted. The royal family fled for safety to the hall of the Assembly near by. A terrible struggle followed in the corridors and upon the grand stairways of the palace. The Swiss stood "steadfast as the granite of their Alps." But they were overwhelmed at last, and all were killed, either in the building itself or in the adjoining courts and streets.[9]

907. **The Massacre of September** ("**Jail Delivery**"). — The army of the allies hurried on towards the capital to avenge the slaughter of the royal guards and to rescue the king. Paris was all excitement. "We must stop the enemy," cried Danton, "by striking terror into the Royalists." To this end the most atrocious measures were now adopted. It was resolved that the Royalists confined in the jails of the capital should be killed. A hundred or more men acted as executioners, and to them the prisoners were handed over after a hasty examination before self-appointed judges. The number of victims of this terrible "September Massacre," as it is called, is estimated[10] at from eight hundred to fourteen hundred. Europe had never before known such a "jail delivery." It was the greatest crime of the French Revolution.

908. **Defeat of the Allies.** — Meanwhile, in the open field, the fortunes of war inclined to the side of the Revolutionists. The French army in the north was successful in checking the advance

[8] This famous war song was composed in 1792 by Rouget de l'Isle, a young French engineer.

[9] The number of Swiss Guards slain was over seven hundred. Their fidelity and devotion are commemorated by one of the most impressive monuments in Europe, the so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland. In a large recess in a cliff a dying lion, pierced by a lance, protects with its paw the Bourbon lilies. The wonderfully lifelike figure is cut out of the natural rock. The designer of the memorial was the celebrated Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen.

[10] Former estimates are now known to have been exaggerated. See Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 146.

of the allies, and finally at Valmy (Sept. 20, 1792) succeeded in inflicting upon them a decisive defeat, which caused their hasty retreat beyond the frontiers of France. The day of this victory the Legislative Assembly came to an end, and the same day the National Convention assembled.

IV. The National Convention
(Sept. 20, 1792–Oct. 26, 1795)

909. Parties in the Convention. — The Convention, consisting of seven hundred and forty-nine deputies, among whom was the celebrated freethinker, Thomas Paine, embraced two active groups, the Girondins and the Mountainists, the latter being so named from the circumstance that they sat on the upper benches in the Assembly hall. There were no monarchists; all were republicans. No one dared to speak of a monarchy.

It was the Mountainists who were to shape the measures of the Convention. Their leaders were Danton and Robespierre, deputies of Paris. The party was inferior in numbers to that of the Girondins, but was superior in energy and daring, and moreover was backed by the Parisian mob.

910. The Establishment of the Republic (Sept. 21, 1792); **Beginning of the Revolutionary Propaganda.** — Almost the first act of the Convention was to abolish the monarchy. The motion for the abolition of royalty was not even discussed. "What need is there for discussion," exclaimed a delegate, "where all are agreed? Courts are the hotbed of crime, the focus of corruption; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations."

The day following the establishment of the Republic (Sept. 22, 1792) was made the beginning of a new era, the first day of the Year I. That was to be regarded as the natal day of Liberty. A little later, incited by the success of the French armies, the Convention called upon all nations to rise against despotism, and pledged the aid of France to any people wishing to secure freedom.

This call to the peoples of Europe to rise against their kings and to set up republican governments converted the revolutionary

movement in France into a propaganda, and naturally made more implacable than ever the hatred toward the Revolution felt by all lovers and beneficiaries of the old order of things.

911. **Trial and Execution of the King** (Jan. 21, 1793). — The next work of the Convention was the trial and execution of the king. He was brought before the bar of that body, charged with having conspired with the enemies of France, of having opposed the will of the people, and of having caused the massacre of the 10th of August. The sentence of the Convention was immediate death. On Jan. 21, 1793, the unfortunate monarch, after a last sad interview with his wife and children, was conducted to the scaffold.

912. **Coalition against France; the Counter-Revolution in La Vendée.** — The regicide, together with the propaganda decree of the preceding year, awakened among all the old monarchies of Europe the most bitter hostility against the French Revolutionists. The act was interpreted as a threat against all kings. A grand coalition, embracing England, Austria, Prussia, and other states, was formed to crush the republican movement. Armies aggregating more than a quarter of a million of men threatened France at once on every frontier.

While thus beset with foes without, the Republic was threatened with even more dangerous enemies within. The people of La Vendée, in Western France, where the peasants were angered at the conscription decrees of the Convention, and where there was still a strong sentiment of loyalty to the Church and the monarchy, rose in revolt against the Revolutionists.

913. **Creation of the Revolutionary Tribunal** (March 10, 1793) **and of the Committee of Public Safety** (April 6, 1793). — The defeat of the French armies in the north and the advance of the allies caused the greatest excitement among the Parisian populace, who now demanded that the Convention should overawe the domestic enemies of the Revolution by the establishment of a judicial dictatorship, a sort of tribunal which should take cognizance of all crimes against the Republic.

Danton, while acknowledging the injustice that the summary processes of such a court might do to many unjustly suspected,

justified its establishment by arguing that in time of peace society lets the guilty escape rather than harm the innocent; but in times of public danger it should rather strike down the innocent than allow the guilty to escape. It was on this principle that France was to be governed for one terrible year.

A little later was organized what was called the Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine persons, members of the Convention. It was invested with dictatorial authority. The vast powers wielded by the committee were delegated to it for a single month only, but were renewed from month to month.

We must bear in mind the character of these two bodies in order to follow intelligently the subsequent events of the Revolution, and to understand how the atrocious tyranny of the Reign of Terror was exercised and maintained.

914. **The Fall of the Girondins** (June 2, 1793). — Still gloomier tidings came from every quarter, — news of reverses to the armies of the Republic in front of the allies, and of successes of the counter-revolutionists in La Vendée. The Mountainists in the Convention, supported by the rabble of Paris, urged the most extreme measures. They proposed that the carriages of the wealthy should be seized and used for carrying soldiers to the seat of war, and that the expenses of the government should be met by forced contributions from the rich.

The Girondins opposed these measures. The Parisian mob filled the city with cries of "Down with the Girondins!" "If the person of the people's representative be violated," warningly exclaimed one of the Girondin orators, "Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood."

The Girondins were finally overborne. An immense mob surrounded the hall of the Convention and demanded that their chiefs be given up as enemies of the Republic. Thirty-one of their leaders were surrendered and placed under arrest, a preliminary step to the speedy execution of many of them during the opening days of the Reign of Terror.

The Reign of Terror (September, 1793–July, 1794)

915. The Great Committee of Public Safety; its Principle of Government. — The perilous situation created by domestic insurrection and foreign invasion demanded a strong executive. It was created. The Convention reorganized the Committee of Public Safety, which now became what is known as the Great Committee of Public Safety, suspended the constitution, and invested the new board with supreme executive authority. For almost a full year the twelve men — of whom Robespierre was the most conspicuous — constituting this body exercised absolute power over the life and property of every person in France. The Committee's principle of government was simple. It governed by terror. Its rule is known as the Reign of Terror.

916. The Execution of Marie Antoinette (Oct. 16, 1793), **of the Girondins** (Oct. 31, 1793), **and of Madame Roland** (Nov. 8, 1793). — One of the earliest victims of the guillotine under the organized Terror was the queen. The attention of the Revolutionists had been turned anew to the remaining members of the royal family by reason of the recognition by the allies of the Dauphin as king of France,[11] and by the recent alarming successes of their armies. The queen, who had now borne nine months' imprisonment, was brought before the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal and condemned to the guillotine. A hideous mob of men and women howled with savage delight around the cart which bore the unhappy queen to the scaffold.

The guillotine was now fed daily with the best blood of France. Two weeks after the execution of the queen twenty of the chiefs of the Girondins, who had been kept in confinement since their arrest in the Convention, were pushed beneath the knife. Hundreds of others followed.

Most illustrious of all the victims after the queen was Madame Roland, who was accused of being the friend of the Girondins.

[11] The Dauphin, a mere child of eight years, was recognized as king of France by several of the great powers in January, 1793. He was at this time a prisoner in the Temple. He died in 1795, his death having been caused or at least hastened by the brutal ill usage he received at the hands of his jailers.

An incident at the scaffold is related as a memorial of her. As she was about to lay her head beneath the knife, her eye, it is said, chanced to fall upon the statue of Liberty which stood near the scaffold. "O Liberty!" she exclaimed; "what crimes are committed in thy name!"

It has ever been so. The worst crimes that stain the pages of history have been committed in the name of that which is holiest, — in the name of Liberty, or of Justice, or of Religion.

917. The New Calendar. — While the Revolutionary Tribunal was clearing out of the way the enemies of the Republic by the quick processes of the guillotine, the Convention was busy reforming the ancient institutions and customs of the land. They hated these as having been established by kings and aristocrats to enhance their own importance and to enslave the masses. They proposed to sweep these things all aside and give the world a fresh start.

A new uniform system of weights and measures, known as the metric, had already been planned by the National Assembly; a new mode of reckoning time was now introduced. The months were given new names, names expressive of the character of each. Each month was divided into three periods of ten days each, called *decades*, and each day into ten parts. The tenth day of each decade took the place of the old Sabbath. The five odd days not provided for in the arrangement were made festival days.

918. Attempt to abolish Christianity (Nov. 7, 1793). — The old calendar having been abolished, the Revolutionists next proceeded to abolish Christianity. Some of the chiefs of the Commune of Paris declared that the Revolution should not rest until it had "dethroned the King of Heaven as well as the kings of earth." They persuaded the Bishop of Paris, Gobel by name, to abdicate his office; and his example was followed by many of the clergy throughout the country.

The churches of Paris and of other cities were now closed, and the treasures of their altars and shrines confiscated to the state. Even the bells were melted down into cannon. The images of the Virgin and of the Christ were torn down, and the busts of

Marat and other patriots set up in their stead. And as the emancipation of the world was now to be wrought not by the Cross but by the guillotine, that instrument took the place of the crucifix, and was called the "Holy Guillotine." In many places all visible symbols of the ancient religion were destroyed; all emblems of hope in some cemeteries were obliterated, and over their gates were inscribed the words, "Death is eternal sleep."

919. **Inauguration of the Worship of Reason** (Nov. 10, 1793). — The madness of the people culminated in the worship of Reason. A celebrated beauty, personating the Goddess of Reason, was set upon the altar of Notre Dame in Paris as an object of homage and worship. The example of Paris was followed generally throughout France. Churches were converted into temples of the new worship. The Sabbath having been abolished, the services of the temple were held only upon every tenth day. On that day the mayor or some popular leader mounted the altar and harangued the people, dwelling upon the news of the moment, the triumphs of the armies of the Republic, the glorious achievements of the Revolution, and the privilege of living in an era when one was oppressed neither by kings on earth nor by a King in heaven.

FIG. 149. — ROBESPIERRE
(From a French print)

920. **Fall of Hébert and Danton** (March and April, 1794). — During the progress of events the Jacobins had become divided into three factions, headed respectively by Danton, Robespierre, and Hébert. To make his own power supreme, Robespierre resolved to crush the other two leaders. Hébert and his party were the first to fall, Danton and his adherents working with Robespierre to bring about their ruin. Danton and his party were the next to follow. The last words of Danton to the executioner were, "Show my head to the people; they do not see the like every day." The grim request was granted.

Robespierre was now supreme. His ambition was attained. "He stood alone on the awful eminence of the Holy Mountain." But his turn was soon to come.

921. Worship of the Supreme Being. — One of the first acts of Robespierre after he had freed himself from his most virulent enemies was to give France a new religion in place of the worship of Reason. Robespierre wished to sweep away Christianity as a superstition, but he would stop at deism. He did not believe that a state could be founded on atheism. "If God did not exist," he declared, "it would behoove man to invent Him."

In a remarkable address delivered before the Convention on the 7th of May, 1794, Robespierre eloquently defended the doctrines of God and immortality, and then closed his speech by offering for adoption this decree: "(1) The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; (2) they recognize that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man; and (3) they put in the first rank of these duties to detest bad faith and tyranny, to punish tyrants and traitors, to rescue the unfortunate, to defend the oppressed, to do to others all the good one can, and to be unjust towards none." The Convention adopted the resolution with the "utmost enthusiasm." The churches which had been converted into temples of the Goddess of Reason were now consecrated to the new worship of the Supreme Being.

922. The Culmination of the Terror at Paris (June and July, 1794). — At the same time that Robespierre was instituting the new worship, the Great Committee of Public Safety, of which he was generally regarded as the controlling spirit, was ruling France by a terrorism unparalleled since the most frightful days at Rome. The prisons of Paris and of the departments were filled with suspected persons, until two hundred thousand prisoners were crowded into these republican bastilles. At Paris the dungeons were emptied of their victims and room made for fresh ones by the swift processes of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which in mockery of justice caused the prisoners to be brought before its bar in companies of ten or fifty or more. Rank or talent was an

inexpiable crime. "Were you not a noble?" asked the president of the tribunal of one of the accused. "Yes," was the reply. "Enough; another!" was the judge's verdict. And so on through the long list each day brought before the court.

The scenes about the guillotine seem mirrored from the *Inferno* of Dante. Benches were arranged around the scaffold and rented to spectators, like seats in a theater. The market women of Paris, who were known as "the Furies of the Guillotine," busied themselves with their knitting while watching the changing scenes of the bloody spectacle. In the space of seven weeks (June 10–July 27) the number of persons guillotined at Paris was thirteen hundred and seventy-six, — an average of over twenty-eight a day.

923. The Terror in the Provinces. — While such was the frightful state of things at the capital, matters were even worse in several of the provinces. Some of the cities which had been prominent centers of the counter-revolution were made a terrible example of the vengeance of the Revolutionists. At Nantes the terror culminated. The agent here of the Great Committee was one Carrier. At first he caused his victims to be shot singly or to be guillotined; but finding these methods too slow, he devised more expeditious modes of execution, which were known as *fusillades* (battues) and *noyades* (drownings). The *fusillades* consisted in gathering the victims in large companies and then mowing them down with cannon and musket. In the *noyades* a hundred or more persons were crowded into an old hulk, which was then towed out into the Loire and scuttled.

By these various methods Carrier succeeded in destroying upwards of five thousand persons in about four months. What renders these murders the more atrocious is the fact that a considerable number of the victims were women and little children.

924. The Fall of Robespierre (July 28, 1794); **Punishment of the Terrorists.** — The Reign of Terror had lasted about nine months when a reaction came. The successes of the armies of the Republic and the establishment of the authority of the Convention throughout the departments caused the people to look

upon the wholesale executions that were daily taking place as unnecessary and cruel. They began to turn with horror and pity from the scenes of the guillotine. Robespierre was the first to be swept away by the reaction. The Convention denounced him and his adherents as enemies of the Republic. He was arrested, rescued by the rabble of Paris, rearrested and straightway sent to the guillotine, and along with him several of his friends and the greater part of the members of the Commune of Paris.

The reaction which had swept away Robespierre and his associates continued after their fall. There was a general demand for the punishment of the Terrorists. The clubs of the Jacobins were closed, and that infamous society which had rallied and directed the hideous rabbles of the great cities was broken up. The Christian worship was reëstablished.

925. Effects of the Reign of Terror. — The effect of the Terror upon France was just what the Terrorists had aimed to produce. It effectually cowed all opposition at home to the Revolution, thereby preserving the unity of France and enabling her to push the foreign foe from her soil.

Outside of France the effects of the rule by terror were most unfavorable to the true cause of the Revolutionists. It destroyed the illusions of generous souls, like Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey in England, and caused among the earlier sympathizers with the Revolutionists a great revulsion of feeling. From being Liberals men became Conservatives and determined foes of all innovation and reform. The Revolution was discredited in the eyes of its best friends. It became identified in men's minds with atheism and terrorism, and to the present hour in the minds of many the French Revolution suggests nothing save foul blasphemies and guillotine horrors.

926. Bonaparte defends the Convention (Oct. 5, 1795). — Experience had shown the defects of the revolutionary government, particularly in that it united both legislative and executive power in the same hands. The Convention now set about framing a new constitution, which vested the executive power in a body called the Directory, consisting of five persons. It also provided

for two legislative bodies, known as the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients.

Certain features of the new constitution displeased the Parisian mob. The sections of the turbulent capital again gathered their hordes, and on the 5th of October, 1795, a mob of forty thousand men advanced to the attack of the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. As the mob came on they were met by a "whiff of grapeshot," which sent them flying back in wild disorder. The man who trained the guns was a young artillery officer, a native of the island of Corsica, — Napoleon Bonaparte. The Revolution had at last brought forth a man of genius capable of controlling and directing its tremendous energies.

V. The Directory (Oct. 27, 1795–Nov. 9, 1799)

927. The Republic becomes Aggressive. — Under the Directory the Republic, which up to this time had been acting mainly on the defensive, very soon entered upon an aggressive policy. The Revolution having accomplished its work in France, having there put an end to despotism and class privilege, now set itself about fulfilling its early promise of giving liberty to all peoples (sec. 910).

Had not the minds and hearts of the people in all the neighboring countries been prepared to welcome the new order of things, the Revolution could never have spread itself as widely as it did. But everywhere irrepressible longings for equality and freedom, born of long oppression, were stirring the souls of men. The French armies were everywhere welcomed by the people as deliverers. Thus was France enabled to surround herself with a girdle of commonwealths. She conquered Europe not by her armies but by her ideas. "An invasion of armies," says Victor Hugo, "can be resisted : an invasion of ideas cannot be resisted."

The republics established were, it is true, short-lived; for the times were not yet ripe for the complete triumph of democratic ideas. But a great gain for freedom was made. The reëstablished monarchies, as we shall see later, never dared to make themselves as despotic as those which the Revolution had overturned.

928. The Plans of the Directory. — Austria and England were the only formidable powers that still persisted in their hostility to the Republic. The Directors resolved to strike a decisive blow at the first of these implacable foes. To carry out their design, two large armies were mustered upon the Middle Rhine and intrusted to the command of the two young and energetic generals, Moreau and Jourdan, who were to make a direct invasion of Germany. A third army, numbering about forty-two thousand men, was assembled in the neighborhood of Nice, in Southeastern France, and placed in the hands of Bonaparte, to whom was assigned the work of driving the Austrians out of Italy.

929. Bonaparte's Italian Campaign (1796–1797). — Straightway upon receiving his command, Bonaparte, now in his twenty-seventh year, hastened to join his army at Nice. He at once aroused all its latent enthusiasm by one of those short, stirring addresses for which he afterwards became so famous. "Soldiers," said he, "you are badly fed and almost naked. . . . I have come to lead you into the most fertile fields of the world; there you will find large cities, rich provinces, honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, will you fail in courage?"

If this address be placed alongside the decree of the Convention offering the aid of France to all peoples desiring freedom (sec. 910), it will be realized with how alien a spirit Bonaparte here inspires the armies of republican France. He represents Italy to the imagination of the soldiers of the French Republic merely as a country of rich cities to be despoiled, as a land whence France may draw unlimited tribute. The address marks the beginning of that transformation which in a few years changed the liberating armies of France into the scourge of Europe.

Before the mountain roads were yet free from snow Bonaparte set in motion his army, which he had assembled on the coast near Genoa, and suddenly forced the passage of the mountains at the juncture of the Apennines and the Maritime Alps. The Carthaginian had been surpassed. "Hannibal," exclaimed Bonaparte, "crossed the Alps; as for us, we have turned them."

Now followed a most astonishing series of French victories over the Austrians and their allies. As a result of the campaign a considerable part of Northern Italy was formed into a commonwealth under the name of the Cisalpine Republic. Genoa was also transformed into the Ligurian Republic.

930. Treaty of Campo Formio (Oct. 17, 1797). — While Bonaparte had been gaining his surprising victories in Italy, Moreau and Jourdan had been meeting with severe reverses in Germany. Bonaparte, having effected the work assigned to the army of Italy, now climbed the Eastern Alps and marched toward Vienna. The near approach of the French to his capital induced the Emperor Francis II to listen to proposals of peace. An armistice was agreed upon, and later the important Treaty of Campo Formio was arranged, by the terms of which Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, receiving as an offset the Venetian dominions, save the Ionian Islands, which were annexed to the French Republic.

With the treaty arranged, Bonaparte soon set out for Paris, where was accorded him a triumph and ovation such as Europe had not seen since the days of the old Roman conquerors.

931. Bonaparte's Campaign in Egypt (1798–1799). — The Directors had received Bonaparte with apparent enthusiasm; but at this very moment they were disquieted by fears lest their general's ambition might lead him to play the part of a second Cæsar. They resolved to engage him in an enterprise which would take him out of France. This undertaking was an attack upon England, which they were then meditating. Bonaparte opposed the plan of a descent upon the island as impracticable, but proposed the conquest of Egypt. This would enable France to control the trade of the East and cut England off from her East India possessions. The Directors assented to the plan, and with feelings of relief saw Bonaparte embark from the port of Toulon to carry out the enterprise.

Evading the vigilance of the British fleet that was patrolling the Mediterranean, Bonaparte landed in Egypt (July 1, 1798). Within sight of the Pyramids the French army was checked in its march

by a determined stand of the renowned Mameluke cavalry. Bonaparte animated the spirits of his men for the inevitable fight by one of his happiest speeches. One of the sentences is memorable. "Soldiers," he exclaimed, pointing to the Pyramids, "forty centuries are looking down upon you." The battle that followed is known in history as the "battle of the Pyramids." Bonaparte gained a victory that opened the way for his advance to Cairo. He had barely entered that city before the startling intelligence was borne to him that his fleet had been destroyed at the mouth of the Nile by the English admiral Nelson (August 1, 1798).

In the spring of 1799, the Ottoman Porte having sent a force to retake Egypt, Bonaparte led his army into Syria to fight the Turks there. He finally invested Acre. The Turks were assisted in the defense of this place by the distinguished English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith. All Bonaparte's efforts to carry the place by storm were in vain. "I missed my destiny at Acre," said Bonaparte afterwards. With the ports of Syria secured he might have imitated Alexander and led his soldiers to the foot of the Himalayas. Bitterly disappointed, Bonaparte abandoned the siege of Acre, and led his army back into Egypt.

932. Establishment of the Tiberine, the Helvetic, and the Parthenopean Republic (1798–1799). — We must turn now to note affairs in Europe. The year 1798 was a favorable one for the republican cause represented by the Revolution. During that year and the opening month of the following one, the French set up three new republics. First, they incited an insurrection at Rome, made a prisoner of the Pope, and proclaimed the Roman or Tiberine Republic. Then, intervening in a revolution in Switzerland, they invaded the Swiss cantons and united them into a commonwealth under the name of the Helvetic Republic. A little later they drove the king of Naples out of Italy to Sicily, and transformed his peninsular domains into the Parthenopean Republic. Thus were three new republics added to the commonwealths which the Revolution had previously created.

933. **The Reaction; Bonaparte overthrows the Directory** (18th and 19th Brumaire, 1799). — Much of this work was quickly undone. Encouraged by the victory of Nelson over the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, and alarmed at the aggressions of the government of the Directory, the leading powers of Europe, now including the Tsar of Russia, who was incensed against the French especially for their intrusion into the Orient, which the Russian rulers had ever regarded as their own particular sphere of influence, had formed a new coalition against France.

The war began early in 1799 and was waged at one and the same time in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Holland. In the south the campaign was extremely disastrous to the French. They were driven out of Italy, and were barely able to keep the allies off the soil of France. The Cisalpine, Tiberine, and Parthenopean republics were abolished. These reverses suffered by the French armies in Italy, though in other quarters they had been successful, caused the Directory to fall into great disfavor. They were charged with having through jealousy exiled Bonaparte, the only man who could save the Republic. Confusion and division prevailed everywhere. The threats of the mob of Paris began to create apprehensions of another Reign of Terror.

News of the desperate state of affairs at home reached Bonaparte in Egypt, just after his return from Syria. He instantly formed a bold resolve. Confiding the command of the army in Egypt to Kléber,[12] he set sail for France, disclosing his designs in the significant words, "The reign of the lawyers is over."

Bonaparte was welcomed in France with the wildest enthusiasm. A great majority of the people felt instinctively that the emergency demanded a dictator. Some of the Directors joined with Napoleon in a plot to overthrow the government. Meeting with opposition in the Council of Five Hundred, Napoleon with a body of grenadiers drove the deputies from their chamber.

The French Revolution had at last brought forth its Cromwell. Napoleon was master of France. The first French Republic was at an end, and what is distinctively called the French Revolution

[12] A little later, this army in Egypt surrendered to the English.

was over. Now commences the history of the Consulate and the First Empire, — the story of that surprising career the sun of which rose so brightly at Austerlitz and set forever at Waterloo.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The salt tax (the *gabelle*). 2. Rousseau. 3. Mirabeau. 4. The Marseillaise hymn. 5. Thorwaldsen's "Lion of Lucerne." 6. Life in Paris during the Reign of Terror. See *Stephens*. 7. Madame Roland.

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE CONSULATE AND THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE
(1799–1815)

I. The Consulate (1799–1804)

934. The Veiled Military Dictatorship. — After the overthrow of the government of the Directory, a new constitution was prepared and, having been submitted to the approval of the people, was accepted by a vote of over three millions to less than two thousand. This new instrument vested the executive power in three Consuls, nominated for a term of ten years, the first of whom really exercised all the authority of the board, the remaining two members being simply his counselors. Bonaparte, of course, became the First Consul.

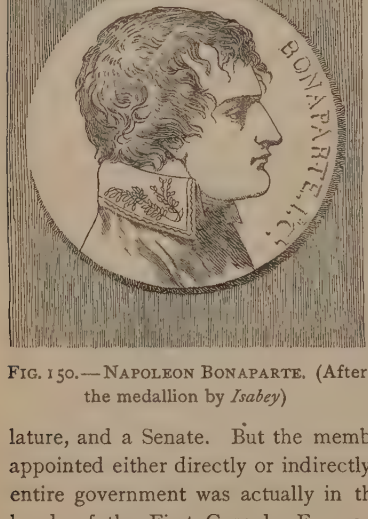

Fig. 150. — Napoleon Bonaparte. (After the medallion by *Isabey*)

The other functions of the government were carried on by a Council of State, a Tribunate, a Legislature, and a Senate. But the members of all these bodies were appointed either directly or indirectly by the Consuls, so that the entire government was actually in their hands, or rather in the hands of the First Consul. France was still called a republic, but it was such a republic as Rome was under Augustus. The republican names and forms merely veiled a government as

absolute and personal as that of Louis XIV, — in a word, a military dictatorship.

935. **Wars of the First Consul.** — Bonaparte inherited from the Directory war with Austria and England. Offers of peace to both having been rejected, Bonaparte mustered his armies. His plan was to deal Austria, his only formidable Continental enemy, a double blow. A large army was collected on the Rhine for an invasion of Germany. This was intrusted to Moreau. Another, intended to operate against the Austrians in Italy, was gathered with great secrecy at the foot of the Alps. Bonaparte himself assumed command of this latter force.

In the spring of the year 1800 Bonaparte made his memorable passage of the Alps, and astonished the Austrian generals by suddenly appearing in Piedmont at the head of an army of forty thousand men. Upon the renowned field of Marengo the Austrian army, which greatly outnumbered that of the French, was completely overwhelmed, and North Italy lay for a second time at the feet of Bonaparte. The Cisalpine Republic was now reëstablished.

A few months after the battle of Marengo, Moreau gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which opened the way to Vienna. The Emperor Francis II was now constrained to sign a treaty of peace at Lunéville (Feb. 9, 1801). The most important part of the treaty was that which provided for the reconstruction of the Germanic body. But as this reorganization of Central Europe was not completed until after the battle of Austerlitz, we shall defer explanation of it until we reach that important event (sec. 943). The year following the peace between France and Austria, England signed the Peace of Amiens.

936. **Bonaparte as an Enlightened Despot.** — Peace with Austria and England left Bonaparte free to devote his amazing energies to the reform and improvement of the internal affairs of France. It was his work here which constitutes his true title to fame. He was, in the words of his biographer, Professor Sloane, "one of the greatest social reformers of the world." We shall best understand Bonaparte in his rôle as a reformer, and best determine his place

in history, if we regard him as the successor of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. His mission was to carry on and perfect their work and to consummate the reforms and to make secure the social results of the Revolution.

To close the wounds inflicted upon France by the Revolution was one of the first aims of Bonaparte. The deepest wound had been given by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (sec. 900). This had divided the nation into two bitterly opposed parties. Moreover, since 1794 the government had ceased to pay the salaries of the priests, with the result that many communes were wholly without regular religious services. To remedy this state of things Bonaparte entered into an agreement with the holy see known as the Concordat (July 15, 1801). The First Consul was to appoint archbishops and bishops impartially from both parties, and the state was again to assume as a public charge the salaries of the clergy.[1] The Pope was to be recognized as the head of the Church in France, and was to confirm in their ecclesiastical offices the persons appointed by the government. The Concordat closed the great breach which the Revolution had opened in the French Church, and attached the Catholics to the government of the First Consul.

Not less successful was Bonaparte in his efforts to restore those material interests of the country which had suffered during the Revolution. He repaired and constructed roads and bridges, dug canals, and improved the seaports of the country. The great military roads which he caused to be constructed over the Alps are marvels of engineering skill, and served as a chief means of communication between Italy and the north of Europe until the mountains were pierced with tunnels.

The public buildings and monuments of France had fallen into decay. Bonaparte restored the old and built new ones. He embellished Paris and the other chief cities of France with

[1] This arrangement held good down to 1905, the salaries of all the French clergy, including Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, being paid out of the public treasury. In the year named, however, the agreement was annulled by the French government and State and Church in France were separated.

CENTRAL EUROPE
1801
0 50 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
German Empire
Austrian
Prussian
England and Hanover
Danish
Swedish
French
Sardinian
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
English Channel
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
London
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
HOLSTEIN
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
HANOVER
Hanover
BATAVIAN REPUBLIC
Amsterdam
Ghent
Brussels
Boulogne
Liege
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Coblence
Frankfurt
Amiens
Varennes
Valmy
Treves
Mayence
Worms
Spires
Metz
Strasbourg
Luneville
Paris
Versailles
Brest
Caen
Nantes
R. Loire
VENDÉE
Rochefort
Bordeaux
Besançon
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
Bern
Geneva
Lyon
Chambery
Milan
Lodi
Turin
Marengo
PARMA
Genoa
Lucca
Florence
S. Marino
Orange
Avignon
Marseille
Toulon
Nice
Andorra
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Campo Formio
Venice
Vienna
Leoben
SALZBURG
Buda
Pesth
HUNGARY
Cracow
OLD GALICIA
NEW GALICIA
Breslau
Posen
Warsaw
Thorn
Danzig
Königsberg
Berlin
SAXONY
Dresden
Prague
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
WÜRTEMBERG
Hohenlinden
BADEN
MASSAU
BATAVIAN
CISALPINE REPUBLIC
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
MECKLENBURG
SILESIA
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
FRANCE
SPAIN
R. Rhone
R. Saône
R. Loire
R. Danube
R. Drave
R. Save
R. Niemen
R. Vistula
R. Elbe
R. Rhine
R. Scheldt
R. Thetis
Ragusa
Cattaro
MONTENEGRO

public edifices and memorial monuments of every description. Many of these works are the pride of France to-day.

But the most noteworthy of the works of Napoleon Bonaparte, either as First Consul or as Emperor, was the compilation of what is known as the Civil Code, or Code Napoléon, which has caused his name to be joined with that of Justinian as one of the great lawgivers of history. Almost immediately after coming to power he appointed a commission of five eminent jurists to take up this work, which had been begun by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention. These experts were busied with the labor for about four years (1800–1804).

The Code was made up of the ancient customs of France, of Roman law maxims, and particularly of the principles and legislation of the Revolution. This great mass of material was condensed, harmonized, and revised in some such way as the jurists of the Emperor Justinian handled the accumulated mass of law material — old and new, pagan and Christian — of their time, in the creation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (sec. 459).

The influence of the Civil Code upon the development of Liberalism in Western Europe was most salutary. It secured the work of the Revolution. It swept away the old unequal, oppressive customs and laws that were an inheritance from the feudal ages. It recognized the equality of noble and peasant in the eye of the law. Either its principles or its direct provisions were soon introduced into half of the countries of Europe.

937. Bonaparte becomes Consul for Life (August, 1802). — Through the Senate and the Council of State it was now proposed to the French people that Bonaparte should be made Consul for life, in order that his magnificent projects of restoration and reform might be pursued without interruption. With almost a single voice the people approved the proposal. Thus did the First Consul move a step nearer the imperial throne. From this time on Bonaparte, imitating a royal custom, used only his first name, Napoleon, and it is by this name, destined to fill such a great place in history, that we shall hereafter know him.

II. The Napoleonic Empire; the War of Liberation (1804–1815)

938. **Napoleon proclaimed Emperor** (1804). — A conspiracy against the life of the First Consul and the increased activity of his enemies resulted in a movement to increase his power and to insure his safety and the stability of his government by placing him upon a throne. A decree of the Senate conferring upon him the title of Emperor of the French having been submitted to the people for approval, was ratified by an almost unanimous vote. The coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, Dec. 2, 1804, Pope Pius VII having been induced to come from Rome to take part in the ceremonies.

939. **The Republics created by the Revolution are changed into Kingdoms.** — Within two years from the time that the French government assumed an imperial form, three of the surrounding republics raised up by the revolutionary ideas and armies of France had been transformed into states with monarchical governments dependent upon the French Empire or had been incorporated with France. In a word, all these states now became practically the fiefs of Napoleon's empire, the provinces and dependencies of a new Rome.

Thus the Cisalpine or Italian Republic was changed into a kingdom, and Napoleon, crowning himself at Milan with the "Iron Crown" of the Lombards,[2] assumed the government of the state, with the title of King of Italy (May, 1805). A little later in the same year the Emperor incorporated the Ligurian Republic with the French Empire (June, 1805). Then he remodeled the Batavian Republic into the kingdom of Holland and conferred the crown upon his favorite brother Louis (May, 1806).

Thus was the political work of the Revolution undone. Political liberty was taken away. "I set it aside," said Napoleon, "when it obstructed my road." Civil equality was left.

[2] Napoleon here imitated Charlemagne. He said, "I am Charlemagne, for like Charlemagne I unite the crowns of France and Lombardy." Compare sec. 531.

940. The Empire and the Old Monarchies. — It will not be supposed that the states of Europe were looking quietly on while all this was being done. The colossal power which the soldier of fortune was building up was a menace to all Europe. The Empire was more dreaded than the Republic, because it was a military despotism, and as such was an instrument of irresistible power in the hands of a man of such genius and resources as Napoleon. Coalition after coalition, of which England was "the paymaster," was formed by the sovereigns of Europe against the "usurper," with the object at first of pushing France back within her original boundaries, and then later of deposing Napoleon as the disturber of the peace of Europe and the oppressor of the nations.

From the coronation of Napoleon in 1804 until his final downfall in 1815 the tremendous struggle went on almost without intermission. It was the war of the giants. Europe was shaken from end to end with such armies as the world had not seen since the days of Xerxes. Napoleon performed the miracles of genius. His brilliant achievements still dazzle, while they amaze, the world.

To relate in detail the campaigns of Napoleon from Austerlitz to Waterloo would require the space of volumes. We shall simply indicate in a few brief paragraphs the successive steps by which he mounted to the highest pitch of power and fame, and then trace hurriedly the decline and fall of his astonishing fortunes.

941. Napoleon's Preparations for invading England; the Sale of Louisiana to the United States; the Camp at Boulogne (1803–1805). — Even before Napoleon's coronation, war had been renewed between France and England. One of Napoleon's first acts of preparation for this struggle was the sale (in 1803) to the United States, for fifteen million dollars, of the territory of Louisiana, which he had recently acquired from Spain. He was impelled to do this because his inferiority at sea made it impossible for him to defend such remote possessions.

The sale and transfer of this immense region of boundless resources was one of the most important transactions in history.

Napoleon seems to have realized its significance for the development of the great American republic. "I have given England a rival," he said, "which sooner or later will humble her pride."

As early as 1803 Napoleon had begun to mass a great army at Boulogne, on the English Channel, and to build an immense number of flat-bottomed boats preparatory to an invasion of England. "Carthage must be destroyed," was the menacing and persistent cry of the French press. "Masters of the Channel for six hours," said Napoleon, "and we are masters of the world."

Napoleon's menacing preparations produced throughout England an alarm unequaled by anything the English people had experienced since the days of the Spanish Armada. The younger Pitt, at this time head of the English government, was untiring in fostering a new coalition of the powers against France. Early in the year 1805 England and Russia formed an alliance which was intended to constitute the nucleus of a general European league. Austria and other states soon joined the coalition.

942. Campaign against Austria: Austerlitz (Dec. 2, 1805). — Intelligence reaching Napoleon that both the Austrian and the Russian armies were on the move, he suddenly broke up the camp at Boulogne, flung his Grand Army, as it was called, across the Rhine, outmaneuvered and captured a great Austrian army at Ulm, and then marched in triumph through Vienna to the field of Austerlitz beyond, where he gained one of his most memorable victories over the combined armies of Austria and Russia, numbering more than eighty thousand men. Austria was now shorn of large tracts of her dominions,[8] including Venetia, which Napoleon added to the kingdom of Italy.

943. The Reorganization of Germany; End of the Holy Roman Empire (1806). — That reconstruction of the Germanic body which Napoleon had begun after the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden (sec. 935) was now in its large outlines completed. Napoleon ultimately reduced the three hundred and more states comprising the Germanic system to about forty. It was the

[8] The Treaty of Pressburg (Dec. 26, 1805) arranged affairs between Austria and France.

ecclesiastical states, the free imperial cities, and the petty states of the minor princes which suffered extinction, their lands being bestowed upon the princes of the states selected for survival. Among the rulers especially favored at this time were the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Würtemberg, both of whom were made kings and given enough territory to enable them to maintain becomingly this new dignity.

These favored states, together with others, — sixteen in all, — now declared themselves independent of the old Holy Roman Empire, and were formed into a league called the Confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as Protector (July 12, 1806). Emperor Francis II, recognizing that his office was virtually abolished, now laid down the imperial crown (August 6, 1806), and henceforth used as his highest title *Francis I, Emperor of Austria*.

Thus did the Holy Roman Empire come to an end, after having maintained an existence, since its revival under Charlemagne, of almost exactly one thousand years. Reckoning from its establishment by Cæsar Augustus, it had lasted over eighteen hundred years, thus being one of the longest-lived of human institutions, — if mere existence may be reckoned as life.

944. Good Results of Napoleon's Reorganization of Germany. — Napoleon's reorganization of the Germanic body brought ultimately great blessings to the German folk. It marked the beginning of the regeneration of the German fatherland. Out of the new German system which Napoleon created was to rise the German Empire of to-day. Hence we may regard Napoleon's reconstruction of Central Europe as one of the most important, in its far-reaching consequences, of all his acts.

An immediate benefit conferred upon the states of the Confederation of the Rhine was the introduction into them of all the reforms which had regenerated France and made her strong. Serfdom was abolished where it still lingered; equality of the noble and the non-noble classes before the law was established; and the new French Civil Code was partly put in force.

945. Trafalgar (Oct. 21, 1805). — Napoleon's brilliant victories in Germany were clouded by an irretrievable disaster to his

fleet, which occurred on the day following the surrender of the Austrians at Ulm. Lord Nelson having met, near Cape Trafalgar on the coast of Spain, the combined French and Spanish fleets, — Spain was at this time Napoleon's ally, — almost completely destroyed the combined armaments. The gallant English admiral fell at the moment of victory.

This decisive battle gave England the control of the sea and relieved her from all danger of a French invasion. Even the "wet ditch," as Napoleon was wont contemptuously to call the English Channel, was henceforth an impassable gulf to his ambition. He might rule the Continent, but the sovereignty of the ocean and its islands was denied him.

946. Campaign against Prussia: Jena and Auerstädt (1806). — Prussia was the next state after Austria to feel the weight of Napoleon's hand. King Frederick William III, goaded by insufferable insult, imprudently threw down the gauntlet to the victor of Austerlitz.

Moving with his usual swiftness, Napoleon overwhelmed the Prussian armies in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, which were both fought on the same day (Oct. 14, 1806). The greater part of Prussia was now quickly overrun by the French. The capital, Berlin, was entered by them in triumph. The sword of the great Frederick, the famous car of victory over the Brandenburg Gate, together with many treasures stolen from the museums and art galleries of the city, were carried as trophies to Paris.

947. Campaigns against the Russians: Eylau and Friedland (1807). — The Russian army, which the Tsar Alexander had sent to the aid of Frederick William, was still in the field against Napoleon in the Prussian territories east of the Vistula.

Early in the year 1807 Napoleon attacked, on a stormy winter day, the Russian forces at Eylau. The battle was sanguinary and indecisive, each army, it is estimated, leaving over thirty thousand dead and wounded on the snow. During the summer campaign of the same year Napoleon again engaged the Russians in the terrible battle of Friedland and completely overwhelmed them. The Tsar was constrained to sue for peace.

By the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, Prussia was stripped of fully one half of her dominions, a part of which, in connection with other lands, was made into a new state, called the Kingdom of Westphalia, with Napoleon's brother Jerome as its king, and added to the Confederation of the Rhine; while the greater part of Prussian Poland, reorganized and named the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was given to the vassal king of Saxony.[4] What was left of Prussia became virtually a dependency of the French Empire.

948. **The Continental Blockade; the Berlin and Milan Decrees** (1806–1807). — After the Peace of Tilsit, England was Napoleon's sole remaining enemy. The means which he employed to compass the ruin of this formidable and obstinate foe, the paymaster of the coalitions which he was having constantly to face, affords the key to the history of the great years from 1807 to the final downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. These means were what is known as the Continental Blockade or System. We have seen how the destruction of Napoleon's fleet at Trafalgar dashed all his hopes of ever making a descent upon the British shores (sec. 945). Unable to reach his enemy directly with his arms, he resolved to strike her through her commerce. By two celebrated edicts, called from the cities whence they were issued the Berlin and Milan decrees, he closed all the ports of the Continent against English ships, and forbade any of the European nations from holding any intercourse with Great Britain. The policy thus adopted by Napoleon to bring England to terms by ruining her trade was a suicidal one, and resulted finally in the ruin of his own empire.

949. **Beginning of the Peninsular Wars** (1808). — One of the first consequences of Napoleon's Continental Blockade was to bring him into conflict with Portugal. The prince regent of that country refusing to comply with all his demands respecting English trade and property, Napoleon sent one of his marshals to take possession of the kingdom. The entire royal family, accompanied by many of the nobility, fled to Brazil. Portugal now became virtually a province of Napoleon's empire.

[4] Napoleon had made the Elector of Saxony a king just after the battle of Jena.

950. **Napoleon places his Brother Joseph upon the Spanish Throne** (June 6, 1808); **the Spanish Uprising.** — Spain was next appropriated. Arrogantly interfering in the affairs of that country, — the government it must be said was desperately incompetent and corrupt, — Napoleon induced the weak-minded Bourbon king, Charles IV, to resign to him as "his dearly beloved friend and ally" his crown, which he at once bestowed upon his brother Joseph. The throne of Naples, which Joseph had been occupying,[5] was transferred to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. Thus did this audacious man make and unmake kings, and give away thrones and kingdoms.

But the high-spirited Spaniards were not the people to submit tamely to such an indignity. The entire nation from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar flew to arms. Portugal also arose, and England sent to her aid a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington and the hero of Waterloo. The French armies were soon driven out of Portugal, and pushed beyond the Ebro in Spain. Joseph fled in dismay from his throne, and Napoleon found it necessary to take the field himself, in order to restore the prestige of the French arms. He entered the peninsula at the head of a great army, and reseated his brother upon the Spanish throne. Threatening tidings from another quarter of Europe now caused Napoleon to hasten back to Paris.

951. **Napoleon's Third Campaign against Austria** (1809). — Taking advantage of Napoleon's troubles in the Iberian peninsula, Emperor Francis I of Austria had put his army on a war footing, and made ready to throw down the gage of battle. The war opened in the spring of 1809. At the end of a short campaign, the most noted engagements of which were the hard-fought battles of Aspern (Essling) and Wagram, Austria was again at Napoleon's feet. She was now still further dismembered. Among other lands taken from her was a long strip of shore land on the Adriatic, which, under the name of the Illyrian Provinces, Napoleon added to the French Empire. He now had actual or virtual control of the whole of the European coast line from the frontier of Turkey on the Adriatic to the frontier of Russia on the Baltic.

[5] Napoleon had dethroned the Bourbons in Naples in 1806.

952. **Union of the Papal States with Napoleon's Empire** (May, 1809). — Napoleon's Continental System now brought him into trouble with the Papacy. Pope Pius VII refused to enforce the blockade against England and further presumed to disregard other commands of Napoleon. Thereupon Napoleon declared that the Pope "was no longer a secular prince," and took possession of his domains. Pope Pius straightway excommunicated the Emperor, who thereupon arrested him, and for three years held him a state prisoner.

953. **Napoleon's Second Marriage** (1810). — Soon after his triumph over the Emperor Francis, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine in order to form a new alliance with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria. Josephine bowed meekly to the will of her lord and went into sorrowful exile from his palace. Napoleon's object in this matter was to cover the reproach of his plebeian birth by an alliance with one of the ancient royal families of Europe, and to secure the perpetuity of his government by leaving an heir to be the inheritor of his throne and fortunes.

The ambition of Napoleon to found a dynasty seemed realized when, the year following his marriage with the archduchess, a son was born to them, who was given the title of King of Rome. His enemies could now no longer, as he reproached them with doing, make appointments at his grave. He had now something more than "a life interest" in France. The succession was assured.

954. **Holland and North German Coast Lands annexed to Napoleon's Empire** (1810). — During this year of his second marriage Napoleon made two fresh territorial additions to his empire.

Louis Bonaparte, — king of Holland, it will be recalled, — disapproving of his brother's Continental System, which was ruining the trade of the Dutch, abdicated the crown. Thereupon Napoleon incorporated Holland with the French Empire (July 9, 1810).

A few months later Napoleon also annexed to his empire all the German coast land from Holland to Lübeck in order to be able to close the important ports here against English trade.

955. Napoleon's Empire at its Greatest Extent (1811). — In these additions the Napoleonic empire received its last enlargement. Napoleon was now, in outward seeming, at the height of his marvelous fortunes. Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Wagram were the successive steps by which he had mounted to the most dizzy heights of military power and glory.

The empire which this soldier of fortune had built up stretched from Lübeck to beyond Rome, embracing France proper, the Netherlands, part of Western and Northwestern Germany, all Western Italy as far south as the kingdom of Naples, together with the Illyrian Provinces and the Ionian Islands.

On all sides were allied, vassal, or dependent states. Several of the ancient thrones of Europe were occupied by Napoleon's relatives or his favorite marshals. He himself was king of the kingdom of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of Switzerland. Austria and Prussia were completely subject to his will. Russia and Denmark were his allies.

Such were the relations of the once great powers and independent states of Europe to "the Corsican adventurer." Not since the time of the Cæsars had one man's will swayed so much of the civilized world.

956. Elements of Weakness in the Empire. — But, splendid and imposing as at this moment appeared the external affairs of Napoleon, the sun of his fortunes, which had risen so brightly at Austerlitz, had already passed its meridian. There were many things just now contributing to the weakness of Napoleon's empire and foreboding its speedy dissolution. Founded and upheld by the genius of this single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes.

Again, Napoleon's Continental System, through the suffering and loss it inflicted particularly upon the maritime countries of Europe, had caused murmurs of discontent all around the circumference of the Continent.

Still again, the conscriptions of the Emperor had drained France of men, and her armies were now recruited by mere boys, who were utterly unfit to bear the burden and fatigue of

CENTRAL EUROPE
1810
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350
Scale of Miles
French Empire and Dependent States
Austrian
Prussian
Swedish
Savoyard
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
London
Boulogne
Brussels
Waterloo
Amsterdam
Hague
HOLLAND
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
R. Rhine
Mayence
Treves
Metz
Strasbourg
Rouen
R. Seine
Paris
Fontainbleau
R. Loire
Nantes
Napoleon
Vendée
Bordeaux
Toulouse
St. Sebastian
SPAIN
FRENCH EMPIRE
Lyon
R. Rhone
Marseille
Nice
Genoa
Turin
Milan
Geneva
Bern
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
BADEN
WURTEMBURG
WESTPHALIA
Hamburg
Lübeck
R. Elbe
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
RÜGEN
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
Berlin
Leipzig
Erfurt
Jena
SAXONY
Dresden
Prague
BOHEMIA
Austerlitz
Wagram
Vienna
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
Hohenlinden
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Danube
Pesth
HUNGARY
R. Drave
SLAVONIA
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Venice
BOSNIA
SERVIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MONTENEGRO
Florence
Rome
KM. OF NAPLES
Naples
CORSICA
KM. OF SARDINIA
KM. OF ITALY
Adda R.
CONFEDERATION of the RHINE
PRUSSIA
Königsberg
Danzig
Tilsit
R. Niemen
Friedland
Eylau
PRUSSIA
R. Vistula
R. Bug
Warsaw
DY. OF WARSAW
SILESIA
Breslau
Cracow
GALICIA
RUSSIA

Napoleon's rapid campaigns. The heavy taxes, also, which were necessary to meet the expenses of Napoleon's wars, and to carry on the splendid public works upon which he was constantly engaged, produced great suffering and discontent throughout the empire.

Furthermore, Napoleon's harsh and unjust treatment of Pope Pius VII had alienated the Catholic clergy and created a resentful feeling among pious Catholics everywhere.

At the same time the crowd of deposed princes and dispossessed aristocrats in those states which Napoleon had reconstructed, and in which he had set up the new code of equal rights, were naturally resentful, and were ever watching an opportunity to regain their lost power and privileges.

Even the large class who at first welcomed Napoleon as the representative of the French ideas of equality and liberty, and applauded while he overturned ancient thrones and stripped of their privileges ancient aristocracies, — even many of these early adherents had been turned into bitter enemies by his adoption of imperial manners and the formation of a court, and especially by his setting aside his first wife, Josephine, and forming a marriage alliance with one of the old hated royal houses of Europe.

957. **The New Force destined to destroy Napoleon's Empire: the Nations.** — But the active force which was to overwhelm Napoleon's empire and to free Europe from his tyranny was the sentiment of national patriotism which was being aroused in the dismembered and vassal states, and in those whose independence was imperiled. The Empire threatened to become the tomb of the Nations. In the face of this danger national patriotism was being everywhere awakened. We have witnessed the popular uprising in Spain; we shall now witness a similar movement in Germany and in Russia.

958. **The Regeneration of Prussia; Reforms of Baron vom Stein.** — It was in Prussia that this patriotic movement found most passionate expression. After the crushing defeat at Jena, Prussia had been subjected by Napoleon to every indignity and forced to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation. This had for a result

the calling into life in the nobler souls among the Germans of the long dormant sentiment of national patriotism. The growth of the new feeling was stimulated and directed by various agencies, particularly by patriot poets and teachers. A wholly new spirit was breathed into German education. Thousands of German youths were stirred by a sentiment they had never felt before, — ardent love for the German name and the German land.

At the same time the masses of the people were being reached and awakened by the social and economic reforms planned by the eminent statesman Baron vom Stein, minister of King Frederick William. Two thirds of the population of Prussia were at this period serfs. Now Stein's idea was that the strength of a state depends upon the patriotism of the people; but his insight revealed to him the truth that "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." Hence his policy of enfranchisement.

By a celebrated Edict of Emancipation serfdom was abolished. This decree deserves a place along with the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln and the edict of the Emperor Alexander II which liberated the Russian serfs. The Prussian king, in the words of Stein, was no longer "the king of slaves, but of free men." Prussia's future was now secure. Henceforth she was not merely a state but a nation.

The army also was reorganized on the model of that of France. The old army, which had gone to pieces so disgracefully on the field of Jena, was made up of conscripted peasants, officered by incompetent and insolent nobles. Flogging was the punishment for even the most trivial offenses. The new army was an army of self-respecting citizens, a truly national army.

The effect of these reforms upon the spirit of the people was magical. They effected the political and moral regeneration of Prussia. They did for Prussia what like reforms had done for France. Prussia now became strong like France, because Prussia was no longer simply the king and the aristocracy, but the Prussian people.

Prussia regenerated became the leader of Germany in the memorable War of Liberation, which we are now approaching.

This uprising of the Prussian nation against Napoleon forms one of the most dramatic passages in the history of the German people.

959. **Napoleon's Invasion of Russia** (1812–1813). — The signal for the general uprising of Germany and the rest of Europe was the terrible misfortune which befell Napoleon in his invasion of Russia. Various circumstances had concurred to weaken the friendship and break the alliance between the Russian Emperor and Napoleon; but the main cause of mutual distrust and alienation was the Continental Blockade. This had inflicted great loss upon Russian trade, and the Tsar had finally refused to carry out Napoleon's decrees, and entered a coalition against France.

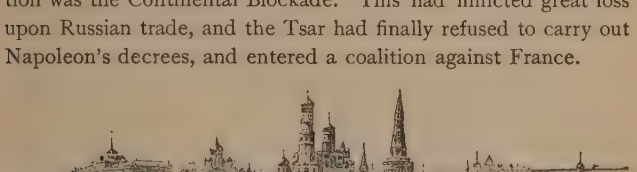

FIG. 151. — THE KREMLIN OF MOSCOW. (From a photograph)

Napoleon resolved to force Russia, as he had the rest of Continental Europe, to bow to his will. Gathering contingents from all his vassal states, he crossed the Russian frontier at the head of what was proudly called the Grand Army, numbering upwards of four hundred thousand men. After making a single stand at Smolensk, the Russian army avoided battle, and as it retreated into the interior devastated the country in front of the advancing enemy. Finally, at Borodino, seventy miles from Moscow, the Russians halted and offered battle to cover the city, but in a terribly bloody struggle their resistance was broken and the invaders entered the ancient capital in triumph.

To his astonishment Napoleon found the city practically deserted by its inhabitants; and two days after he had established himself in the empty palace of the Tsar (in the Kremlin), fires, started in some unknown way, broke out simultaneously in

different quarters of the city. The conflagration raged for five days, until the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes.

Napoleon's situation was now critical. He had confidently expected, from his knowledge of the Emperor Alexander, that as soon as the French army was in Moscow he would sue for peace. But to Napoleon's messages Alexander returned for reply that he would not enter into negotiations with him so long as a single French soldier stood upon Russian soil.

In the hope that the Tsar would abandon his heroic resolve, Napoleon lingered about the ruined city until the middle of October, and then finally gave orders for the return march. This delay was a fatal mistake, and resulted in one of the greatest tragedies in history. Before the retreating French columns had covered half the distance to the frontier, the terrible Russian winter was upon them. The sufferings of the ill-clad soldiers were intense. Thousands were frozen to death. The spot of each bivouac was marked by the circle of dead around the watch fires. Sometimes in a single night as many as two or three hundred perished. Thousands more were slain by the peasants and the wild Cossacks, who hovered about the retreating columns and harassed them day and night. The passage of the river Beresina was attended with appalling losses. Soon after the passage of this stream Napoleon, conscious that the fate of his empire depended upon his presence in Paris, left the remnant of the army in charge of his marshals and hurried by post to his capital.

The loss by death of the French and their allies in this disastrous campaign is reckoned at upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men, while that of the Russians is estimated to have been almost as large.

960. The War of Liberation; the Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations" (Oct. 16–19, 1813). — Napoleon's fortunes were buried with his Grand Army in the snows of Russia. His woeful losses here, taken in connection with his great losses in Spain, encouraged the European powers to think that now they could crush him. A sixth coalition was formed, embracing Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and later Austria.

Napoleon made gigantic efforts to prepare for the final struggle. By the spring of 1813 he was at the head of a new army, numbering eventually over three hundred thousand men, — boys we should say, so extremely young were a large number of the fresh recruits. Falling upon the allied armies of the Russians and Prussians, first at Lützen and then at Bautzen, Napoleon gained a decisive victory upon both fields. Austria now appeared in the lists, and at Leipzig, in Saxony, Napoleon was attacked by the leagued armies of Europe. So many were the powers represented upon this renowned field that it is known in history as the "Battle of the Nations." The combat lasted three days. Napoleon was defeated and forced to retreat into France.

The armies of the allies now poured over all the French frontiers. Napoleon's efforts to roll back the tide of invasion were all in vain. Paris surrendered to the allies (March 31, 1814). As the struggle became plainly hopeless, the Emperor's most trusted officers deserted and betrayed him. The French Senate issued a decree deposing him and restoring the throne to the Bourbons. Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was banished to the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean, being permitted to retain his title of Emperor and to keep about him a few of his old guards. But Elba was a very diminutive empire for one to whom the half of Europe had seemed too small, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Napoleon was not content with it.

961. **"The Hundred Days"** (March 20–June 29, 1815). — Upon invitation of the French Senate the brother of Louis XVI now assumed the crown with the title of Louis XVIII. With this new Bourbon king the allies arranged a treaty,[6] the shifty Talleyrand, who had earlier served Napoleon, acting as Louis' representative. This treaty gave France the frontiers she had in 1792.

In accordance with a promise he had made, Louis gave France a constitution. Notwithstanding, he acted very much as though his power were unlimited. He styled himself "King of France and Navarre *by the grace of God*." He always alluded to the year in which he began to rule as the nineteenth year of his reign, thus

[6] First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.

affecting to ignore wholly the government of the Republic and the Empire. This excited alarm, because it seemed to question the validity of all that had been done since the execution of Louis XVI. Some, fearing lest the work of the Revolution would be undone, began to desire the return of Napoleon, and the wish was perhaps what gave rise to the report which was spread abroad that he would come back with the spring violets.

In the month of March, 1815, as the commissioners of the various powers were sitting at Vienna rearranging the landmarks and boundaries obliterated by the French inundation, news was brought to them that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was in France. At first the members of the Congress were incredulous, regarding the thing as a jest, and were with difficulty convinced of the truth of the report.

Taking advantage of the general dissatisfaction with the rule of the restored Bourbons, Napoleon had resolved upon a bold push for the recovery of his crown. Landing with about eight hundred guardsmen at one of the southern ports of France, he aroused all the country with one of his stirring addresses, and then immediately pushed on towards Paris. His journey to the capital was one continuous ovation. One regiment after another, forgetting their recent oath of loyalty to the Bourbons, hastened to join his train. His old generals and soldiers embraced him with transports of joy. Marshal Ney, sent to arrest the Emperor, whom he had promised to bring to Paris in a cage, at the first sight of his old commander threw himself into his arms and pledged him his sword and his life. Louis XVIII, deserted by his army, was left helpless, and, as Napoleon approached the gates of Paris, fled from his throne.

Napoleon desired peace with the sovereigns of Europe; but they did not think the peace of the continent could be maintained so long as he sat upon the French throne. For the seventh and last time the allies leagued their armies against "the disturber of the peace of Europe."

Hoping to overwhelm the armies of the allies by striking them one after another before they had time to unite, Napoleon moved

swiftly into Belgium with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand in order to crush there the English under the Duke of Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher. He first fell in with and defeated the Prussian army, and then faced the English at Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

The story of Waterloo need not be told, — how all day the French broke their columns in vain on the English squares; how, at the critical moment towards the close of the day when Wellington was wishing for Blücher or for night, Blücher with a fresh force of thirty thousand Prussians turned the tide of battle; and how the famous Old Guard, which knew how to die but not how to surrender,[7] made its last charge and left its hitherto invincible squares upon the lost field.

A second time Napoleon was forced to abdicate,[8] and a second time Louis XVIII ascended his unstable throne.[9] Napoleon made his way to the coast, purposing to take ship for the United States; but the way was barred by British watchfulness, and he was constrained to surrender to the commander of the English warship *Bellerophon*. "I come, like Themistocles," he said, "to throw myself upon the hospitality of the English people."

But no one believed that Napoleon could safely be left at large, or that his presence anywhere in Europe, even though he were in close confinement, would be consistent with the future security and repose of the continent. Some even urged that he be given up to Louis XVIII to be shot as a rebel and an outlaw. The final decision was that he should be banished to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic. Thither he was carried by the English, and closely guarded by them until his death in 1821.

The story of these last years of Napoleon Bonaparte, as gathered from the companions of his exile, is one of the most

[7] General Cambronne, the commander of the Guard, when summoned to surrender, is said to have returned this reply: "The Guard dies, but never surrenders." There is doubt concerning the origin of the famous phrase.

[8] His abdication was in favor of his little son, whom he proclaimed "Napoleon II, Emperor of the French."

[9] The allies now signed with Louis what is known as the Second Treaty of Paris (Nov. 20, 1815). France had now to accept the frontiers which were hers in 1789.

pathetic in all history. At the time of his death he was in his fifty-second year. As a military genius and commander he left a deeper impress upon the imagination of the world, and fills a larger place in history, probably, than any other man who ever lived.

Selections from the Sources. — BOURRIENNE, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte.* Bourrienne was Bonaparte's schoolfellow and comrade, and then his private secretary from 1796 to 1802. TARBELL, *The Words of Napoleon;* contains interesting selections from Napoleon's addresses and letters. In reading these extracts it should be borne in mind that Napoleon's speeches, like his bulletins, often bore no relation to the actual facts or to his own real thoughts and purposes. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chaps. xxxvii (last part) and xxxviii.

Secondary Works. — Among the numerous biographies of Napoleon the following possess special merit and authority: FOURNIER, A., *Napoleon the First;* JOHNSTON, R. M., *Napoleon;* ROSE, J. H., *The Life of Napoleon I*, 2 vols.; SLOANE, W. M., *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 vols.; LANFREY, P., *The History of Napoleon the First*, 4 vols. (left incomplete by the death of the author); SEELEY, J. R., *Napoleon the First;* and ROPES, J. C., *The First Napoleon.* Lanfrey makes the Emperor the subject of bitter reproach. One of the best extended histories of the Napoleonic period is THIERS, L. A., *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, 12 vols. Excellent short accounts are STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, chaps. vii–xi; ROSE, J. H., *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, last part, chap. vii; and ANDREWS, C. M., *The Historical Development of Europe*, vol. i, chap. ii.

Works dealing with special phases of the history of the period: MAHAN, A. T., *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, vol. ii; SEELEY, J. R., *Life and Times of Stein*, 2 vols.; and BIGELOW, P., *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, 3 vols. See also LORD ROSEBERY, *Napoleon: the Last Phase;* on the Emperor's imprisonment at St. Helena.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The sale of Louisiana to the United States. 2. The Civil Code. 3. Execution of the Duke of Enghien. 4. The Congress at Erfurt. 5. Baron vom Stein and his reforms. 6. Napoleon at St. Helena. 7. Queen Louise of Prussia. See Mary McArthur Tuttle's *The Mother of an Emperor.*

III. THE RESTORATION OF 1815 AND THE DEMOCRATIC REACTION: THE SEQUEL TO THE REVOLUTION

(1815–1906)

CHAPTER LXIX

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

962. Ideas bequeathed by the French Revolution to the Nineteenth Century. — The social and political history of Europe since the overthrow of Napoleon is the sequel of the history of the great social and political upheaval which we have been witnessing. The dominant forces at work throughout this period have been the ideas or principles inherited from the French Revolution.

There were three of these ideas, with which, as revolutionary forces in history, we have already become familiar in tracing the story of the Revolution and the Empire. The first was the idea or principle of equality; the second, that of the sovereignty of the people; the third, that of nationality. These principles or ideas, as we have said, were the precious political heritage which the nineteenth century received from the Revolution. But these ideas have not had free course. They have come into conflict with certain opposing doctrines with which they have had to struggle for supremacy. And this brings us to the starting point of the history of the last century, — the celebrated Congress of Vienna.

963. The Congress of Vienna (September, 1814–June, 1815). — After the first abdication of Napoleon, as we have seen, the European sovereigns, either in person or by their representatives, met at Vienna to readjust the affairs of the Continent. As we shall hereafter, in connection with the history of the separate

European countries, have occasion to say something respecting the relations of each to the Congress, we shall here say only a word regarding the spirit and temper of the assembly and the general character of its work.

The Vienna commissioners seemed to have but one thought and aim, — to restore everything as nearly as possible to its condition before the Revolution. The principle of nationality was wholly ignored, while that of the sovereignty of the people was, by most of the plenipotentiaries, looked upon as a principle of disorder to be repressed in every possible way.

In making distribution of the territories recovered from Napoleon, the Vienna map makers took no account of the rights and claims of race or nationality. The inhabitants of the countries available for division were apportioned among the different sovereigns exactly as a herd of cattle might be divided up and apportioned among different owners. Thus the Belgian and Dutch provinces were united into a single state, which under the name of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was given to a prince of the House of Orange.

A great part of what had been Poland was made into a subject kingdom of the Russian Empire. The Poles were informed that they must give up all thought and hope of the restoration of their national independence.[1]

Lombardy and Venetia in Upper Italy, along with other lands, were given to Austria. This extension of Austrian rule over Italian lands was one of the grossest violations of the principles of nationality of which the Congress was guilty, and was to be signally avenged when the hour for Italian unity and independence arrived.

The principle of popular sovereignty was treated with like disregard. The restored rulers were for the most part the old pre-revolutionary despots come to their own again. Their desire was

[1] Sweden was confirmed in the possession of Norway, which Denmark lost as a consequence of her alliance with Napoleon. The two countries were to form a dual monarchy, each having its own Parliament, or Diet, but united under a single crown. This arrangement subsisted until 1905, when Norway declared the union dissolved, and, choosing Prince Charles of Denmark as king, became an independent kingdom.

CENTRAL EUROPE
After 1815
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
Baltic Sea
Rugen I.
Danzig
Hamburg
Lübeck
MECKLENBURG
Bremen
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Louvain
Waterloo
Boulogne
Aix la Chapelle
Luxemburg
Sedan
Paris
Fontainebleau
Troyes
Strasbourg
Rastatt
Frankfort
Stuttgart
WURTEMBERG
Basel
Lucerne
Zurich
Berne
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyons
Turin
Milan
LOMBARDY
Genoa
Nice
Marseilles
Avignon
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Leghorn
Elba
Rome
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Berlin
Brandenburg
Leipzig
Dresden
Bautzen
Breslau
Posen
Warsaw
POLAND
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Carlsbad
Prague
BOHEMIA
Troppau
GALICIA
PODOLIA
Vienna
Presburg
Salzburg
Pesth
Buda
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
TYROL
Laybach
Trieste
Venice
Bologna
Rimini
ADRIATIC SEA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
Belgrade
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Bucharest
WALLACHIA
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Odessa
Nicopolis
Shumla
Shipka Pass
Sofia
Adrianople
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
The M.-N. Works, Buffalo

to rule in the old arbitrary way; but there were those among them who realized that the old absolutism could not with safety be reëstablished. Hence constitutions were talked about. Louis XVIII had been required by the terms of the treaties of Paris to give France a constitution, the allies understanding perfectly that if the restored Bourbons should attempt to rule as absolute sovereigns there would be trouble again which would unsettle everything in Europe. But the only states, besides France, which at this time actually received constitutions were the minor states of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Poland, and Norway. Practically the old régime of absolutism was almost everywhere reëstablished.

But the Revolution had impaired beyond restoration reverence for the divine right of kings. An attempt to restore autocratic government in Europe was an attempt to restore an outgrown cult, — to set up again the fallen Dagon in his place. Notwithstanding, the commissioners at Vienna, blind to the spirit and tendencies of the times, did set up once more the broken idol, — only, however, to see it flung down again by the memorable political upheavals of the next half century. The kings had had their Congress; the people were to have theirs, — in 1820 and '30 and '48.

964. **Prince Metternich and the Holy Alliance.** — The spirit of the monarchical restoration of 1815 was incarnate in the celebrated Austrian minister, Prince Metternich.

This man hated the Revolution, which to him was the spirit of evil let loose in the world. The demand of the people for a share in government he regarded as presumptuous, and was wholly convinced that any concession to their demands could result in nothing save horrible confusion and bloodshed. Metternich exerted a vast influence upon the history of the years from 1815 to 1848. This period might appropriately be called the Age of Metternich.

The activity of Metternich during the earlier portion of the period of his ascendancy was closely connected with a celebrated league known as the Holy Alliance. This was a religious league formed just after the fall of Napoleon by the Tsar Alexander and

having as its chief members Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The ostensible object of the league was the maintenance of religion, peace, and order in Europe and the reduction to practice in politics of the maxims of Christ. The several sovereigns entering the union promised to be fathers to their people, to rule in love and with reference solely to the promotion of the welfare of their subjects.

All this had a very millennial look. But the Holy Alliance very soon became practically a league for the maintenance of absolute principles of government, in opposition to the liberal tendencies of the age. Under the pretext of maintaining religion, justice, and order, the sovereigns of the union acted in concert to suppress every movement for political liberty among their subjects.

Selections from the Sources. — *Memoirs of Prince Metternich* (trans. by Mrs. Alexander Napier), vol. ii, pp. 553–599, and vols. iii–v. These volumes cover the years from 1815 to 1829. They are of the first importance for this period. FORD, *Life and Letters of Madame Krüdener*. This work lights up a remarkable passage in the life of the Russian Emperor Alexander I, and reveals the genesis of the Holy Alliance. *Translations and Reprints*, vol. i, No. 3, "The Restoration and the European Policy of Metternich."

Secondary Works. — Among the great number of works on nineteenth-century history the following are among the best of those in English which present in brief survey the whole or some considerable part of the history of the period: FYFFE, C. A., *A History of Modern Europe, 1792–1878* (Popular Edition); PHILLIPS, W. A., *Modern Europe, 1815–1899;* ANDREWS, C. M., *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols.; SEIGNOBOS, C., *A Political History of Europe since 1814;* WHITCOMB, M., *A History of Modern Europe;* ROBINSON, J. H., *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe;* MULLER, W., *Political History of Recent Times;* and JUDSON, H., *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*.

Biographies and works dealing with some particular subject or some limited portion of the nineteenth century: STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *Revolutionary Europe, 1789–1815*, "Introduction," for suggestive paragraphs on the principles which have molded nineteenth-century history, and chap. xi, for the Congress of Vienna; MALLESON, G. B., *Life of Prince Metternich;* LOWELL, A. L., *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols.; and ROSE, J. H., *The Development of the European Nations*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Prince Metternich and his system. 2. Madame Krüdener and the Tsar Alexander I.

CHAPTER LXX

FRANCE SINCE THE SECOND RESTORATION
(1815–1906)

965. The Reign of Louis XVIII (1815[14]–1824). — "Your king, whose fathers reigned over your fathers for more than eight centuries, now returns to devote the rest of his days to defend and to comfort you." Such were the words used by Louis upon his second return to his people after Waterloo. The events of the Hundred Days had instructed and humbled him. Profiting by his experience, Louis ruled throughout a great part of the remainder of his reign with reasonable heed to the changes effected by the Revolution. But as he grew old and infirm he yielded more and more to the extreme Royalist party, which was again raising its head, and the government entered upon a course looking to the restoration of the old order of things.

966. The Reign of Charles X (1824–1830); **the Revolution of 1830.** — Upon the death of Louis in 1824 and the accession of Charles X, this reactionary policy soon became more pronounced. The new king seemed utterly incapable of profiting by the teachings of the past. It was particularly his blind, stubborn course that gave point to the saying, "A Bourbon learns nothing and forgets nothing."

It is not necessary for our purpose that we rehearse in detail what Charles did or what he failed to do. His aim was to undo the work of the Revolution, just as it was the aim of James II in England to undo the work of the Puritan Revolution. He disregarded the constitution, restored the clergy to power, re-established a strict censorship of the press, and changed the laws by royal proclamation. He seemed bent on restoring divine-right monarchy in France. He declared that he would rather saw wood for a living than rule after the fashion of the English kings.

The outcome might have been foreseen. Paris rose in revolt. Charles was escorted to the seacoast, whence he took ship for England.

France did not at this time think of a republic. She was inclined to try further the experiment of a constitutional monarchy. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented the younger branch of the Bourbon family, was placed on the throne and the constitution was revised. In the charter which Louis XVIII had granted he had styled himself "King of France *by the grace of God*." The new constitution declared Louis Philippe to be "King of the French by the grace of God *and by the will of the nation*." The first principle of the Revolution — the sovereignty of the people — was thus embodied in the fundamental law of France.

967. **Effect upon Europe of the "July Revolution" of 1830; Origin of the Kingdom of Belgium.** — The convulsion in Paris shook all the restored thrones, and for a moment threatened to topple into ruins the whole fabric of absolutism that had been so carefully upreared by the Congress of Vienna. In the Netherlands the artificial order established in 1815 (sec. 963) was wholly destroyed. The Belgians arose, declared themselves independent of Holland, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their king (1831). Thus came into existence the separate kingdom of Belgium.

968. **The Revolution of 1848 and the Establishment of the Second Republic.** — The reign of Louis Philippe up to 1848 was very unquiet, yet was not marked by any disturbance of great importance. But during all this time the ideas of the Revolution were working among the people, and the democratic party was constantly gaining in strength. Finally there came a demand for the extension of the suffrage. At this time there were only about two hundred thousand voters in France, the possession of a certain amount of property being required as a qualification for the franchise. The government steadily refused all electoral reforms. Guizot, the king's chief minister, declared that "this world is no place for universal suffrage."

There came an uprising like that of 1830. The center of this disturbance, of course, was Paris. Louis Philippe fled to England. After his departure the Paris mob dragged the throne out of the Tuileries and made a bonfire of it.

The Second Republic was now set up. A new constitution established universal suffrage. An election being ordered, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen President of the new Republic (Dec. 10, 1848).

The Paris "February Revolution," as it is called, lighted the beacon fires of liberty throughout Europe. "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, during the month of March, 1848, not a single day passed without a constitution being granted somewhere."

FIG. 152. — NAPOLEON III
(After a portrait by *F. Winterhalter*)

969. The Second Empire (1852–1870). — The life of the Second Republic spanned only three years. By almost exactly the same steps as those by which his uncle had mounted the imperial throne, Louis Napoleon now also ascended to the imperial dignity, crushing the Republic as he rose.

A contest having arisen between the President and the National Assembly, the President planned a *coup d'état*, — a second Eighteenth Brumaire (sec. 933). He caused the arrest at night of the most prominent of the deputies opposed to him in the Assembly and dissolved that body. His appeal to the people to indorse what he had done met with a most extraordinary response. By a majority of almost seven million votes[1] the nation approved the President's *coup d'état* and rewarded him for it by extending his term of office to ten years. This was in effect the revival

[1] The exact vote was 7,481,216 to 684,419.

of the Consulate of 1799. The next year Louis Napoleon was made Emperor, and took the title of Napoleon III (1852).

As the Second and the Third Republic were simply revivals and continuations of the First Republic, so was the Second Empire merely the revival and continuation of the First Empire. It was virtually the same in origin, in spirit, and in policy.

Louis Napoleon had declared that the Empire meant peace. But it meant anything except that. The pages of its history are filled with the records of wars. There were three important ones in which the armies of the Empire took part, — the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Austro-Sardinian War (1859), and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). The first two of these wars need not detain us at this time, since we shall speak of them later in connection with Russian and Italian affairs.[2]

The real cause of the third war, the one between Prussia and France, was French jealousy of the growing power of Prussia (sec. 1013). With everything in a state of culpable and incredible unreadiness, France, "with a light heart," plunged into the fateful struggle. The French had no other thought than that their armies would repeat the campaign of Jena and Auerstädt (sec. 946). "Down with Prussia! On to Berlin!" was the cry. There came a quick and terrible disillusionment. In a few days after the French declaration of war the great German hosts had been gathered. Three immense armies, numbering half a million of men, all animated by the spirit of 1813, swept over the frontier. One large French army was defeated in the memorable battle of Gravelotte (August 18, 1870) and shut up in Metz. Then followed the surrender at Sedan, where eighty-three thousand men, including the Emperor himself, gave themselves up as prisoners of war[3] (Sept. 2, 1870).

The German columns now advanced to Paris and began the investment of the city (Sept. 19, 1870). All reasonable hope of a successful defense of the capital was soon destroyed by the

[2] See secs. 998 and 1019.

[3] After the war Louis Napoleon found an asylum in England (at Chiselhurst), where he died Jan. 9, 1873.

surrender to the Germans of Marshal Bazaine at Metz (Oct. 23, 1870). One hundred and seventy-three thousand soldiers and six thousand officers became prisoners of war, — the largest army ever taken captive. But Paris held out stubbornly, with great suffering from cold and hunger, three months longer; and then, all outside measures for raising the siege having failed, capitulated (Jan. 30, 1871). The terms of the treaty that followed were that France should surrender to Germany the Rhenish province of Alsace and one half of Lorraine, and pay an indemnity of five thousand million francs (about $1,000,000,000). Never before was such a ransom paid by a nation.

The Red Republicans, or Communists, of Paris, indignant at the terms of the treaty, organized a Committee of Public Safety in imitation of that of 1793, and called the population of the capital to arms. The government finally succeeded in suppressing the insurgents, though only after the destruction by fire of many public buildings, and frightful slaughters in the streets and squares of the city.

970. **The Third Republic** (1870–). — The Third Republic was now organized. M. Thiers, the historian, became its first President. France has now (1906) been under the government of the Third Republic for thirty-six years, a longer period of freedom from revolution than any other since 1792. The current of political events, however, has during this time run somewhat turbulently. There have been many changes of presidents [4] and of ministries, and much party rancor has been displayed; yet in spite of all untoward circumstances the cause of the Republic has steadily advanced, while that of the Monarchy and that of the Empire have as steadily gone backward. Bourbons and Bonapartes, like Stuarts, have gone into an exile from which there is no return.

Many of the difficulties and problems which have confronted the Republic were legacies to it from the Monarchy and the

[4] These are the presidents of the Republic since the resignation of Thiers in 1873: Marshal MacMahon (resigned), 1873–1879; M. Grévy (resigned), 1879–1887; M. Carnot (assassinated), 1887–1894; M. Casimir-Périer (resigned), 1894–1895; M. Félix Faure (died in office), 1895–1899; M. Loubet (1899–1906); and M. Clément Armand Fallières (1906–).

Empire, or more directly from the Franco-Prussian War. One unfortunate heritage from the war that destroyed the Empire is the Alsace and Lorraine question. The French people have never been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of these provinces, and their determination to regain them has contributed largely to convert France, and the whole Continent as well, into a permanent armed camp, and to make times of peace almost as burdensome to the nations as times of war.

A second legacy to the Republic was influential parties of Monarchists and Imperialists, who have endeavored in every way to discredit the republican régime, and who have watched for an opportunity to set up again either the Monarchy or the Empire. The dangerous intrigues of these parties led in 1886 to the expulsion from France of all the Bourbon and Bonaparte claimants of the throne and their direct heirs.

As to the part which France as a Republic has taken in recent colonial enterprises, particularly in the opening up to civilization of the continent of Africa, we shall find it more convenient to speak in another connection (secs. 1031 and 1032).

Selections from the Sources. — FORBES, *My Experience of the War between France and Germany.* ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, chap. xxxix, pp. 536–542. For material for a systematic study of the period, the special student should turn to ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents.*

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Alfred Dreyfus. 2. Ferdinand de Lesseps and the Panama Canal. 3. France and the Vatican.

CHAPTER LXXI

ENGLAND SINCE THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

(1815–1906)

971. The Three Chief Matters. — English history during the nineteenth century embraces a multitude of events. A short chapter covering the period will possess no instructive value unless it reduces this mass of facts to some sort of unity by placing events in relation with their causes, and thus shows how they are connected with a few broad movements or tendencies.

Studying the period in this way, we shall find that very many of its leading events may be summed up under the three following heads: (1) progress towards democracy; (2) extension of the principle of religious equality; and (3) the growth of the British colonial empire.[1]

We shall attempt nothing more in the present chapter than to indicate the most prominent matters that should claim the student's attention along the first two lines of inquiry, reserving for later sections the consideration of England's colonial affairs.

I. Progress towards Democracy

972. Introductory. — The English Revolution of 1688 transferred authority from the king to the Parliament. The elective branch of that body, however, rested upon a very narrow electoral basis. Out of upwards of five million Englishmen who should have had a voice in the government, less than two hundred thousand were voters, and these were chiefly of the rich upper classes. The political democratizing of England during the nineteenth

[1] A fourth line of study which also touches matters of importance is England's relations with Ireland. This topic embraces such matters as the following: the union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801; the agitation under O'Connell for the Repeal of the Union; the Irish land laws; the Home Rule movement, etc.

century consists in the giving to every intelligent and honest man a share in the government under which he lives.

973. **Effects of the French Revolution upon Liberalism in England; Reform versus Revolution.** — The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to liberal tendencies. The English Liberals watched the course of the French Republicans with the deepest interest and sympathy. It will be recalled how the statesman Fox rejoiced at the fall of the Bastille, and what auguries of hope he saw in that event (sec. 897). The young writers, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, were all infected with democratic sentiments and inspired with a generous enthusiasm for political liberty and equality. But the wild excesses of the French levelers terrified the English Liberals. There was a sudden revulsion of feeling. Liberal sentiments were denounced as dangerous and revolutionary. But in a few years after the downfall of Napoleon the terrors of the French Revolution were forgotten. Liberal sentiments began to spread among the masses. The people very justly complained that, while the English government claimed to be a government of the people, they had no part in it.

Now it is instructive to note the different ways in which Liberalism was dealt with by the English government and by the rulers on the Continent. In the Continental countries the rising spirit of democracy was met by cruel and despotic repression. We have seen the result of this policy in France, and later shall see the outcome of it in other Continental countries. Liberalism triumphed indeed at last, but triumphed only through revolution.

In England the government did not resist the popular demands to the point of revolution. It made timely concessions to the growing spirit of democracy. Hence here, instead of a series of revolutions, we have a series of reform measures which, gradually popularizing the House of Commons, at last rendered the English nation, not alone in name but in reality, a self-governing people.

974. **The Reform Bill of 1832.** — The first Parliamentary step in reform was taken in 1832. To understand this important act a glance backward becomes necessary.

When, in 1265, the Commons were first admitted to Parliament, members were called only from those cities and boroughs whose wealth and population fairly entitled them to representation. In the course of time some of these places dwindled in population and new towns sprang up; yet the decayed boroughs retained their ancient privilege of sending members to Parliament, while the new towns were left entirely without representation. Thus Old Sarum, an ancient town now utterly decayed and without a single inhabitant, was represented in the Commons by two members. Furthermore the sovereign, for the purpose of gaining influence in the Commons, had, from time to time, given unimportant places the right of returning members to the Lower House. It was inevitable that elections in these small or "pocket boroughs," as they were called, should often be determined by the corrupt influence of the crown or of the great landowners. The Lower House of Parliament was thus filled with the friends of the king, or with nominees of territorial magnates. At the same time such large, recently grown manufacturing towns as Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester had no representation at all in the Commons.

Agitation was begun for the reform of this corrupt and farcical system of representation. The contest between Whigs and Tories, or Liberals and Conservatives, was long and bitter, the Conservatives opposing all reform and denying that there was any necessity for it. At last public feeling became so strong and menacing that the Lords, who were blocking the measure in the Upper House, were forced to yield, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became a law. By this act the English electoral system was radically changed. Eighty-six of the "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised, and the hundred and forty-two seats in the Lower House taken from them were given to different counties and to large towns hitherto unrepresented. The bill also somewhat increased the number of electors by extending the right of voting to all persons in the towns owning or leasing property of a certain value, and by lowering the property qualification of voters in the counties.

The importance of this reform bill can hardly be exaggerated. It is the Magna Carta of English political democracy.[2]

975. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835. — The government of the English towns of this period needed reform as urgently as had the British Parliament. This municipal system was a system inherited from the Middle Ages. Most of the towns were ruled by corrupt oligarchies. Long agitation for their overthrow resulted in the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. This act accomplished for the government of the cities what the Reform Bill of 1832 had effected for the general government of the kingdom.

976. Chartism: the Revolutionary Year of 1848. — Although the Reform Bill of 1832 was almost revolutionary in the principle it established, still it went only a little way in the application of that principle. It admitted to the franchise the middle classes only. The great laboring class were given no part in the government. They now began an agitation, characterized by much bitterness, known as Chartism, from a document called the "People's Charter," which embodied the reforms they desired. Among these were universal suffrage and vote by ballot.

The agitation went on with more or less violence until 1848, in which year, encouraged by the revolutions then shaking almost every throne on the European continent, the Chartists indulged in riotous demonstrations, which frightened the law-abiding citizens and brought discredit upon themselves. Their organization now fell to pieces. The reforms, however, which they had labored

[2] The reform of the House of Commons gave an impulse to legislation of an humanitarian and popular character. In 1833 an act was passed in the British Commons for the abolition of slavery. Nearly 800,000 slaves, chiefly in the British West Indies, were freed at a cost to the English nation of £20,000,000. This same year (1833) the first effective Factory Act was passed. This was the beginning of a long series of laws which gradually corrected the almost incredible abuses, particularly in connection with the employment of children, which had crept into the English factory system. A similar series of laws regulated labor in the mines. Also this same year Parliament voted an annual grant of £20,000 to aid in the erection of schoolhouses. This was the first step taken by the English government in the promotion of public education. In 1846 England, by the repeal of her "corn laws," abandoned the commercial policy of protection, which favored the great landowners, and adopted that of free trade. The chief advocates of this important measure were Richard Cobden and John Bright.

to secure, were, in the main, desirable and just, and the most important of them have since been adopted and made a part of the English constitution.

977. The Reform Bill of 1867 and the Education Act of 1870. — The Reform Bill of 1867 was simply another step taken by England in the direction of the Reform Bill of 1832. Like that measure, it was passed only after long and violent agitation and discussion both without and within the walls of Parliament. The main effect of the bill was the extension of the right of voting, — the enfranchisement of the great "fourth estate."

As after the Reform Bill of 1832, so now the attention of Parliament was directed to the matter of public instruction; for all recognized that universal education must go along with universal suffrage. Three years after the passage of this second reform bill Parliament passed an education act (1870) which aimed to provide an elementary education for every child in the British Isles by investing the local authorities with power to establish and maintain schools and compel the attendance of the children.

978. The Reform Bill of 1884. — One of the Conservative leaders, the Earl of Derby, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill of 1867, said, "No doubt we are making a great experiment, and taking a leap in the dark." Just seventeen years after the passage of that bill the English people were ready to take another leap. But they were not now leaping in the dark. The wisdom and safety of admitting the lower classes to a share in the government had been demonstrated.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, introduced and pushed to a successful vote a new reform bill more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It increased the number of voters from about three millions to five millions. The qualification of voters in the counties was made the same as that required of voters in the boroughs. Hence its effect was to enfranchise the great agricultural classes.

979. The Reform of Rural Local Government. — Parliament and the government of the municipalities were now fairly democratized. The rural districts were the last to feel the influence of

the liberal movement; but it finally reached these, and the work of democratic reconstruction has been rounded out and completed by different acts of Parliament, which have put more directly into the hands of the people of each of the smaller subdivisions of the realm the management of their local affairs.

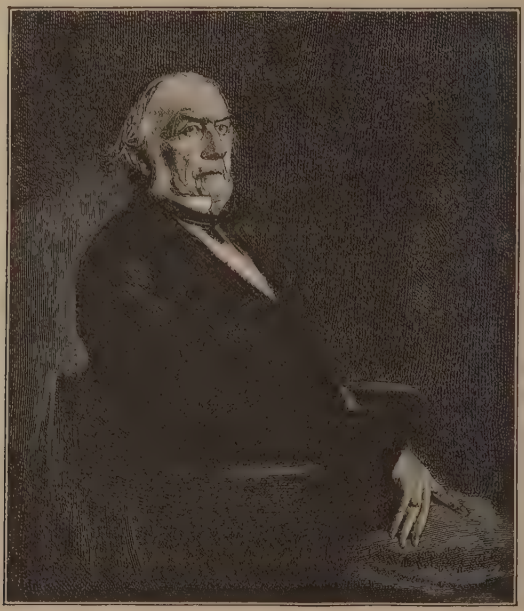

FIG. 153. — WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. (After a painting by *Franz von Lenbach*)

980. Only the Forms of Monarchy remain. — The English government in its local as well as in its national branches is now in reality as democratic as our own. Only the forms of the aristocratic monarchy remain. It does not seem possible that these, in spite of the English love of ancient forms, can long withstand the encroachments of democracy. Hereditary right and

privilege, as represented by the House of Lords and the Crown, must in time be abolished. Even now whenever the Lords attempt to thwart the will of the Commons there are ominous threats of abolishing the Upper House, as at present constituted.

II. Extension of the Principle of Religious Equality

981. Religious Freedom and Religious Equality. — Alongside the political movement traced in the preceding section ran a similar one in the religious realm. This was a growing recognition by the English people of the true principle of religious toleration.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was in England religious freedom, but no religious equality. That is to say, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant dissenter without fear of persecution. Dissent from the Established Church was not unlawful; but one's being a Catholic or a Protestant nonconformist disqualified him from holding certain public offices. Where there exists such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect is sustained by the government, there of course is no religious *equality*, although there may be religious *freedom*.

Progress in this direction, then, will consist in the removal of all civil disabilities from Catholics, Protestant dissenters, and Jews, and the placing of all sects on an absolute equality before the law.

982. Methodism and its Effects upon Toleration. — One thing that helped to bring prominently forward the question of emancipating nonconformists from the civil disabilities under which they were placed, was the great religious movement known as Methodism. By vastly increasing the body of Protestant dissenters, Methodism gave new strength to the agitation for the repeal of the laws which bore so heavily upon them. So now began a series of legislative acts which made a more and more perfect application of the principle of religious equality. We can refer to only two or three of the most important of these measures.

983. Disabilities removed from Protestant Dissenters (1828). — One of the earliest and most important of the acts of Parliament

in this century in recognition of the principle of religious equality was the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, in so far as they bore upon Protestant dissenters. These were acts passed in the reign of Charles II, which required every officer of a corporation, and all persons holding civil and military positions, to take certain oaths and partake of the communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. It is true that these laws were not now strictly enforced; nevertheless the laws were invidious and vexatious, and the Protestant dissenters demanded their repeal.

Those opposed to the repeal argued that the principle of religious toleration did not require it. They insisted that, where every one has perfect freedom of worship, it is no infringement of the principle of toleration for the government to refuse to employ as a public servant one who dissents from the State Church. The result of the debate in Parliament was the repeal of such parts of the ancient acts as it was necessary to rescind in order to relieve Protestant dissenters.

984. **Disabilities removed from the Catholics** (1829). — The bill of 1828 gave no relief to Catholics. They were still excluded from Parliament and various civil offices by the declarations of belief and the oaths required of officeholders, — declarations and oaths which no good Catholic could conscientiously make. They now demanded that the same concessions be made them that had been granted Protestant dissenters. A threatened revolt on the part of the Irish Catholics hurried through Parliament the progress of what was known as the Catholic Emancipation Act. This law opened Parliament and all the offices of the kingdom, below the Crown, — save that of Regent, of Lord High Chancellor of England and Ireland, of Lord Deputy of Ireland, and a few others, — to the Catholic subjects of the realm.

985. **Disabilities removed from the Jews** (1858). — Persons professing the Jewish religion were still laboring under all the disabilities which had now been removed from Protestant dissenters and Catholics. In 1858 an act (Jewish Relief Act) was passed by Parliament which so changed the oath required of a person taking office — the oath contained the words, "Upon the true faith of a

Christian" — as to open all public positions, except a few special offices, to persons of the Jewish faith.

986. Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869). — Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland.

The Irish have always and steadily refused to accept the religion which their English conquerors have somehow felt constrained to try to force upon them. The vast majority of the people are to-day, and ever have been, Catholics; yet up to the time where we have now arrived these Irish Catholics had been compelled to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance among them of the Anglican Church worship. Meanwhile their own churches, in which the great masses were instructed and cared for spiritually, had to be kept up by voluntary contributions.

FIG. 154. — LORD BEACONSFIELD (DISRAELI), "THE COURTIER PREMIER." (From the monument in Westminster Abbey)

The proposal to do away with this grievance by the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli; but at length, after a memorable debate, the Liberals, under the lead of Bright and Gladstone, the latter then Prime Minister, carried the measure. This was in 1869, but the actual disestablishment was not to take place until the year 1871, at which time the

Irish Church, ceasing to exist as a state institution, became a free Episcopal Church.

987. Proposed Disestablishment of the State Church in England, Scotland, and Wales. — The principle of religious equality demands, in the opinion of many Liberals, the disestablishment likewise of the State Church in England, Scotland,[8] and Wales. They feel that for the government to maintain any particular sect is to give the state a monopoly in religion. They would have the churches of all denominations placed on an absolute equality. Especially in Scotland and Wales is the sentiment in favor of disestablishment very strong.

Selections from the Sources. — LEE, *Source-Book*, pp. 483–541; KENDALL, *Source-Book*, chaps. xx and xxi; and COLBY, *Selections*, Nos. 113–117. The most important documents for the period will be found in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, pp. 497–555.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. Lord Beaconsfield, the courtier Premier 2. Gladstone, the Liberal Premier. 3. John Bright, the orator. 4. Daniel O'Connell, the Irish patriot. 5. Irish agrarian troubles and agrarian legislation. 6. Irish Home Rule.

[8] The Established Church in Scotland is the Presbyterian.

CHAPTER LXXII

THE LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY

988. Italy at the Downfall of Napoleon. — The Italian peoples, as being the most dangerously infected with the ideas of the Revolution, were, by the reactionary Congress of Vienna, condemned to the most strict and ignominious slavery. The former republics were not allowed to restore their ancient institutions, while the petty principalities were handed over in almost every case to the tyrants or to the heirs of the tyrants who had ruled them before the Revolution.

Austria, as has already been stated, appropriated Venetia and Lombardy, and from Northern Italy assumed to direct the affairs of the whole peninsula (sec. 963). Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Lucca were given to princes of the House of Hapsburg. Naples was restored to its old Bourbon rulers. The Pope and Victor Emmanuel I, king of Sardinia (Piedmont), were the only native rulers, but they also were absolutists. The Italians were thus made "a Helot nation." Italy, in the words of Metternich, was merely "a geographical expression."

But the Revolution had sown the seeds of liberty, and time only was needed for their maturing. The Cisalpine, Ligurian, Parthenopean, and Tiberine republics, short-lived though they were, had awakened in the people an aspiration for self-government; while Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, though equally delusive, had nevertheless inspired thousands of Italian patriots with the sentiment of national unity. Thus the French Revolution, disappointing as seemed its issue, really imparted to Italy her first impulse in the direction of freedom and national organization.

989. Arbitrary Rule of the Restored Princes. — The setting up of the overturned thrones meant, of course, the reinstating of the old tyrannies. The restored despots came back with an implacable hatred of everything French. The liberal constitutions of

the revolutionary period were set aside, and all French institutions that were supposed to tend in the least to Liberalism were swept away.

In Sardinia, King Victor Emmanuel I, the "royal Rip Van Winkle," instituted a most extreme reactionary policy. Nothing that bore the French stamp, nothing that had been set up by French hands, was allowed to remain. Even the French furniture in the royal palace at Turin was thrown out of the windows, and the French plants in the royal gardens were pulled up root and branch.

990. The Carbonari: Uprising of 1820–1821. — The natural results of the arbitrary rule of the restored princes was deep and widespread discontent. An old secret organization, the members of which were known as the *Carbonari* (charcoal burners), formed the nucleus about which gathered the elements of disaffection.

In 1820, incited by the revolution in Spain, the *Carbonari* raised an insurrection in Naples and forced King Ferdinand to grant his Neapolitan subjects a liberal constitution. But Prince Metternich, who had been watching the doings of the Neapolitans, interfered to mar their plans. Sixty thousand Austrian troops were sent to crush the revolutionary movement, the constitution was suppressed, Ferdinand was reinstated in his former absolute authority, and everything was put back on the old footing.

Meanwhile a similar revolution was running its course in Piedmont. King Victor Emmanuel I, rather than yield to the demands of his people for a constitution, gave up his crown and was succeeded by his brother Charles Felix, who, by threatening to call to his aid the Austrian army, compelled his subjects to cease their clamor about kings ruling not by the grace of God but by the will of the people.

The suppression of the Liberal uprisings seemed to Metternich the sure pledge of divine favor. He writes exultantly: "I see the dawn of a better day. . . . Heaven seems to will that the world should not be lost."

991. The Revolution of 1830–1831. — For just ten years all Italy lay in sullen vassalage to Austria. Then the revolutionary

years of 1830–1831 witnessed a repetition of the scenes of 1820–1821. The center of the revolution was the Papal States. But the presence of Austrian troops, who, "true to their old principle of hurrying with their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened," had poured into Central Italy, resulted in the speedy quenching of the flames of the insurrection.

992. The Three Parties. — Twice now had Austrian armies defeated the aspirations of the Italians for national unity and freedom. Italian hatred of these foreign intermeddlers who were causing them to miss their destiny grew ever more intense, and "Death to the Germans!" as the Austrians were called, became the watch cry that united all the peoples of the peninsula.

But, while united in their fierce hatred of the Austrians, the Italians were divided in their views respecting the best plan for national organization. One party wanted a confederation of the various states; a second party wished to see Italy a constitutional monarchy with the king of Sardinia at its head; while still a third, known as "Young Italy," wanted a republic.

993. Joseph Mazzini, the Patriot and Prophet. — The leader of the third or republican party was the patriot Joseph Mazzini. Mazzini was not a narrow nationalist. He recognized the universal character of the democratic revolution. The people were oppressed not only in Italy but in Spain, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey, — almost everywhere, in truth. Their cause was a common cause. In opposition to the Holy Alliance of the princes formed with aim to oppress, there must be a Holy Alliance of the peoples formed with aim to emancipate. The French Revolution, he said, had proclaimed the liberty, equality, and fraternity of individual men; the new revolution should proclaim the liberty, equality, and fraternity of nations.

In this great work of the emancipation and unification of the world, Italy was to be head and guide of the nations. To her this post of leadership was assigned by virtue of her leadership in the past. Once pagan Rome organized and ruled the world. Then papal Rome organized and ruled it for a thousand years. Now a third world union was to be formed, and of this union of

the free and federated nations Italy, Italy as a republic, was to be center and head. The first Rome was the Rome of the Cæsars; the second was the Rome of the Popes; the third was to be the Rome of the Italian People.

Such was Mazzini's interpretation of the drama of world history. Such was his splendid ideal. Through kindling the enthusiasm of the Italian youth, awakening the sentiment of patriotism, and keeping alive the spirit of insurrection, Mazzini rendered a great service to the cause of Italian liberation and union.

994. The Revolution of 1848–1849. — After the suppression of the uprising of 1830 until the approach of the memorable year 1848, Italy lay restless under the heel of her oppressor. The republican movements throughout Europe which characterized that year of revolutions encouraged the Italian patriots in another attempt to achieve independence and nationality. Everywhere throughout the peninsula they rose against their despotic rulers and forced them to grant constitutions and institute reforms.

FIG. 155. — VICTOR EMMANUEL II. (From an engraving)

But through the intervention of the Austrians and the French the third Italian revolution was brought to naught. This interference by the French in Italian affairs was prompted by their jealousy of Austria and the desire of Louis Napoleon to win the good will of the Catholic clergy in France.

Much, however, had been gained. The patriots had been taught the necessity of united action. Henceforward all were more inclined to look upon the kingdom of Sardinia as the only possible basis and nucleus of a free and united Italy.

995. Victor Emmanuel II, Count Cavour, and Garibaldi. — Sardinia was a state which had gradually grown into power in the northwest corner of the peninsula. The throne was at this time

held by Victor Emmanuel II (1849-1878), the only constitutional ruler in Italy. To him it was that the hopes of the Italian patriots now turned. Nor were these hopes to be disappointed. Victor Emmanuel was the destined liberator of Italy, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that his was the name in which the achievement was to be effected by the wise policy of his great minister Count Cavour and the reckless daring of the national hero Garibaldi.

Count Cavour was the Bismarck of Italy, — one of those great men who during this formative period in the life of the European peoples have earned the title of Nation Makers. He was lacking in oratorical and poetic gifts. "I cannot make a sonnet," he said, "but I can make Italy," — an utterance suggested doubtless by that of the Athenian statesman (Themistocles) who boasted that though "he knew nothing of music and song, he did know how of a mean city to make a great one." Cavour was the real maker of modern Italy.

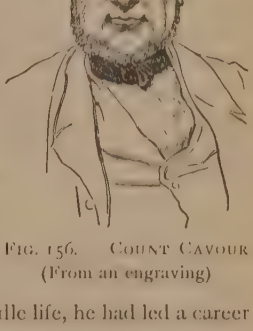

FIG. 156. COUNT CAVOUR
(From an engraving)

Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," the knight-errant of Italian independence, was a most remarkable character. Though yet barely past middle life, he had led a career singularly crowded with varied experiences and romantic adventures. Because of his violent republicanism he had already been twice exiled from Italy.

996. Sardinia in the Crimean War. — In 1855, in pursuance of a far-sighted policy, Cavour sent a Sardinian contingent of fifteen thousand men to aid England and France against Russia in the Crimean War (sec. 1019), with the two chief aims of giving Sardinia a standing among the powers of Europe, and of earning the gratitude of England and France, so that the Italians in their future struggles with Austria might not have to fight their battles alone.

A little incident in the trenches of the allies before Sevastopol shows in what spirit the Sardinians had gone to the war. A soldier, covered with mud and wearied with the everlasting digging, complained to his superior officer. "Never mind," was the consoling reply; "it is with this mud that Italy is to be made."

997. Cavour prepares for War with Austria. — Soon after the close of the Crimean War, Cavour received from the French Emperor Napoleon III a promise that a French army, when the favorable moment arrived, would aid the Sardinians in driving the Austrians out of Italy. In this proffer of help the French Emperor was actuated less by gratitude for the aid of the Sardinian contingent in the war against Russia than by a desire to lessen the power of Austria in Italy and to replace it by French influence, and to secure Savoy and Nice, which were to be France's reward for her intervention in Sardinia's behalf.

998. The Austro-Sardinian War (1859–1860). — Sardinia now began to arm. Austria, alarmed at these demonstrations, called upon Sardinia to disarm immediately upon threat of war. Cavour eagerly accepted the challenge. The French armies were joined to those of Sardinia. The two great victories of Magenta and Solferino drove the Austrians out of Lombardy. Just at this juncture the menacing attitude of Prussia and other German states, which were alarmed at the prospective aggrandizement of France, and the rapid spread of the revolutionary movement in Italy, which foreshadowed the union of all the states of the peninsula in a single kingdom, — something which Louis Napoleon did not wish to see consummated,[1] — this new situation of things, in connection with other considerations, caused the French Emperor to draw back and to enter upon negotiations of peace with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca.

The outcome was that Austria retained Venice, but gave up to Sardinia the larger part of Lombardy. The Sardinians were bitterly

[1] Napoleon III did not wish for a united Italy any more than he wished for a united Germany. His aim was to create a kingdom in Northern Italy which would exclude Austria from the peninsula and then to bring about a confederation of all the Italian states under the presidency of the Pope. Italy thus reconstructed would, he conceived, be fain to look to the French Emperor as her champion and patron.

GERMAN FEDERATION
SWITZERLAND
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
FRANCE
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF LOMBARDY-VENETIA
TURKEY
Adriatic Sea
GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
SICILY
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
AFRICA
Corsica (To France)
La Maddalena I.
Caprera I.
Pop. of N. Kingdom of Sardinia
Malta (To Great Britain)
ITALY
in 1859
(before the Austro-Sardinian War)
Scale of Miles
Longitude East 14 from Greenwich 16

disappointed that they did not get Venetia, since at the outset the French Emperor had declared that he would free Italy from the "Alps to the Adriatic."

But Sardinia found compensation for Venice in the accession of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, the peoples of which states, having discarded their old rulers, besought Victor Emmanuel to permit them to unite themselves to his kingdom. Thus, as the result of the war, the king of Sardinia had added to his subjects a population of seven millions. A long step had been taken in the way of Italian unity and freedom.

999. Sicily and Naples, with Umbria and the Marches, added to Victor Emmanuel's Kingdom (1860). — The adventurous daring of the hero Garibaldi now added Sicily and Naples, and indirectly Umbria and the Marches, to the possessions of Victor Emmanuel, and changed the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy.

All this took place under the following circumstances. In 1860 the subjects of the Bourbon Francis II, king of the Two Sicilies, rose in revolt. Garibaldi, favored by the connivance of the Sardinian government, having gathered a band of a thousand volunteers, set sail from Genoa for Sicily, where upon landing he assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily for Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, and quickly drove the troops of King Francis out of the island. Then crossing to the mainland he marched triumphantly to Naples, whose inhabitants hailed him tumultuously as their deliverer.

Count Cavour saw that the time had now come for the Sardinian government openly to assume guidance of the revolutionary movement. The papal territories and Naples were accordingly occupied by a regular Sardinian army. Meanwhile a plebiscite, or popular vote, having been ordered, the papal lands of Umbria and the Marches, together with Naples, and Sicily, voted almost unanimously for annexation to the Sardinian kingdom.

Thus was another long step taken in the unification of Italy. Nine millions more of Italians had become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel. There was now wanting to complete the union only Venetia and Rome, with the lands in the immediate neighborhood of the latter city, known as the "Patrimony of St. Peter."

1000. Venetia added to the Kingdom (1866). — The Seven Weeks' War (sec. 1011), which broke out between Prussia and Austria in 1866, afforded the Italian patriots the opportunity for which they were watching to make Venetia a part of the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel formed an alliance with the king of Prussia, one of the conditions of which was that no peace should be made with Austria until she had surrendered Venetia to Italy. The speedy issue of the war added the coveted territory to the dominions of Victor Emmanuel.

1001. Rome becomes the Capital (1870). — The Italians now looked forward impatiently to the time when Rome, the ancient mistress of the peninsula, should be their capital. The power of the Pope, however, was upheld by the French, and this made it impossible for the Italians to have their will in this matter without a conflict with France.

But events soon gave the coveted capital to the Italian government. In 1870 came the sharp, quick war between France and Prussia, and the French troops at Rome were summoned home. The Italian government at once gave notice to the Pope that Rome would henceforth be considered a portion of the kingdom of Italy, and forthwith an Italian army entered the city, which by a vote of almost a hundred to one resolved to cast in its lot with that of the Italian nation. The family was now complete. Italy was a nation — and the only great nation in Europe "made not by conquest but by consent." [2]

1002. End of the Temporal Power of the Papacy. — The occupation of Rome by the Italian government marked the end of the temporal power of the Pope, and thus the end of the last ecclesiastical state in Europe. The papal troops, with the exception of a few guardsmen, were disbanded. The Vatican palace and some other buildings with their grounds were reserved to the Pope as a place of residence, together with a yearly allowance of over six million dollars.

[2] Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and his son came to the throne with the title of Humbert I. He was assassinated in 1900, and was succeeded by his only son, Victor Emmanuel III.

These arrangements have subsisted down to the present time. Under them the Pope is not to be regarded as a subject of the Italian government but rather as a sovereign residing at Rome. His person is inviolable. No Italian officer may enter the Vatican or its grounds, which the Italian government respects the same as though they were foreign territory.[3]

The popes[4] have steadily refused to recognize the legitimacy of the act whereby they were deprived of the temporal government of Rome and the Papal States, and have protested against it by refraining from setting foot outside the gardens of the Vatican, by refusing to accept the annuity provided for them, and in various other ways.

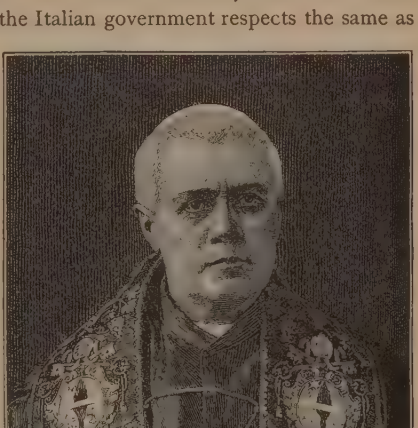

FIG. 157. — POPE PIUS X. (From a photograph)

1003. Reform and Progress. — The antagonism between the holy see and the Italian government, in connection with other hindrances, has tended to retard Italy's progress under the new régime. Yet very much has been accomplished since the winning of independence

[3] Just a few months before the loss of his temporal sovereignty a great council of the Catholic Church (the Vatican Council of 1869–1870) had by a solemn vote proclaimed the doctrine of papal infallibility, which declares the decisions of the Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, "on questions of faith and morals," to be infallible.

[4] Pius IX died in 1878 and was followed in the pontificate by Leo XIII, who died July 20, 1903, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three, after having won a place among the greatest and the best of the popes. The College of Cardinals elected as his successor Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, who assumed the title of Pius X.

and nationality. Brigandage, an element of the bad heritage from the time of servitude, oppression, and disunion, has been in a great degree suppressed; railways have been built; the Alps have been tunneled; the healthfulness of the Campagna and other districts has been increased by extensive systems of drainage, and regions long given over to desolation have been made habitable and productive; the dense ignorance and the deep moral degradation of the masses, particularly in the southern parts of the peninsula, have been in a measure overcome and relieved by a public system of education; and Rome has been rebuilt, and from the position of a mean provincial town raised to a place among the great capitals of modern Europe.

As to the progress made during the last thirty years in the development of the sentiment of nationality, a recent disaster furnishes a milestone by which to measure advance. In 1902 the great historic campanile which dominated St. Mark's in Venice fell in a pathetic heap of ruins. Every city of the peninsula, says a chronicler of the event, mourned just as if the tower had been its own, — "and then they opened a subscription." Had the catastrophe happened a single generation ago Venice would have had to restore her own bell tower; but Italy is to-day a Nation, and the misfortune which befalls any Italian city afflicts all alike.

Selections from the Sources. — MAZZINI, *Life and Writings.* Should be read by all those whose souls, to use one of Mazzini's own phrases, need to be retempered in abhorrence of tyranny. DELLA ROCCA, *The Autobiography of a Veteran, 1807–1893.* A narrative of simplicity and charm. ROBINSON, *Readings in European History*, vol. ii, pp. 572–580.

Secondary Works. — PROBYN, J. W., *Italy: from the Fall of Napoleon I, in 1815, to the Year 1890*, and STILLMAN, W. J., *The Union of Italy, 1815–1895.* The first of these affords the best short account for young readers; the second is the best for a careful study. MARTINENGO CESARESCO, *The Liberation of Italy, 1815–1870;* also by the same writer, *Cavour.* THAYER, W. R., *The Dawn of Italian Independence*, 2 vols. MAZADE, CHARLES DE, *Life of Cavour.* DICEY, E., *Victor Emmanuel.* KING, B., *Mazzini.*

Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The little republic of San Marino. 2. Joseph Mazzini. 3. Count Cavour. 4. The Quirinal and the Vatican.

CHAPTER LXXIII

THE MAKING OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

1004. Formation of the German Confederation (1815). — The creation of the new German Empire is the most important matter in the political history of Europe since Waterloo. This story, so far as it will be narrated in the present chapter, begins with the Congress of Vienna. That body reorganized Germany as a Confederation, with the Emperor of Austria as President of the league. The union consisted of the Austrian Empire and the four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, besides various principalities and free cities, — in all, thirty-nine states. A Diet formed of delegates from the several states was to settle all questions of dispute arising between members of the Confederation, and to determine matters of general concern. The articles of union, in a spirit of concession to the growing sentiment of the times, provided that every state should establish a representative form of government.

1005. Defects and Weaknesses of the Confederation. — The ties uniting the various states of this Confederation could hardly have been more lax. In this respect the league resembled that first formed by the American states under the Articles of Confederation. One chief defect of its constitution was that, as in the case of the American Federation, there existed no effective machinery for carrying out the acts of the Federal Diet. These amounted practically to nothing more than recommendations to the rulers of the several states, who paid no heed whatsoever to them unless they chanced to be in line with their own policies or inclinations.

But what contributed more than all else to render the federal scheme wholly unworkable was the presence in the league of two powerful and mutually jealous states, Austria and Prussia, neither of which was willing that the other should have predominance in

the affairs of the Confederation. Of these two rival states Prussia, though at first she yielded nominal precedence to Austria, which had a great past and enjoyed a vast prestige at the European courts, was in reality the stronger and the more promising state. Her strength lay particularly in the essentially German character of her population. Austria was inherently weak because of the mixed non-German character of most of the territories that had been gradually united under the rule of the Hapsburgs. The greater part of their lands lay outside of the German Confederation and contained nearly twenty-five million Slavs, Magyars, Italians, and other non-German subjects.

This difference in the character of the populations of Prussia and the Austrian Empire foreshadowed their divergent destinies, — foreshadowed that Austria should lose and that Prussia should gain the leadership in German affairs.

1006. **The Dual Movement towards Freedom and Union.** — For a half century after the Congress of Vienna the history of Germany is the history of a dual movement, or perhaps it would be better to say two movements, one democratic and the other national in character. The aim of the first movement was the establishment of representative government in the different states of the Confederation; the aim of the second was German unity. These movements were essentially the same as those which we have seen creating in the Italian peninsula a free and united Italy. They were to have the same issue here in Germany, — the creation of a free and united German fatherland.

1007. **The Revolutions of 1830: Some Gains for Constitutional Government.** — There were a few liberal-minded princes among the German rulers; but in general the faces of these princes were turned towards the past. They opposed all changes that should give the people any part in the government, and clung to the old order of things. We have seen what were the consequences of the reactionary policy of the Bourbons in France and of the despots in Italy. Events ran exactly the same course in Germany. When the news of the February Revolution in Paris spread beyond the Rhine, a sympathetic thrill shot through Germany, and in

places the Liberal party made threatening demonstrations against their reactionary rulers. In several of the minor states constitutions were granted. Thus a little was gained for free political institutions, though after the flutter of the revolutionary years the princes again took up their reactionary policy, and under the influence of Metternich did all in their power to check the popular movement and to keep governmental matters out of the hands of the people. In some instances the constitutions already granted were annulled or their articles were disregarded.

1008. Formation of the Customs Union; First Step towards German Unity (1828–1836). — It was just at this revolutionary epoch that the first step was taken in the formation of a real German nation through the creation of what is known as the Customs Union. This was a sort of commercial treaty binding those states that became parties to it — by the year 1836 almost all the states of the Confederation save Austria had become members of the league — to adopt among themselves the policy of free trade; that is, there were to be no duties levied on goods passing from one state of the Union to another belonging to it.

The greatest good resulting from the Union was that it taught the people to think of a more perfect national union. And as Prussia was the promoter of the trade confederation, it accustomed the smaller states to look to her as their head and chief.

1009. The Uprisings of 1848; Further Gains for Constitutional Government. — In 1848 news flew across the Rhine of the uprising in France against the reactionary government of Louis Philippe. The intelligence kindled a flame of excitement throughout Germany. The Liberals everywhere arose and demanded constitutional government. Especially in Austria did affairs assume a most threatening aspect.[1] Metternich was obliged to flee the country. The Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph, who granted the people a constitution.[2]

[1] The most serious trouble was in Hungary. Led by the distinguished statesman and orator Louis Kossuth, the Hungarians rose in revolt and declared their independence of the Austrian crown (April 14, 1849). They made a noble fight for freedom, but were overpowered by the united Austrian and Russian armies.

[2] This Austrian constitution was withdrawn in 1851.

At the Prussian capital Berlin there was serious street fighting between the people and the soldiers, and the excitement was not quieted until the king Frederick William IV assured the people that their demands for constitutional government should be granted. In fulfillment of this promise the king granted a constitution and took an oath to rule in accord with its provisions (Feb. 6, 1850). Prussia thus joined the ranks of constitutional states. This state was now to play in the unification of Germany a part like that played by Sardinia in the unification of Italy. Henceforth Prussian history is German history.

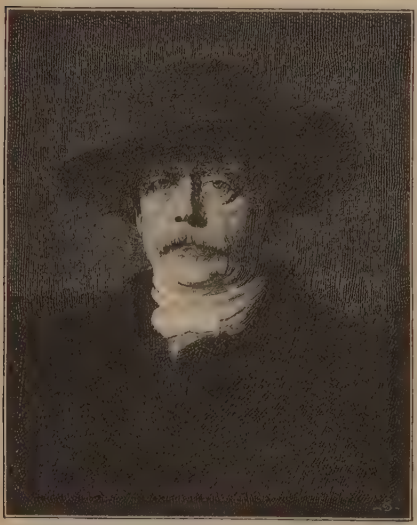

FIG. 158. — PRINCE BISMARCK
(After a painting by *Franz von Lenbach*)

1010. Bismarck, the Unifier of Germany. — In the year 1861 Frederick William IV of Prussia died, and his brother, already an old man of sixty-three, yet destined to be for almost a generation the central figure in the movement for German unity, came to the Prussian throne as William I. He soon called to his side Otto von Bismarck as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Bismarck was one of Germany's greatest sons, — the greatest since Frederick the Great or Luther. He was a man of titanic mold in body and intellect, of imperious will and iron resolution. He was the German Cromwell. His appearance at the head of the Prussian government marks an epoch in history.

Bismarck saw clearly enough how the vexed question between Austria and Prussia was to be settled, — "by blood and iron." Austria's power and influence must be destroyed and she herself forcibly expelled from the Germanic body before the German states could be remolded into a real national union.

1011. The Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia (1866). — The inevitable war which was to decide whether Austria or Prussia should be leader in German affairs came on apace. Early in 1866 the war opened.[8] The occasion of it was a dispute in regard to some petty Danish provinces (Schleswig and Holstein). Almost all of the lesser states grouped themselves about Austria. Prussia, however, found a ready ally in Italy. On the 3d of July, 1866, was fought the great battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz, in Bohemia. This was one of the decisive battles of history. It was Austria's Waterloo. The Prussians pushing on towards Vienna, the Emperor Francis Joseph was constrained to sue for peace, and on the 23d of August the Treaty of Prague was signed.

The long debate between Austria and Prussia was over. By the terms of the treaty Austria consented to the dissolution of the old German Confederation and agreed to allow Prussia to reorganize the German states as she might wish. At the same time she surrendered Venetia to the Italian kingdom. The hindrances she had so long placed in the way both of German and of Italian unity were now finally removed.

1012. Establishment of the North German Confederation (1867). — Now quickly followed the reorganization under the presidency of Prussia of the German states north of the Main into what was called the North German Confederation. There were twenty-one states in all, reckoning the three free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. A constitution was adopted which provided that all common concerns should be committed to a Federal Parliament, or Diet. The Prussian king was to be the hereditary executive of the Confederation and the commander in chief of all the military forces of the several states.

[8] The head of the Prussian army was the great Von Moltke.

Thus was a long step taken towards German unity. But there still remained much to be desired. The states to the south of the Main — Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt — were yet wanting to complete the unification of the Fatherland.

A chief obstacle which had prevented the South German states from being brought into the new union was French jealousy. The Emperor Napoleon had insisted that the river Main should form the southern boundary of the Confederation of the North. He had thought that the South German states would form a union among themselves and look to him as their champion against Prussian aggression. Thus he hoped to be able to maintain the traditional position of France as arbiter of German affairs.

1013. The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). — The Austro-Prussian War had laid the basis of a Franco-Prussian War. It has just been seen how German unity had come short of complete accomplishment partly through the intermeddling of the Emperor Napoleon. But it was intolerable to German patriots, now that the sentiment of German nationality was growing strong, that France should be allowed to dictate to Germans respecting their internal affairs, and should stand between them and their national destiny. On the other hand, it seemed intolerable to the French that a strong German Empire should be allowed to arise right on the frontier of France, and that by this new upstart power France should be shouldered from her historic position as arbiter of Europe. All her old jealous hatred of the House of Hapsburg was now transferred to the rising House of Hohenzollern. France awaited merely a pretext for attacking her new rival and preventing by force the consummation of German unity under Prussian headship.

She had not long to wait. In 1869 the throne of Spain became vacant. It was offered to Leopold, a member of the Hohenzollern family. The Emperor Napoleon III affected to see in this a scheme on the part of the House of Hohenzollern to unite the interests of Prussia and Spain, just as Austria and Spain were united under the princes of the House of Hapsburg. Even after Leopold, to avoid displeasing France, had declined the proffered

crown, the Emperor demanded of King William assurance that no member of the House of Hohenzollern should ever with his consent become a candidate for the Spanish throne.

This unreasonable demand was made of King William by the French ambassador Benedetti at the little watering place of Ems. The king courteously refused the demand and then sent a telegram to Bismarck informing him of what had occurred, at the same time giving him permission to make such use of it as he saw fit. Bismarck edited the telegram in such a way as to convey the impression that the French ambassador had been brusquely dismissed by King William, and then gave it out for publication. The French people were wild with rage. War was now inevitable.

The important thing to be noted here is the enthusiasm that the war awakened not only throughout the states of the North German Confederation but among the states of the South as well, which placed their armies at the disposal of King William. The cause was looked upon as a national one, and a patriotic fervor stirred the hearts of all Germans alike.

1014. The Proclamation of the New German Empire (1871). — The astonishing successes of the German armies on French soil (sec. 969) created among Germans everywhere such patriotic pride in the Fatherland that all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented anything more than a partial union of the members of the Germanic body were now swept out of the way by an irresistible tide of national sentiment. While the siege of Paris was progressing, commissioners were sent by the southern states to Versailles, the headquarters of King William, to represent to him that they were ready and anxious to enter the North German Union. Thus in rapid succession Baden, Hesse, Würtemberg, and Bavaria were received into the Confederation, the name of which was now changed to that of the German Confederation.

Scarcely was this accomplished when, upon the suggestion of the king of Bavaria, — who had been coached by Bismarck, — King William, who now bore the title of *President* of the Confederation, was given the title of *German Emperor*, which honor was to be hereditary in his family. On the 18th of January, 1871,

within the Palace of Versailles, — the siege of Paris being still in progress, — amidst indescribable enthusiasm the imperial dignity was formally conferred upon King William, and Germany became a constitutional Empire.[4]

Thus amidst the throes of war the free German nation was born. The German people, after long centuries of division and servitude, had at last found freedom and unity.[5]

FIG. 159. — PROCLAMATION OF KING WILLIAM AS EMPEROR OF GERMANY AT VERSAILLES, JANUARY, 1871. (After a painting by *Anton von Werner*, Prussian court painter)

1015. Later Events. — For nearly twenty years after the close of the Franco-Prussian War the policy of the new Empire was

[4] The new German Empire constitutes a federal state belonging to the same class of political organizations as the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and the newly formed Australian Commonwealth. Aside from the monarchical hereditary character of the federal executive and of the executive of each of the various principalities, it differs from our Union in there being no sort of equality in size between the states constituting the Empire, Prussia exceeding in population all the other states of the union taken together. (According to the census of 1900 the population of Prussia was 34,472,509; that of all the other states, including Alsace-Lorraine, was 21,894,669.) Again, it differs from our federal system by leaving to the different states in large measure the carrying out of the federal laws.

[5] There is, however, something lacking from the union. There are nine million persons of German blood in the Austrian Empire. Whether these Germans shall ever come to form part of the German nation remains for the future to determine.

directed by Bismarck as the first Imperial Chancellor. In his foreign policy Bismarck's greatest achievement was the formation of what is known as the Triple Alliance (*Dreibund*) between the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (1882). The chief objects of the Triple Alliance were to curb Russia's ambition in the Balkans and to hold France back from a war of revenge against Germany. Without doubt this league has been one of the most potent factors making for the peace of Europe during the last two decades and more.

In 1888 Emperor William I died at the venerable age of ninety-one. His death moved profoundly the German nation. His reign had covered great years in German story, and he had gone with his people through many of the most momentous passages in their history.

William I was followed by his son Frederick, who at the time of his accession was suffering from a fatal malady. He died after a short reign of three months, and his son came to the throne as Emperor William II (1888).

It was generally thought that the young sovereign would be completely under the influence of Bismarck. But soon the Emperor disclosed a very imperious will of his own. His relations with Bismarck became strained and the aged Chancellor was brusquely dismissed (March 18, 1890).

The young Emperor's rule since then has been a very personal one. He would have made an ideal divine-right king in those halcyon days for autocratic rulers when there were no representative assemblies.

The remarkable growth of the party known as the Social Democrats, who advocate an extreme programme of social and industrial reform, is one of the most noteworthy facts connected with the domestic history of the Empire.

1016. Austria-Hungary after 1866. — The disaster of Sadowa did for Austria what the disaster of Jena did for Prussia (sec. 958), — it brought about its political and social regeneration. Chastened by the bitter humiliation and realizing that the maintenance of the old traditional system of absolute government was henceforth impossible, the Emperor Francis Joseph was now ready

to make concessions to the national aspirations of the Magyars, and to yield to the growing demands of his subjects for liberal reforms and constitutional government.

The first step and the most important one in the process of reorganization was the recognition by the Austrian court of the claims of the Magyars to the right of equality in the monarchy with the hitherto dominant German race. By an agreement known as the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, the relations of Austria and Hungary in the reconstituted state were defined and regulated. It provided for the division of the old empire into two parts, now designated as the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom.[6] Each state was to have its own parliament, the one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapest, and each was to have complete control of its own internal affairs.

The common interests of the two states — those embracing foreign affairs, the army, and finances — were to be regulated by a third peculiar parliament, the so-called Delegations, composed of sixty delegates from each of the other two parliaments. The hereditary head of the Austrian state was to be also the constitutional king of Hungary. This compact was duly ratified by the parliaments of Hungary and Austria, and the long struggle between the Magyars and the House of Hapsburg was — for a time — at an end. The Hungarian constitution was restored, and the same year (1867) the western half of the monarchy was also given a liberal constitution, and Austria-Hungary now definitely entered the ranks of constitutional states.

The Compromise, it will be noted, made no recognition whatsoever of the historic rights and liberties of the other races or nationalities of the monarchy, of which there are many. In the Austrian Parliament the oath is administered to the members in eight different languages.

Now in the eastern half of the monarchy the Magyars, who form only a minority of the population of the Hungarian kingdom,[7] are holding practically all the non-Magyar races of the

[6] The official designation of the dual state is the *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*.

[7] The census of 1900 gives the total number of inhabitants of Hungary as 19,254,559, of whom only 7,426,730 are returned as being of Hungarian race.

kingdom in just such political serfdom as they themselves were subjected to before the events of 1866–1867.

It is the same in the other half of the monarchy. There a German minority[8] is holding the Czechs in Bohemia and the Poles in Galicia in a state of subjection similar to that in which the Magyars are holding the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

Now these dependent nationalities claim that they have as good a right to self-government as have either the Germans or the Magyars. The relations of Ireland to England, and the resulting agitation on the part of the Irish people for Home Rule, will convey some idea of the situation of things in the dual monarchy, and of the turbulence created in the state by the struggles for autonomy of these subject races. In short, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has three or four Irish problems.

At the present time (1906) the strongest bond uniting the different races of the monarchy is the personal popularity of the reigning sovereign. The Emperor Francis Joseph has endeared himself in a remarkable degree to his people, and so long as he lives his personal ascendancy, in spite of the present strained relations between him and his Magyar subjects, will doubtless insure the integrity of the monarchy.

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[8] The total population of Austria according to the census of 1900 was 26,150,708; the number of Germans, 9,170,939.

CHAPTER LXXIV

RUSSIA SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1017. Preliminary Statement. — The story of Russia since the fall of Napoleon is crowded with matters of great moment and interest. We can, however, in the present chapter, speak very briefly of only three things, — her part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the emancipation of her serfs, and the Liberal movement. In the next chapter we shall find place to say something of Russia in Asia.

I. Russia's Wars against Turkey and her Allies.

1018. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829. — In the course of the nineteenth century Russia waged three wars against the Ottoman Porte, which resulted in the expulsion of the Turks from a large part of their conquests in Europe. But the jealousy of the other great powers of Europe prevented Russia from appropriating the fruits of her victories, so that the outcome of her efforts was the establishment of a number of independent, or practically independent, Christian principalities on the land recovered.

The first of these wars began in 1828. In that year, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the Sultan through a stubborn insurrection in Greece,[1] Tsar Nicholas[2] declared war against the Ottoman Porte. The Russian troops crossed the Balkans without serious opposition, and were marching upon Constantinople when the Sultan sued for peace. The Treaty of Adrianople brought the war to a close (1829).

[1] This was the struggle known as the War of Greek Independence (1821–1829). This war was a phase of the liberal and national movement which in the revolutionary year of 1821 agitated the Italian and Iberian peninsulas. Lord Byron devoted his life and fortune to the cause of Greek freedom. He died of fever at the siege of Missolonghi (1824).

[2] Tsars of the nineteenth century: Alexander I, 1801–1825; Nicholas I, 1825–1855; Alexander II, 1855–1881; Alexander III, 1881–1894; Nicholas II, 1894–

The Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia (now Rumania) were rendered virtually independent of the Sultan. All Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was liberated, and along with most of the islands of the Ægean was formed into an independent kingdom under the joint guardianship of England, France, and Russia. Prince Otto of Bavaria accepted the crown, and became the first king of the little Hellenic state[3] (1832).

1019. The Crimean War (1853–1856). — A celebrated parable employed by the Tsar Nicholas in conversation with the English minister at St. Petersburg throws a good deal of light upon the circumstances that led to the Crimean War. "We have on our hands," said the Tsar, "a sick man — a very sick man; it would be a great misfortune if he should give us the slip some of these days, especially if it happened before all the necessary arrangements were made." Nicholas thereupon proposed that England and Russia should divide the estate of the "sick man," by which phrase Turkey of course was meant. England was to be allowed to take Egypt and Crete, while the Turkish provinces in Europe were to be taken under the protection of the Tsar, which meant of course the complete absorption, in due time, of all Southeastern Europe into the Russian Empire.

A pretense for hastening the dissolution of the sick man was not long wanting. A quarrel between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem was made the ground by Nicholas for demanding of the Sultan the recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Ottoman dominions. The demand was rejected, and Nicholas prepared for war. The Sultan appealed to the Western powers for help. England and France responded to the appeal, and later Sardinia joined her forces to theirs (sec. 996).

[3] In 1864 the kingdom was enlarged through the cession to it of the Ionian Islands by England, in whose hands they had been since the Congress of Vienna. In 1881 it received Thessaly and a part of Epirus by cession from Turkey. Under the régime of freedom substantial progress has been made. The population of the little kingdom rose from 612,000 in 1832 to 2,433,806 in 1896. Industry, trade, and commerce have revived. The Isthmus of Corinth has been pierced by a canal. Railroads have been built. Athens has taken on the appearance of a modern capital. Its university has an attendance of between two and three thousand students, — a good omen for the future.

The main interest of the struggle centered about Sevastopol, in the Crimea, Russia's great naval and military station in the Euxine. The siege of this place, which lasted eleven months, was one of the most memorable in history. The Russian general Todleben earned a great reputation through his masterly defense of the works. The English "Light Brigade" won immortality in its memorable charge at Balaklava. The French troops, through their dashing bravery, brought great fame to the Emperor who had sent them to gather glory for his throne.

The Russians were at length forced to evacuate their stronghold. The war was now soon brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856). The keynote of this treaty was the maintenance in its integrity of the Ottoman Empire as a barrier against Muscovite encroachments. Russia was given back Sevastopol, but was required to abandon all claims to a protectorate over any of the subjects of the Porte, and to agree not to raise any more fortresses on the Euxine nor keep upon that sea any armed ships, save what might be needed for police service.[4]

1020. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of Berlin. — Anxiously as the Treaty of Paris had provided for the permanent settlement of the Eastern Question, barely twenty-two years had passed before it was again up before Europe. The Sultan could not or would not give his Christian subjects that protection which he had solemnly promised should be given. In 1876 there occurred in Bulgaria what are known as the "Bulgarian atrocities," — massacres of Christian men, women, and children more revolting perhaps than any others of which history tells.

Fierce indignation was kindled throughout Europe. The Russian armies were soon in motion. Kars in Asia Minor and Plevna in European Turkey, the latter after a memorable siege, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the armies of the Tsar were once more in full march upon Constantinople, with the prospect of soon ending forever Turkish rule on European soil, when England

[4] Russia repudiated this article of the treaty during the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. She has restored Sevastopol and its fortresses and is now maintaining a strong fleet of warships on the Black Sea.

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intervened, sent her fleet through the Dardanelles, and arrested the triumphant march of the Russians.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878), whose articles were arranged by the great powers, adjusted once more the disorganized affairs of the Sublime Porte and bolstered up as well as was possible the "sick man." But he lost a good part of his estate, for even his friends had no longer any hope either of his recovery or of his reformation. Out of those provinces of his dominions in Europe

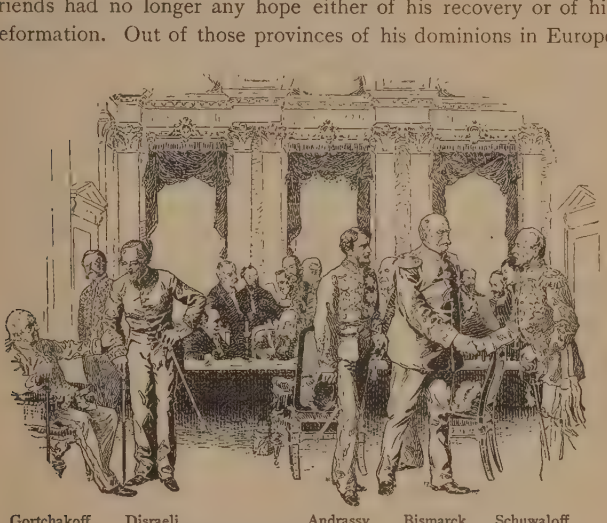

FIG. 160. — THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN. (After a painting by *Anton Von Werner*, Prussian court painter)

in which the Christian population was most numerous, there was created a group of wholly independent or half-independent states.[5] The northern frontier of the Ottoman Empire in Europe was thus pushed back to the Balkans. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given

[5] The absolute independence of Rumania (the ancient provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia), Servia, and Montenegro was formally acknowledged; Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, was to enjoy self-government, but was to pay tribute to the Porte; Eastern Rumelia was to have a Christian governor, but was to remain under the dominion of the Sultan. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia united with Bulgaria.

to Austria-Hungary to administer, but were not actually severed from the Ottoman Empire.

The island of Cyprus, by a secret arrangement between the Ottoman Porte and the English government, was ceded to England "to be occupied and administered." In return England guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's possessions in Asia.

Thus as a result of the war Turkey was shorn of half her European possessions. There were left in Europe under the direct authority of the Sultan barely five million subjects, of which number about one half are Christians.[6]

II. The Emancipation of the Serfs, and the Liberal Movement

1021. Emancipation of the Russian Serfs (1861). — The name of Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881) will live in history as the Emancipator of the Russian serfs. The Emancipation Code, which was promulgated in 1861, required the masters of the peasant serfs to give them a certain portion of the lands they had tilled, for which, however, they were to make some fixed return in labor or rent.[7] The lands thus acquired became the common property of the village, or *Mir*. All other serfs, such as house servants and operatives in factories, were to gain their freedom at the end of two years' additional service, during which time, however, they were to receive fair wages.

As in the case of the emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States, the emancipation of the Russian serfs has not met all the hopeful expectations of the friends of the reform. One cause of the unsatisfactory outcome of the measure is that the villagers did not get enough land, save in those districts where the earth is very rich, to enable them to support themselves by its tillage. Hence many of them live in wretched poverty.

[6] At the present writing (1906) these unredeemed lands, particularly the eastern portion of them popularly designated as Macedonia, are seething with revolt.

[7] The serfs on the crown lands, about 23,000,000 in number, had already been freed by special edicts (the first issued in July, 1858). The whole number of serfs liberated was about 46,000,000.

1022. The Liberal Movement in Russia. — Since 1815 there has been a growing protest in Russia, now the last great stronghold of autocracy in the world, against the despotic government of the Tsar. This movement is nothing else than the outworking in Russia of the ideas of the French Revolution. The fundamental demand of the Liberals is that the people shall have a share in the rule of the empire.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 gave a great impulse to this Liberal movement by utterly discrediting the corrupt, unscrupulous, and incapable government of the autocracy. The people, forced to make unheard-of sacrifices of life and treasure to carry on a disastrous war in which they had neither voice nor interest, arose in virtual insurrection. The empire became filled from end to end with unrest and disorder, with riots and local attempts violently to overthrow the government. The situation was strangely like that of 1789 in France. A Reign of Terror seemed imminent. The Tsar was finally constrained to promise the people the convening early in 1906 of a **National Parliament.**[8]

The meeting of this body, unless reaction should prevail over reform, will signalize an epoch in universal history. It will mark at once the political emancipation of the Russian people, and the enhancement of the spiritual forces of civilization by the addition to them of the freely unfolding energies of a richly endowed race.

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Topics for Class Reports. — 1. The Russian *Mir*. 2. Tsar Alexander II and the emancipation of the Russian serfs. 3. The bureaucracy.

[8] This first Russian Parliament is to consist of an upper house, to be known as the Council of the Empire, and a lower chamber, named the Douma, or National Assembly

CHAPTER LXXV

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. Causes and General Phases of the Expansion Movement

1023. The Fate of the Earlier Colonial Empires; Decline and Revival of Interest in Colonies. — The history we have narrated has revealed the fate of all the colonial empires founded by the various European nations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The magnificent Portuguese Empire soon became the spoil of the Dutch and the English; France lost her colonial possessions to England; a great part of the colonies of the Dutch also finally fell into English hands; before the end of the eighteenth century England lost through revolution her thirteen colonies in North America; and in the early part of the nineteenth century Spain in like manner lost all her dependencies on the mainland of the New World.

After these discouraging experiences with their colonies the governments of Europe lost interest for a while in possessions beyond the seas. Statesmen came to hold the doctrine that colonies are "like fruit, which as soon as ripe falls from the tree." The English minister Disraeli, in referring to England's colonial possessions, once used these words: "Those wretched colonies are millstones about our neck."

Before the close of the nineteenth century, however, fostered by different causes, there sprang up a most extraordinary revival of interest in colonies and dependencies, and the leading European states began to compete eagerly for over-the-sea possessions. During the last fifteen or twenty years of the nineteenth century almost all the old colonizing peoples of Europe were exerting themselves to the utmost to build up new empires to take the place of those they had lost, while other nations that had never

possessed colonies now also entered into competition with those earlier in the field.

1024. Stanley's Discoveries open up the "Dark Continent."— By this time, however, almost all the lands outside of Europe suited to European settlement were closed against true colonizing enterprises by having been appropriated by England, or through their being in the control of independent states that had grown out of colonies planted by immigrants of European speech and blood.

Africa, however, was still left. For a century intrepid explorers had been endeavoring to uncover the mysteries of that continent. Among these was the missionary-explorer David Livingstone. He died in 1873. His mantle fell upon Henry M. Stanley, who a short time after the death of Livingstone set out on an adventurous expedition across Africa[1] (1874–1877), in which journey he discovered the course of the Congo and learned the nature of its great basin. Not since the age of Columbus had there been any discoveries in the domain of geography comparable in importance to these of Stanley. Stanley gave the world an account of his journey in a book bearing the title *Through the Dark Continent*. The appearance of this work marks an epoch in the history of Africa. It inspired innumerable enterprises, political, commercial, and philanthropic, whose aim was to develop the natural resources of the continent and to open it up to civilization.

1025. The Partition of Africa. — The discoveries of Stanley and the founding of the Congo Free State[2] were the signal for a scramble among the powers of Europe for African territory. England, France, and Germany were the strongest competitors and they got the largest shares. In the short space of fifteen years Africa became a dependency of Europe. The only native states retaining

[1] Stanley had made an earlier expedition (1871–1872) in search of Livingstone.

[2] The Congo Free State, founded by the International African Association, has an estimated population of thirty millions. King Leopold of Belgium is the head of the state, whose independence and sovereignty have been recognized by the United States and most of the governments of Europe. The state is not nominally a Belgian colony; it is (at the present time, 1906) merely an appanage of the Belgian crown.

their independence by the end of the nineteenth century were Abyssinia, Morocco,[3] and the negro republic of Liberia.

This transference of the control of the affairs of Africa from the hands of its native inhabitants or those of Asiatic Mohammedan intruders to the hands of Europeans is without question the most momentous transaction in the history of that continent, and one which must shape its future destiny. In the following sections of this chapter, in which we propose briefly to rehearse the part which each of the leading European states has taken in the general expansion movement, we shall speak of the part which each played in the partition of Africa and tell what each secured.

II. The Expansion of England

1026. England in America; the Dominion of Canada. — The separation of the thirteen American colonies from England in 1776 (sec. 877) seemed to give a fatal blow to English hopes of establishing a great colonial empire in America. But half of North America still remained in English hands. Gradually the attractions of British North America as a dwelling place for settlers of European stock became known. Immigration, mostly from the British Isles, increased in volume, so that the population rose from about a quarter of a million at the opening of the nineteenth century to over five millions at its close. One of the most important matters in the political history of Canada since the country passed under English rule is the granting of responsible government to the provinces in 1841.[4] This concession of complete self-government was followed, in 1867, by the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in a federal state under the name of the Dominion of Canada. Later the confederation was joined by British Columbia, Prince Edward

[3] France desires, and thinks she should be accorded the right, to constitute herself Morocco's warden. At the present writing (March, 1906), this matter is the subject of a serious conference between France and Germany.

[4] The treaty-making power and matters of peace and war are still in the hands of the English government.

THE PARTITION OF
AFRICA
Showing the Colonies, Dependencies, Protectorates, and Spheres of Influence of the different European States.
LEGEND
British French German
Portuguese Italian
Regions not under European control are uncolored
Railways Finished Proposed
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000
Longitude 20 West from 10 Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Equator
Tropic of Cancer
Algeciras
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangiers
Casablanca
Oran
Algiers
Constantine
Biskra
Tunis
Med
Fez
MOROCCO
Morocco
ALGERIA
(Annexed to France, 1848)
TUNIS
Tripoli
TRIPO
(Vilayet of Turk
Madeira Is. (Port.)
Canary Is. (Span.)
SPANISH TER.
MAURETANIA
S A H A
Timbuktu
Cape Verde Islands (Port.)
St. Louis
Dakar
C. Verde
GAMBIA
Bathurst
SENEGAL
Senegal R.
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Bamaku
Niger R.
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
Konakry
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
Monrovia
LIBERIA
Kumassi
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
TOGOLAND
DAHOMEY
Lagos
Porto Novo
Bingerville
NORTHERN NIGERIA
SOUTHERN NIGERIA
Asaba
Calabar
KAMERUN
Buea
Duala
Fernando Po. I. (Spanish)
Princes I. (Port.)
St. Thomas I. (Port.)
Annobon I. (Span.)
SPANISH TER.
Libreville
FRENCH
Brazzaville
Stanley
Kabinda (Port.)
Leopold
Boma
LOWER
Loanda
ANGO
Benguela
PORTUG
WEST AF
GUINEA
GERMAN
SOUTH W
Walfisch Bay (To Gt. Br.)
AFRIC
Angra Pequena
Ascension Is. (To Gr. Br.)
St. Helena (To Gr. Br.)
L. Chad
Cape Tow
C. of Good

Sea
Port Said
Alexandria
SUEZ CANAL
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
(Tributary of Turkey under British Control)
1st Cataract
of Influence
A S I A
INDIA
ARABIA
Red Sea
Port Sudan
Suakin
Massawa
Kassala
Omdurman
Khartum
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
DARFUR
Fashoda
Aden
Jibuti
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Berbera
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Sokotra
(To Gr.Br.)
C. Guardafui
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Adis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
BRITISH
EAST AFRICA
UGANDA
Albert Nyanza
Stanleyville
Victoria Nyanza
Equator
STATE
Nyangwe
Lake Tanganyika
GERMAN
EAST AFRICA
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salaam
Seychelles Is.
(To Gr.Br.)
Amirante Is.
(To Gr.Br.)
INDIAN OCEAN
L. Bangweolo
Lake Nyassa
Comoro Is.
(Fr.)
Mayotte
Mozambique
RHODESIA
Zambezi R.
Salisbury
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Beira
Sofala
MADAGASCAR
(To France)
Tamatave
Tananarivo
Rodriguez I.
(To Gt.Br.)
Reunion I.
(Fr.)
Mauritius I.
(To Gr.Br.)
Bulawayo
BECHUANALAND
TRANSVAAL COLONY
Tropic of Capricorn
Comparative Area
PENN.
45,215 Square Miles.
Delagoa Bay
Lourenço Marquez
Pretoria
MAJUBA HILL
NATAL
Petermaritzburg
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Longitude East from Greenwich

Island, and other provinces. Newfoundland has steadily refused to join the union.

The political union of the provinces made possible the successful accomplishment of one of the great engineering undertakings of our age. This was the construction of a transcontinental railroad from Montreal to Vancouver. This road has done for the confirming of the federal union and for the industrial development of the Dominion what the building of similar transcontinental lines has done for the United States.

By reason of its vast geographical extent, — its area is more than thirty-five times as great as that of the British Isles, — its inexhaustible mineral deposits, its unrivaled fisheries, its limitless forests, grazing lands, and wheat fields, its bracing climate, and above all its free institutions, the Dominion of Canada seems marked out to be one of the great future homes of the Anglo-Saxon race. What the United States now is, the Dominion seems destined at a time not very remote to become.

1027. England in Australasia;[5] the Proclamation of the Commonwealth of Australia (1901). — About the time that England lost her American colonies the celebrated navigator Captain Cook reached and explored the shores of New Zealand and Australia (1769–1771). Disregarding the claims of earlier visitors to these lands, he took possession of the islands for the British crown.

The best use which England could at first think to put the new lands was to make them a place of exile for criminals. The first shipload of convicts was landed at Botany Bay in Australia in 1788. But the agricultural riches of the new lands, their adaptability to stock raising, and the healthfulness of the climate soon drew to them a stream of English immigrants. In 1851 came the announcement of the discovery of fabulously rich deposits of gold, and then set in a tide of immigration such as

[5] Australasia, meaning "south land of Asia," is the name under which Australia and New Zealand are comprehended. Here, as in South Africa, in Canada, and in India, England appeared late on the ground. The Spaniards and the Dutch had both preceded her. The presence of the Dutch is witnessed by the names New Holland (the earlier name of Australia) and New Zealand attaching to the greater islands.

the world has seldom seen. Before the close of the century five flourishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia), with an aggregate population, including that of the neighboring island of Tasmania, of almost four millions, had grown up along the fertile rim of the Australian continent and had developed free institutions similar to those of the mother country.

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their consolidation, just at the opening of the twentieth century, into the Commonwealth of Australia, a federal union like our own.

The vast possibilities of the future of this new Anglo-Saxon commonwealth in the South Pacific has impressed in an unwonted way the imagination of the world. It is possible that in the coming periods of history this new Britain will hold some such place in the Pacific as the mother land now holds in the Atlantic.

1028. England in Asia. — We have noted the founding of the British Empire in India (sec. 876). Throughout the nineteenth century England steadily advanced the frontiers of her dominions here and consolidated her power until by the close of the century she had brought either under her direct rule or under her suzerainty almost three hundred millions of Asiatics,[6] — the largest number of human beings, so far as history knows, ever united under a single scepter.

We must here note how England's occupation of India and her large interests in the trade of Southern and Eastern Asia involved her during the century in several wars and shaped in great measure her foreign policies. One of the earliest of these wars was that known as the Afghan War of 1838–1842, into which she was drawn through her jealousy of Russia.[7]

[6] By the census of 1901 the population of the British Indian Empire (this includes the feudatory states) was 294,461,056.

[7] England's endeavor here was to maintain Afghanistan as a buffer state between her Indian possessions and the expanding Russian Empire. The war was marked by a great tragedy, — the virtual annihilation in the wild mountain passes leading from India to Afghanistan of an Anglo-Indian army of 16,000 men. There was a second Afghan War in 1879–1880.

At the same time England became involved in the so-called Opium War with China[8] (1839–1842). As a result of this war England obtained by cession from China the island and port of Hongkong, which she has made one of the most important commercial and naval stations of the world.

Scarcely was the Opium War ended before England was involved in a gigantic struggle with Russia, — the Crimean War, already spoken of in connection with Russian history (sec. 1019). From our present standpoint we can better understand why England threw herself into the conflict on the side of Turkey. She fought to prevent Russia from getting through the Bosporus to the Mediterranean and thus endangering her route to her Eastern possessions.

The echoes of the Crimean War had barely died away before England was startled by the most alarming intelligence from the country for the secure possession of which English soldiers had borne their part in the fierce struggle before Sevastopol. In 1857 there broke out in the armies of the East India Company what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. Fortunately many of the native regiments stood firm in their allegiance to England, and with their aid the revolt was speedily crushed. As a consequence of the mutiny the government of India was by act of Parliament taken out of the hands of the East India Company and vested in the English crown.

There are without question offsets to the indisputably good results of English rule in India; nevertheless it is one of the most important facts of modern history, and one of special import as bearing on our present study, that nearly three hundred millions of the population of Asia should thus have passed, whether for better or for worse, under the rule and wardship of a European nation.

[8] The opium traffic between India and China had grown into gigantic proportions and had become a source of wealth to the British merchants and of revenue to the Indian government. The Chinese government, however, awake to the evils of the growing use of the narcotic, resisted the importation of the drug. This was the cause of the war. The Chinese government was compelled to acquiesce in the continuance of the nefarious traffic.

1029. England in South Africa; Boer and Briton. — England has played a great part in the partition of Africa, and as usual has got the lion's share of the spoils, not as to the size of her portion but as to its real value. Her first appearance upon the continent, both in Egypt and at the Cape, was brought about through her solicitude for her East India possessions and the security of her routes thither. Later she joined in the scramble of European powers for African territories for their own sake.

The Dutch had preceded the English in South Africa. They began their settlement at the Cape about the middle of the seventeenth century, in the great days of Holland. During the French Revolution and again during Napoleon's ascendancy the English took the Dutch colony under their protection. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 the colony was ceded to England by the Netherlands.[9]

The Dutch settlers refused to become reconciled to the English rule. In 1836 a large number of these aggrieved colonists took the heroic resolve of abandoning their old homes and going out into the African wilderness in search of new ones. This migration is known as "The Great Trek."[10] Beyond the Orange River some of the immigrants unyoked their oxen and set up homes, laying there the basis of the Orange Free State; the more intrepid "trekked" still farther to the north, across the Vaal River, and established the republic of the Transvaal.

Two generations passed, a period filled for the little republics, surrounded by hostile African tribes, with anxieties and fighting. Then there came a turning point in their history. In the year 1885 gold deposits of extraordinary richness were discovered in the Transvaal. Straightway there began a tremendous inrush of miners and adventurers from all parts of the globe.

A great portion of these newcomers were English-speaking people. As aliens — *Uitlanders*, "outlanders," they were called

[9] After the loss of the Cape Settlement the island of Java was the most important colonial possession remaining to the Dutch. Gradually they got possession of the greater part of the large island of Sumatra. These two islands form the heart of the Dutch East Indies of to-day, which embrace a native population of about 36,000,000.

[10] *Trek* is Dutch for "migration" or "journey."

— they were excluded from any share in the government, although they made up two thirds of the population of the little state and paid the greater part of the taxes. They demanded the franchise. The Boers, under the lead of the sturdy President of the Transvaal, Paul Krüger, refused to accede to their demands, urging that this would mean practically the surrender of the independence of the republic and its annexation to the British Empire.

The controversy grew more and more bitter and soon ripened into war between England and the Transvaal (1899). The Orange Free State joined its little army to that of its sister state.[11] After the maintenance of the struggle for over two years the last of the Boer bands surrendered to the English (1902). As the outcome of the war both of the republics were annexed to the British Empire under the names of the Transvaal Colony and Orange River Colony.

These new acquisitions, taken in connection with Cape Colony, Natal, and the various protectorates and dependencies which England has established in West, East, and Central Africa, form a vast empire, a considerable portion of which is well suited to European settlement.

A political ideal of English statesmen is the union of all the English and Anglo-Dutch colonies and states of South Africa into a great federation like the Canadian and Australian. This was a favorite project of the late South African statesman, Cecil Rhodes, one of the most masterful men of his generation. Such a federation must be the ultimate destiny of these colonies; and if only the present bitter antagonism between Boer and Briton dies away here, as the once like antagonism between French and Briton has died away in Canada, such a federal state could not fail of having a great future.

Another important project of the English is the building of a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. The projected line has already (1906) been carried northward from Cape Town about two thousand miles, to

[11] The total European or white population of the two little republics that thus threw down the gage of battle to the most powerful empire of modern times was only a little over 300,000.

and beyond the celebrated Victoria Falls on the Zambesi; while at the other end of the continent the road has been pushed up the Nile from Cairo to Khartum, a distance of over thirteen hundred miles (including a little over two hundred miles of river navigation above Assuan). This railway when completed, as it without doubt will be at no very remote date, will be a potent factor in the opening up of the Dark Continent to civilization.

1030. England in Egypt. — In 1876 England and France established what was in effect a dual protectorate over Egypt in order to secure against loss their subjects who were holders of Egyptian bonds.[12] Six years later, in 1882, there broke out in the Egyptian army a mutiny against the authority of the Khedive. France declining to act with England in suppressing the disorder, England moved alone in the matter. The result of her intervention was the establishment of an English protectorate over the country.

No part of the world has benefited more by European control than Egypt. When England assumed the administration of its affairs it was in every respect one of the most wretched of the lands under the rule, actual or nominal, of the Turkish Sultan. The country is now, according to the claims of eminent English authority, more prosperous than at any previous period of its history, not excepting the time of the rule of the Pharaohs. This high degree of prosperity has been secured mainly through England's having given Egypt the two things declared necessary to its prosperity, — "justice and water."

The construction of the great irrigation or storage dam across the Nile at the First Cataract (at Assuan) is one of the greatest engineering achievements of modern times. The dam retains the surplus waters of the Nile in flood times and releases them gradually during the months of low water. This constant supply of water for irrigation purposes will, it is estimated, increase by a third the agricultural capabilities of Egypt.

[12] Egypt was at that time and still is nominally an hereditary principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte. Practically it was then an independent state and now is virtually a part of the British Empire; for no one doubts that the present English protectorate will in time be converted into absolute dominion.

III. The Expansion of France

1031. France in Africa. — At the opening of the nineteenth century France possessed only fragments of a once promising colonial empire. When finally she began to look about her for over-the-sea territories to make good her losses in America and Asia, it was the North African shore which on account of proximity, climate, and products naturally attracted her attention. In ancient times this region was one of the richest grain-tribute-paying provinces of the Roman Empire. Its climate is favorable for Latin-European settlement. It is really geographically a part of Europe, "the true Africa beginning with the Sahara."

France began the conquest of Algeria as early as 1830. The subjugation of the country was not effected without much hard fighting with the native tribes. In the year 1881, under the pretext of defending her Algerian frontier against the raids of the mountain tribes of Tunis on the east, France established a protectorate over that country. This act of hers deeply offended the Italians, who had had their eye upon this district, regarding it as belonging to them by virtue of its geographical position as well as its historical traditions.[18]

These North African territories form the most promising portion of France's new colonial empire. The more sanguine of her statesmen entertain hopes of ultimately creating here a new home for the French people, — a sort of New France. In any event it seems certain that all these shore lands, which in the seventh century were severed from Europe by the Arabian conquests, are now again permanently reunited to that continent and are henceforth to constitute virtually a part of the European world.

[18] Disappointed in not getting Tunis, the Italians sought to secure a foothold on the Red Sea coast. They seized here a district and organized it under the name of the Colony of Eritrea; but they had hard luck almost from the first. The coast is hot and unhealthy and inland is the kingdom of Abyssinia. Over this the Italians attempted to establish a protectorate; but unfortunately for them Abyssinia does not regard herself as one of the uncivilized or moribund states over which it is necessary for Europeans to extend their protection. King Menelik of that country inflicted upon the Italian army a most disastrous defeat (1896). Since then the Italians have done very little in the way of developing their African possessions.

Besides these lands in North Africa, France possesses a vast domain in the region of the Senegal and lays claim to all the Sahara lying between her colony of Senegal and Algeria. She also holds extensive territories just north of the Congo Free State, embracing part of Central Sudan. The island of Madagascar also forms a part of the French-African empire.

1032. France in Asia. — In the year 1862 France secured a foothold near the mouth of the Cambodia River in Indo-China and has since then steadily enlarged her possessions, until now she holds in those quarters territories which exceed in extent the home land. A chief aim of the French in this region is to secure the trade of Southern China. To this end they are projecting the extension northward into China of the system of railways they have already constructed.

With these ample African and Asiatic territories France feels in a measure consoled for her losses in the past, and dreams of a brilliant career as one of the great colonizing powers of Europe. France has, however, one great handicap as a colonizing state. She has not, what both England and Germany have, a rapidly increasing population at home. Nor have her citizens that restless, adventurous spirit of the Anglo-Saxons which has driven them as conquerors and settlers into the remotest parts of the earth and made England the mother of innumerable colonies and states.

IV. The Expansion of Germany

1033. German Emigrants Lost to Germany. — No country of Europe during the expansion movement we are tracing has supplied a greater number of emigrants for the settlement of transoceanic lands than Germany. But Germany has not until recently possessed under her own flag any over-the-sea territories, and consequently, although she has sent out vast swarms of emigrants, no true Greater Germany has grown up outside of Europe.

Stimulated by the patriotic war of 1870–1871 against France, and the consolidation of the German Empire, German statesmen began to dream of making Germany a world power. To this end

it was deemed necessary to secure for Germany colonies where the German emigrants might live under the German flag and, instead of contributing to the growth and prosperity of rival states, should remain Germans and constitute a part of the German nation.

1034. **Germany in Africa.** — Consequently when the competition came for African territory Germany entered into the struggle with great zeal and got a fair share of the spoils. In 1884 she declared a protectorate over a large region on the southwest coast of the continent just north of the Orange River, and thus lying partly in the temperate zone. This region she has opened up to civilization by the construction of a railroad over two hundred and thirty miles in length running from the west coast inland.

At almost the same time she established two smaller protectorates in the tropic belt farther to the north. On the East African coast she seized a great territory, twice as large as Germany itself, embracing a part of the celebrated Lake District. These upland regions are well adapted to European settlement and must in time be filled by people of European descent.

1035. **Germany in Asia.** — The hopes of many German expansionists are centered in Western Asia rather than in Africa. Thousands of Germans have crowded into Asia Minor and Syria and have come to form in some districts an important element of the industrial and trading population. Certainly, if the present process of the Germanization of those regions continues, it is not at all unlikely that a large part of Western Asia will come eventually into some such relation to Germany as Egypt now sustains to England.

One of the most important projects of the Germans in these Asian regions is the extension of the Anatolian Railway, now under German control, from Eregli in Asia Minor over the Taurus Mountains, across the Mesopotamian plains, and down the Tigro-Euphrates valley to the head of the Persian Gulf. Such a line, besides providing a new and shorter route to India, — the route used by the ancient peoples, — would open up to civilization the wonderfully fertile regions which formed the heart of the early and populous empires of Assyria and Babylonia. The restoration

of these lands from their present artificial sterility would give back to mankind some of the choicest portions of their heritage, long given over to desolation and neglect.[14]

German expansion presses not only on the Turkish Empire but also upon the Chinese Empire. In 1897 Germany, on the pretext of protecting German missionaries in China, seized the port of Kiau-chau and forced its practical cession from the Chinese government. The German government aims to make this colony a true German settlement and the outgoing point of German power and influence in the Far East.

V. The Expansion of Russia

1036. Russian Expansion in Asia. — The expansion of Russia is one of the most striking features of the great European development which we are following. This outward movement has put her in possession of about one seventh of the habitable earth.

Russia made no material territorial gains in Europe, aside from the acquisition of Finland and part of Prussian Poland, during the nineteenth century, although, as we have seen, she fought in three great wars for this end and shattered into fragments the Turkish Empire, which lay between her and the goal of her ambition, — Constantinople. But in Asia the additions which, during this period, she made to her empire were immense in extent. By the middle of the century she had absorbed a great part of the Caucasus region, encroaching here upon both Persia and Turkey in Asia. During the latter half of the century she steadily pushed forward her boundaries in Central Asia. She conquered or conciliated the tribes of Turkestan and advanced her frontier in this quarter far towards the south, — close up against Afghanistan. In the very heart of the continent

[14] Along with this railway project is being discussed a proposal for the restoration of the ancient irrigation works of the Tigris and Euphrates region. It is estimated by Sir William Willcocks that $100,000,000 expended in the restoration of the irrigation system of the ancient Babylonians would bring a return of at least $300,000,000. What has already been done for Egypt by the building of the great storage Nile dam at Assuan will almost certainly at no remote date be repeated here in what was formerly the "Asian Egypt."

her outposts are now established upon the lofty table-lands of the Pamirs, the "Roof of the World." Here her frontier and that of the British Empire are only twenty miles apart. In the extreme eastern part of Asia she obtained from China, under circumstances which will be explained a little farther on (sec. 1044), the lease of Port Arthur, one of the most important Asiatic harbors on the Pacific, and occupied the large Chinese province of Manchuria, which occupation it was generally believed would end in the actual annexation of that magnificent domain to the Russian Empire.

Thus by the end of the century Russia in her expansion had not only subjugated the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of Central Asia, but had also won territories from the three semi-civilized states of the continent, Turkey, Persia, and China, and was crowding heavily upon all those countries.

1037. **The Trans-Siberian Railway.** — Russia's most noteworthy undertaking during the nineteenth century in connection with her Asiatic empire was the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which now unites St. Petersburg with the Pacific ports of Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The construction of this road has made accessible to Russian settlers the vast fertile regions of Southern Siberia, and will soon render that country a part of the civilized world; for though it may be true as to the past that "civilization has come riding on a gun carriage," now it comes riding on a locomotive.

VI. The Expansion of the United States

1038. **The Growth of the United States a Part of the Great European Expansion Movement.** — At first view it might seem that the growth of our own country should not be given a place in the present chapter. But the expansion of the United States is as truly a part of European expansion as is the increase of the English race in Canada, or in Australasia, or in South Africa. The circumstance that the development here has taken place since the severance of all political ties binding this country to the

mother land is wholly immaterial. The Canadian, Australian, and African developments have as a matter of fact been expansion movements from practically secondary and independent centers of European settlement.

Hence to complete our survey of the movement which has put in possession or in control of the European peoples so much of the earth, we must note — we can simply note — the expansion during the past century of the great American Commonwealth.

1039. **How the Territorial Acquisitions of the United States and its Growth in Population have contributed to assure the Predominance of the Anglo-Saxon Race in Greater Europe.** — Six times during the nineteenth century the United States materially enlarged her borders.[15] These gains in territory were in the main at the expense of a Latin race, — the Spanish. They have not therefore resulted in an actual increase in the possessions of the European peoples, but have simply contributed to the predominance, or have marked the growing predominance, in this new-forming European world of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of even greater significance than the territorial expansion of the United States during the past century is the amazing growth of the Republic during this period in population and in material and intellectual resources. At the opening of the century the white population of the United States was a little over four millions; at the end of the century it had risen to over sixty-seven millions. This is the largest aggregate of human force and intelligence that the world has yet seen. Even more impressive than its actual are its potential capacities. With practically unlimited room for expansion, it is impossible adequately to realize into what, during the coming centuries, the American people will grow.

This remarkable growth of an English-speaking nation on the soil of the New World has contributed more than anything else, save the expansion of Great Britain into Greater Britain, to lend impressiveness and import to the movement indicated by the expression, "European expansion."

[15] The last enlargement was in 1898, when the United States, as an outcome of a war with Spain, acquired Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

VII. Check to European Expansion and Aggression in Eastern Asia

1040. Shall China be partitioned? — Before the close of the nineteenth century the outward movement of the European peoples, which we have now traced in broad outlines, had created a great crisis in the life of the peoples of the Far East. It had imperiled the independence of one of the great races of mankind, the yellow race, comprising perhaps one third of the population of the earth. It had raised the questions, Shall China be partitioned? Shall the Mongolian peoples of the Far East be dominated and their destinies shaped by the European powers? An unexpected answer to these questions was given by Japan.

1041. The Awakening of Japan. — As late as the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was a hermit nation. She jealously excluded foreigners and refused to enter into diplomatic relations with the Western powers. But in the year 1854 Commodore Perry of the United States secured from the Japanese government concessions which opened the country to Western influences, under which Japan soon awoke to a new life.

In the course of the half century following this change in Japanese policy, the progress made by Japan on all lines, political, material, and intellectual, was something without a parallel in history. She transformed her ancient feudal divine-right government into a representative constitutional system modeled upon the political institutions of the West. She adopted almost entire the material side of the civilization of the Western nations and eagerly absorbed their sciences.

But what took place, it should be carefully noted, was not a Europeanization of Japan. The new Japan was an evolution of the old. The Japanese to-day in their innermost life, in their deepest instincts, and in their modes of thought are still an Oriental people.

1042. The China-Japan War of 1894; a Mongolian Monroe Doctrine. — In 1894 came the war between Japan and China. A chief cause of this war was China's claim to suzerainty over

Korea and her efforts to secure control of the affairs of that country. But under the conditions of modern warfare, and particularly in view of the Russian advance in Eastern Asia, the maintenance of Korea as an independent state seemed to Japan absolutely necessary to the security of her island empire. The situation is vividly pictured in these words of Okakura-Kakuzo, the author of *The Awakening of Japan:* "Any hostile power," he says, "in occupation of the peninsula might easily throw an army into Japan, for Korea lies like a dagger ever pointed toward the very heart of Japan."

Still again, realizing that greed of territory would lead the European powers sooner or later to seek the partition of China and the political control of the Mongolian lands of the Far East, Japan wished to stir China from her lethargy, make herself her adviser and leader, and thus get in a position to control the affairs of Eastern Asia. In a word she was resolved to set up a sort of Monroe Doctrine in her part of the world, which should close Mongolian lands against European encroachments and preserve for Asiatics what was still left of Asia.

The war was short and decisive. It was a fight between David and Goliath. China with her great inert mass was absolutely helpless in the hands of her tiny antagonist. With the Japanese army in full march upon Peking, the Chinese government was forced to sue for peace. China now recognized the independence of Korea, and ceded to Japan Formosa and the extreme southern part of Manchuria, including Port Arthur. But at this juncture of affairs Russia, supported by France and Germany, jealously intervened. These powers forced Japan to accept a money indemnity in lieu of territory on the continent. She was permitted, however, to take possession of the island of Formosa.

1043. China in Process of Dismemberment; the Boxer Uprising (1900). — The march of the little Japanese army into the heart of the huge Chinese Empire was in its consequences something like the famous march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the great Persian Empire (sec. 208). It revealed the surprising weakness of China, — a fact known before to all the world, but never so

RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SEA OF OKHOTSK
Chita
Blagovestchensk
Amur
Sakhalin Island
Gulf of Tartary
Khabarovsk
MANCHURIA
Tsitsihar
Sungari
Harbin
MONGOLIA
La Perouse Strait
Chang-chun
Kirin
Vladivostok
Yezo
PECHILI
Tie-ling
Mukden
Liao-yang
Liao R.
Niu-chwang
Liau-tung
Pekin
Tientsin
Gulf of Pechili
Dalny
Port Arthur
Chi-fu
Shan-tung Prom.
Wei-hai-wei (British)
Tsi-nan
SHAN-TUNG
Kiau-chau Bay (Germany)
Mok-po
Fusan
Masampo
Wen-san
Ping-yang
Chiu-nam-po
Seoul
Chemulpo
Cable
SEA OF JAPAN
Hakodate
Hirosaki
Niigata
Tokio
Yokohama
Nagoya
Osaka
Kobe
Kisio
Shimonoseki
Kokura
Saseho
Nagasaki
Kumamoto
Kagoshima
Yang-tse-kiang
Shanghai
Ning-po
Nanking
YELLOW SEA
EASTERN SEA (Tung-hai)
Fu-chau
Formosa Strait
Formosa
Riu-Kiu or Lu-Chu Is.
CHINESE EMPIRE
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
Society Bay
Milne I.
Murchison I.
Kin-chau
Ta-lien-wan
Ta-lien-wan Bay
Dalny
Sanshan-tau I.
Reef I.
Pigeon Bay
Port Arthur
C. Liao-ti-shan
0 5 10 20
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
Scale of Miles
120° THE M.-N. WORKS
121° 30'

THE FAR EAST

perfectly realized as after the Japanese exploit, — and marked her out for partition. The process of dismemberment began without unnecessary delay. Germany, Russia, England, and France each demanded and received from China the cession or lease of a port. The press in Europe and America began openly to discuss the impending partition of the Chinese Empire and to speculate as to how the spoils would be divided.

Suddenly the whole Western world was startled by the intelligence that the legations, or embassies, of all the European powers at Peking were hemmed in and besieged by a Chinese mob aided by the imperial troops. Then quickly followed a report of the massacre of all the Europeans in the city.

Strenuous efforts were at once made by the different Western nations, as well as by Japan, to send an international force to the rescue of their representatives and the missionaries and other Europeans with them, should it chance that any were still alive. Not since the Crusades had so many European nations joined in a common undertaking. There were in the relief army Russian, French, English, American, and German troops, besides a strong Japanese contingent. The relief column fought its way through to Peking and forced the gates of the capital. The worst had not happened, and soon the tension of the Western world, which had lasted for six weeks, was relieved by the glad news of the rescue of the beleaguered little company of Europeans.

All which it concerns us now to notice is the place which this remarkable passage in Chinese history holds in the story of European expansion which we have been rehearsing. The point of view to which our study has brought us discloses this at once.

The insurrection had at bottom for its cause the determination of the Chinese to set a limit to the encroachments of the Western races, to prevent the dismemberment of their country, to preserve China for the Chinese. All the various causes that have been assigned for the uprising are included in this general underlying cause.

1044. **The Russo-Japanese War** (1904–1905). — Early in the year 1904 war opened between Japan and Russia. Respecting

the profound cause of this conflict, little need be added to what has already been said in the preceding paragraphs. Soon after Russia had forced Japan to give up Port Arthur and the territory in Manchuria ceded to her by the terms of the treaty with China after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894 (sec. 1042), she herself secured from China a lease of the most "strategic portion" of this same territory (1898), and straightway proceeded to transform Port Arthur into a great naval and military fortress, which was to be the Gibraltar of the East. Moreover she occupied the whole of the great Chinese province of Manchuria. Notwithstanding she had given solemn pledges that the occupation of this territory should be only temporary, she not only violated these pledges but made it evident by her acts that she intended, besides making Manchuria a part of the Russian Empire, also to seize Korea. But Russian control of this stretch of seaboard and command of the Eastern seas meant that Japan would be hemmed in by a perpetual blockade and her existence as an independent nation imperiled. It would place her destiny in the hands of Russia. Japan could not accept this fate, and drew the sword.

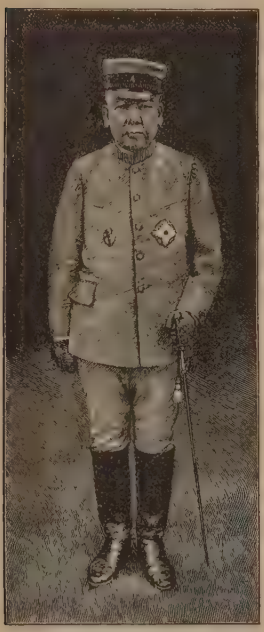

FIG. 161. — FIELD MARSHAL OYAMA. (From a stereograph; copyright, 1904, by the H. C. White Company, New York)

The sanguinary war was signalized by an unbroken series of astonishing victories for the Japanese on land and on sea. They assumed practical control of Korea, and under Field Marshal Oyama wrested from the Russian armies under Kuropatkin the

southernmost portion of Manchuria. Port Arthur, after one of the longest and most memorable sieges of modern times, was forced to capitulate.[16]

The strong Russian fleet in the Eastern waters at the beginning of hostilities was virtually destroyed.[17] A second great fleet sent out from the Baltic Sea was met in the Korean Straits by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo, and the greater part of the ships were sunk or captured.[18] This was Japan's Salamis.[19]

Through the mediation of President Roosevelt peace envoys of Russia and Japan were now brought together at Portsmouth, in the United States, and the war was ended by what will be known in history as the Peace of Portsmouth.[20]

The ultimate consequences of the war for the nations engaged and for civilization cannot yet be estimated; but it seems certain that the final results will be more momentous and far-reaching than those of any other conflict of races recorded in modern history. One result is already assured. The war has not only safeguarded Japan's national existence but has also insured the territorial integrity of China. In a word, it has set limits to European encroachments in Eastern Asia and put in the hands of the Mongol peoples whose independence has been imperiled the shaping of their own lives and destinies. The entrance of these peoples, under the inspiring leadership of Japan, into the great family of free, self-governed, and progressive nations means the shifting of the center of gravity of the world.[21]

[16] January 11, 1905. The siege was conducted by General Nogi and Admiral Togo; the defense of the place was made by General Stoessel.

[17] February 25–March 12, 1905, was fought the great battle of Mukden, in which the Japanese were victors.

[18] May 28, 1905. The Russian fleet was commanded by Admiral Rojestvensky.

[19] Compare secs. 181 and 753.

[20] The treaty was signed September 5, 1905. Among the important articles of this treaty are the following: (1) Permission to Japan to make Korea her ward; (2) the evacuation of Manchuria by both the Russians and the Japanese; (3) the transfer to Japan by Russia of all her rights at Port Arthur and Dalny; (4) the division of the Manchurian railway between Japan and Russia; (5) the cession by Russia to Japan of the southern part of the island of Saghalien.

[21] For the influence of the war upon Liberalism in Russia, see sec. 1022.

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CHAPTER LXXVI

THE WORLD STATE

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw a Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
. . . . . .
Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World. — TENNYSON.

1045. Introductory. "It is a favorite maxim of mine," writes Professor Seeley in his *Expansion of England*, "that history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral. Some large conclusion ought to arise out of it; it ought to exhibit the general tendency of English affairs in such a way as to set us thinking about the future and divining the destiny which is reserved for us."

The inspiring destiny for England which Professor Seeley reads in her past and present history is Imperial Federation, — that is, a great federal union embracing the mother land and her colonies, organized after the model of the United States of America.

Professor Seeley's maxim must needs be applied to universal history if its study is to issue in anything really worthy and practical. We must try to discover the tendency of the historic evolution, to discern the set of the current of world events, and to divine the destiny reserved for the human race. Only thus shall we be able to form practical ideals for humanity and strive intelligently and hopefully for their realization.

1046. From the Clan State to the Federal State. Now there is no tendency in universal history, broadly viewed, more manifest than the tendency toward world unity. First it was the clan,

then the tribe, then the city-state, and then the nation states[1] of modern times. And just now among these great nation states a state of a new type has arisen, — the federal state, of which our Union, consisting of forty-five states, is the model. Constituted "in the image and likeness" of this are the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Swiss Confederation, and the new German Empire. So characteristic a feature, indeed, of the political life of the present is this federation movement, that ours has been called the Federal Age.

The significant thing about this federal movement is that the natural and logical issue of national federalism is international federalism. The United States of America foreshadows the United States of Europe. The obstacles in the way of such a federation of the European nations are not so great as those which, scarcely more than a generation ago, seemed to render chimerical all attempts to build up unified nations out of the discordant elements existing, for example, in Italy and in Germany.

1047. Preparations in Different Domains for the World State. — And, in truth, during the last century, in different realms, the conditions precedent of a great federation of all the nations of the earth have been supplied by humanity's advance and achievements. In the political realm all that the age-spirit has accomplished would seem to have for its ultimate aim the preparing of the way for international federation. More than a century ago Immanuel Kant, in his essay on *Perpetual Peace*, affirmed that a prerequisite for the federation of the world was the establishment by all the nations of representative government. If we recall what the union of the autocratic governments of Europe in the Holy Alliance meant (sec. 964), we shall understand Kant. A world union of despotic governments would be the tomb of liberty, individual and national, — a world-wide Russian despotism.

When Kant wrote his plea for peace, autocratic government prevailed almost everywhere in Europe. We have seen how, during the century which has passed since then, the Democratic

[1] We disregard purely artificial unions, unions created and maintained by force, such as the Roman Empire.

Revolution has established, or is establishing, representative government in all the Christian states of the continent. Furthermore, in all the progressive nations outside of Europe — in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, in Japan — the management of public affairs is in the hands of the people. Thus has the first prerequisite of the Universal State been supplied in the case of almost all the great nations and communities of the civilized world.

A second significant preparation in the political realm for the world union is federalism. This supplies the principle which may be applied to the organization of the world without danger to the principle of home rule and legitimate national freedom; for it deprives the uniting states, as exemplified in our own Union, of nothing save that "lawless freedom" which they now use to do one another hurt and harm.

While the basis of a World State has thus been laid in the political domain through the incoming of democracy and federalism, an equally important preparation for the permanent organization of the world has been made in the moral realm. Throughout the last century the sentiment of the brotherhood of man has been greatly deepened and strengthened. This new moral sentiment constitutes a force which is working irresistibly in the interest of a world union based on international amity and good will.

It is most significant that at the same time that these movements towards world unity have characterized progress in the political and moral realms, wonderful discoveries and inventions in the physical domain — the steam railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless telegraphy, and a hundred others — have brought the once isolated nations close alongside one another and have made easily possible, in truth made necessary, the formation of the world union.

1048. **The Interparliamentary Union.** — One of the most important of the agencies at work for international organization is what is known as the Interparliamentary Union. This is an association made up exclusively of members of national legislatures or parliaments. Its membership now (1906) numbers more than two thousand. Because of the noble character of the men composing this

FIG. 162. — "THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES."[2] (From a photograph; courtesy of Señora Carolina Huidobro)

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble unto dust, than Argentines and Chilians break the peace which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer they have sworn to maintain." — *Inscription on Monument*

international society, as well as because of their connection with the practical work of legislation in the different states, this body is the most influential of the agencies now working for the organization of the world.

1049. The International Peace Conference at The Hague and the Establishment of the International Court of Arbitration (1899). — Already more has been accomplished in the way of the actual creation of the machinery of a World State than is generally realized. Just as the nineteenth century was closing the Tsar Nicholas surprised the world by proposing to all the governments having representatives at the Russian court the meeting of a conference "to consider means of insuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations."

All the governments addressed accepted the proposal, and in

[2] In 1903 the South American republics of Chile and Argentina, having happily settled by arbitration a long-standing boundary controversy which threatened to involve the two countries in war, mutually bound themselves by treaty to reduce their military and naval armaments and for a stated period to submit every matter of dispute arising between them to arbitration. Upon one of the highest boundary ranges of the Andes the two nations have erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ as the sacred guardian of the peace to which they are pledged. The statue was unveiled March 13, 1904.

1899 the convention met at The Hague in the Netherlands. The most important outcome of the deliberations of the body was the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration to which all nations may have recourse for the settlement of interstate disputes. Since the creation of the court several cases have been referred to it and amicably settled.

The formation of this International Court is a most noteworthy event. In the words of a recent writer, "It may be possible that looking back a hundred years from now it will be seen that its establishment was the most important single event of modern times." It brings measurably nearer the time when the barbarous wager of battle between nations shall have become such a tradition of an outgrown past as is now the old wager of battle between individuals (sec. 505). Andrew Carnegie, recognizing the import of the work of the convention for the peace of the world, has made a gift of $1,500,000 for the erection at The Hague of a permanent home for the court, — what is to be known as The Temple of Peace.

1050. The Call for a Second International Conference and the Proposed Creation of a Stated World Congress, or Parliament. — In the fall of the year 1904 the President of the United States invited the governments of the world to send delegates to a second International Conference. One of the matters which the friends of the movement propose shall be given a prominent place on the programme of the meeting is "the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically for the discussion of international questions." The assembling of the conference will probably take place some time during the present year (1906).

It is a reasonable hope that the deliberations of the proposed meeting may result in the establishment of an International Congress, necessarily with only advisory powers at first, but which, like the Congress of our Confederation of 1781, may in due time grow into a true legislative body, competent to deal with all affairs of international concern. If such should be the outcome of this projected conference, then will the second great step have been

taken in the formation of the World State, and hopeful advance made in the establishment among the nations of the conditions of permanent peace.

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INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. - In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: ā, like *a* in *grāy*; ǡ, like *ā*, only less prolonged; ă, like *a* in *hăve*; ä, like *a* in *fär*; ạ, like *a* in *all*; ē, like *ee* in *meet*; ē̇, like *e*, only less prolonged; ĕ, like *e* in *end*; ê, like *e* in *thère*; ê̇, like *e* in *èvr*; ī, like *i* in *pine*; ī̇, like *i* in *pĭn*; ō, like *o* in *nōte*; ō̇, like *o*, only less prolonged; ŏ, like *o* in *nŏt*; ô, like *o* in *ôrb*; oo, like *oo* in *moon*; u, like *u* in *use*; u̇, like the French *u*; c and ch, like *k*; ç, like *s*; g, like *g* in *get*; ġ, like *j*; ş, like *s*; čh, as in German *ach*; G, small capital, as in German *Hamburg*; ñ, like *ni* in *minion*; n̈ denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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